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Gentrification and the disruption of space: residents lived experiences in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies at the Institute for Social Development, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Western Cape.

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Abstract

Gentrification has become a global urban phenomenon that can be compared to the colonial project. Gentrification is a process whereby capital is reinvested in urban areas and designed to produce space for more affluent people rather than current occupants. Capital investment alters the environment, making it increasingly unaffordable and ultimately resulting in the displacement of the original inhabitants. Gentrification has a pervasive cultural element; it privileges whiteness and appropriates urban space and enforces Anglo-centrism. Gentrification imposes regulation of space; this takes the form of privatisation, neo-liberal public policy, class division, and displacement. The Bo-Kaap community has existed in the area for over 250 years; it is the only historically 'non-white' neighbourhood in the inner-city of Cape Town having been preserved as the Malay Quarter under Apartheid's separate development policy. The community remains fairly intact and is the only working-class inclusive community in Cape Town's inner-city. The Bo-Kaap community has been increasingly being affected by an intruding Central Business District (CBD) and is subject to land-seeking behaviour because of its proximity to the city centre. This involves using land in ways that will held more profit; former residential properties are often converted into business premises or holiday accommodation. Space is increasingly being contested by newcomers who are attracted to the area because of relatively lower property values, its proximity to the CBD, and its ambience and attractive architectural landscape. There has been accelerated change since 2015 due to the municipality's market-orientated policies and a changing landscape with an increased presence of business and new or revamped stock. Space is being contested and reproduced because of market forces and the increased financialisation of land and housing. The financialisation of land and the built environment is a process whereby its use is orientated toward profit, land is increasingly commodified and inter-related in processes of privatisation, neoliberalism and accumulation by dispossession. The recent wave of gentrification is increasingly excluding the historical community. A qualitative approach was used because of the exploratory nature of the research. Gentrification is a relatively new concept, and the literature has focused on gentrifiers and causes. There is a need to explore how existing residents of areas at risk of or experiencing gentrification

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understand the process and phenomenon, to look at personal stories and effects of gentrification at a neighbourhood level. The methods of data collection include in-depth interviews, focus groups, and observations. The research investigated residents' understanding and lived experience of gentrification, and how it has manifested in residents' lives, relations and environment. The research found that gentrification had disrupted the everyday life of residents, and residents' culture and religious practices. The research shows that land is being contested and that there is a class struggle. The use of land is being orientated toward commercial interests at the expense of its social value and the disregard for the community. The community continues to contest policies that make it hard for them to remain in the area. Municipal cost recovery policies and linking property rates to the market valuation of property have inflated the cost of living for residents and are threatening the continuity of the historic community.
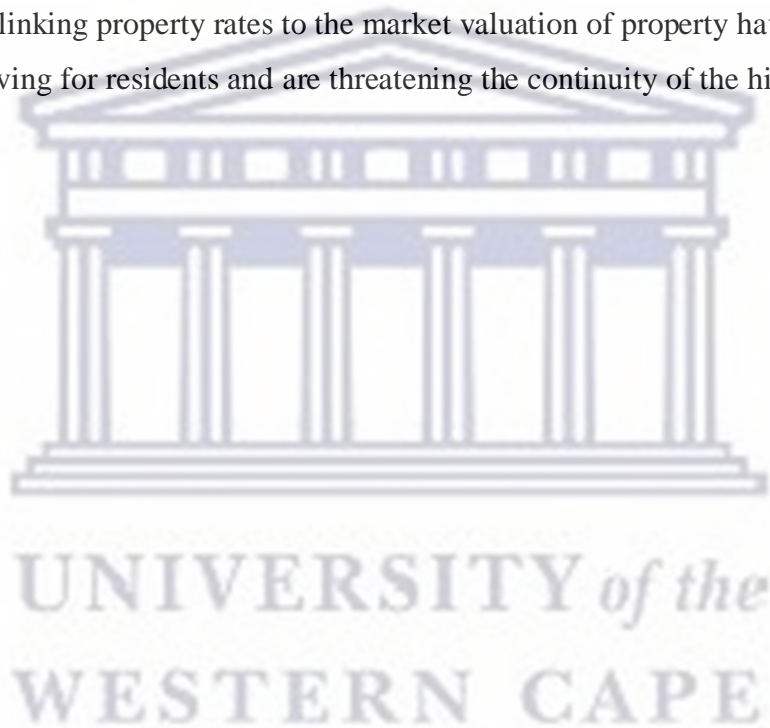
Keywords

Gentrification

Financialisation

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Social Space

Culture

Class

Displacement

Central Improvement District

Bo-Kaap

Cape Town

Declaration

I declare that *Gentrification and the disruption of space: residents lived experiences in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Shafeeqah Salie

Signed…………………………………

December 2022

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All praise is due to the Almighty.

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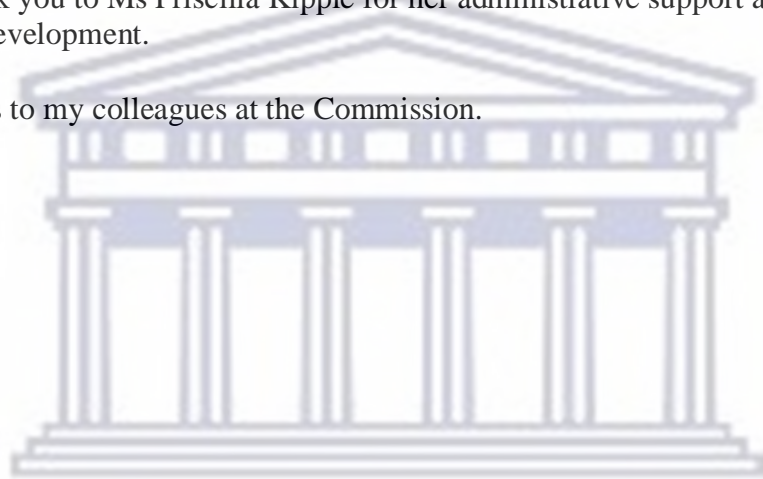
Abbreviations and Acronyms

BOCRA -   Bo-Kaap Civic and Ratepayers Association

CBD -   Central Business District

CCT -   City of Cape Town

CID -   Central Improvement District

CTP -   Cape Town Partnership

REITs -   Real Estate Investment Trusts

VOC -   Dutch East India Company/Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie

Glossary

Athan (Arabic) - call to prayer, typically done over the mosque loudspeaker

Boeka (colloquial Cape Malay) - evening meal at sunset with which Muslims break their daily fast in Ramadan. Referred to as iftar in Arabic.

Cape Malay - a Muslim community or ethnic group in Cape Town, South Africa. They are the descendants of political prisoners, royalty, enslaved and free Muslims from different parts of the world who were brought to the Cape during Dutch and British rule. The term Malay refers to the Malayo-Polynesian languages spoken in the East Indies or historically Greater India and includes but is not a specific reference to Malaysia. The majority of people came from India and the Indonesian Archipelago.

Coloured - a racial classification used during Apartheid to categorise persons of mixed race

Gadat (colloquial Cape Malay) - also known as thikr, but refers specifically to the Cape Malay recitation known as Ratibul Haddaad.

Klopse (colloquial Afrikaans) – refers to as the Cape Minstrels. The Minstrel festival takes place annually on 2 January in Cape Town. It is referred to as Tweede Nuwe Jaar (Second New Year). The historical significance can be linked to the day slaves would be given off work.

Koesister (Afrikaans) - a traditional Cape Malay pastry. It has an oval dough ball shape, and doughnut-like texture, flavoured with spices and nartjie/tangerine peel and covered in caramelised sugar and coconut flakes.

Lekker (Afrikaans) - good, pleasant

Stoep (Afrikaans) - raised veranda

Thikr (Arabic) - a collection of prayers and supplications in the remembrance of God

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Overview and rationale of the study

Gentrification has become a global urban phenomenon that can be compared to colonial mercantile expansion. Like colonialism, contemporary processes of gentrification impose the regulation of space; this takes the form of privatisation, neo-liberal public policy, class division, and displacement. The process facilitates the domination of prime urban land by an affluent class, the appropriation of space, and the imposition of an Anglo-centric culture in global cities. Gentrification has a pervasive cultural element; similar to colonialism it privileges whiteness and it appropriates urban space and imposes Anglo-centrism (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005).

Gentrification is the process whereby urban working-class neighbourhoods are upgraded by developers, landlords or middle-class homebuyers. This capital investment within the urban centre results in the displacement of the original inhabitants, who are replaced by a more affluent class (Visser & Kotze, 2008). More expansive understandings of gentrification have identified the flow of capital and investment in residential stock without the movement of new residents. Houses are purchased by the global elite as a form of a "safe deposit box" (Aalbers, 2019). These properties are rented out or left vacant to appreciate value over time. Increasingly adequate housing is becoming challenging for the working class to white-collar workers. It is estimated that 1.8 billion people globally are living in informal settlements (Farha & Schwan, 2021). Access to adequate housing has become a universal challenge even in first-world countries with high employment rates, and economic growth residents increasingly find it hard to secure suitable housing. In 2018 during a European economic boom with increased wages, rising employment and economic growth demonstrators gathered on the streets of Dublin to bring attention to the lack of affordable housing following 13 consecutive quarters of record-high rental prices (Kenna, 2019). The United Nations (2017) report on adequate housing highlight how the financialisation of housing has dehumanised housing and altered it from a social good and use to commodity value. The report identifies how structural changes in the global economy have resulted in massive amounts of global capital being invested in housing as a commodity, as security for financial instruments like stock that are traded on global markets, and as an

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investment to accumulate wealth. An annual report published by Cushman and Wakefield (in United Nations, 2017) calculated that the amount of capital raised for trans-border real estate investment reached a record of $443 billion in 2015. What is most significant is that residential properties represented the largest single share of investment, this means that global real estate investment is affecting housing at the neighbourhood level. Global capital can move across borders and this is transforming the real estate market and resulting in housing insecurity (United Nations, 2017). The Joint Centre for Housing Studies of Harvard University (2020:2 in Hyra, 2020:17) reported that from 2012 to 2017, the number of units renting for $1000 or more increased by 5 million, while the number of low-cost rental units for under $600 fell by 3.1 million in the United States. Gentrification and the lack of adequate housing are causing displacement, and this has a ripple effect on the housing market, with the most vulnerable persons ending up homeless. For long-standing residents gentrification devitalises and alters the social character of the neighbourhood, and residents increasingly feel alienated.

In the globalised economy, gentrification has advanced to the Global South as capital seeks places where the rate of return is highest. Many Global South cities have adopted developmental trajectories similar to cities in the Global North. This with the ideological perceptive, or due to the World Bank's conditionality of loans that by following the same economic policy that it would transform developing countries into modern economies. To achieve this however superficial, Global South cities have adopted urban revitalisation programmes centred on creating world-class cities that attract business in the competitive global economy. These world-class cities are interlinked in global flows of capital, and financial frameworks, and have a concentration of multi-national businesses (Miraftab, 2007). These neoliberal urban policies and frameworks have advanced the migration of gentrification to the Global South.

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1.2 Background and context of the study

In South Africa, gentrification takes a unique form. Apart from the colonial legacy, South Africa's most recent past is governed by the spatial arrangements and landscape created under Apartheid policies. This spatial planning arranged and reserved land for the use and ownership of specific racial or ethnic groups. Apartheid enabled and facilitated the unequal distribution of resources, from land, utilities, and infrastructure. The law, therefore, determined who could live in a specific area, and determined what resources were provided by the government. In Cape Town the spatial arrangement was characterised by race; a white inner-city, some [1]coloured areas on the periphery of the city, and coloured and black townships on the outskirts of the city. Some "grey" areas (e.g. Woodstock) did exist but these were limited and have been largely gentrified. Non-white areas in the inner-city were forcefully removed under the Group Areas Act (1950). The most significant area, District Six, was bulldozed and residents were displaced to the Cape Flats (South African History Online, 2016). Bo-Kaap remained intact despite Apartheid and the Group Areas Act (1950).

Gentrification and its impact in Bo-Kaap have largely been observed through the lens of property, urban policy and, more recently, global capital and neo-liberalism. The scale and movement of capital are unprecedented. According to the United Nations (2017), the impact of wealth and private investment in real estate has created and perpetuated spatial segregation and inequalities in cities. Bo-Kaap then remains a very unique community amidst a white and wealthy Cape Town inner-city. The preservation and perseverance to exist in the locality have been a great struggle for the community. The disruption of people's and community lives, its impact on culture, and how it has affected the use of space need to be explored on a neighbourhood level. This paper seeks to understand how gentrification has manifested in the lives of residents, how space is being contested and its impact on the social and spatial relations in Bo-Kaap. The study explores experiences of the individual and social elements and unpacks gentrification with a focus on class, culture, race and spatial relations in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town. The context of the research is within the perspective that space and landscape hold emotive and

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[1] The term used to denote people of multiracial ethnicities in South Africa

intangible dimensions for the Bo-Kaap community, which Malan (2004/5:23) refers to as places of value that can be and have "memories, sites of dispossession, trauma and sacredness".

1.3 Bo-Kaap: The Case Study Area

Bo-Kaap (its direct translation is "Upper Cape") is a small residential area above the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD) in Cape Town, South Africa. The area is 0.95 square kilometre in radius and includes 739 households (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The area is historically referred to as the Malay Quarter and later Schotsche Kloof and is home to the "Cape Malays". Although the community is referred to as "Cape Malay", community historian Dr Achmat Davids (1980) notes that this was a reference to the Malayo-Polynesian languages spoken in the East Indies or historically Greater India and including but not a specific reference to Malaysia. The majority of the Cape Malay community's descendants came from India, the Indonesian Archipelago and Madagascar as a result of the movement of people due to Colonial expansion in the Cape during the 1600s. The Dutch East India Company/Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) first arrived in the Cape in 1652; their mission was to establish a refreshment station and later a settlement between Holland and the East Indies. The Cape would provide passage to the East and access to the profitable spice trade. Owing to a shortage of labour and the resistance of the Khoi-San indigenous people, the VOC pursued labour in Eastern and African colonies (South African History Online, 2011).

The VOC was not a standard commercial enterprise, is was granted government charter, this ensured its ability to monopolise the spice trade in East Asia, giving it the power to colonise territories, allowing it to enslave indigenous people, and extensive political imperatives. This status enabled an aggressive approach, engaging in trade wars with European and Asian powers, and violently colonising areas that would not co-operate in their quest to dominate the tea and spice trade, including cloves, nutmeg, and pepper. In some cases like Banda, Indonesian Archipelago, the island's indigenous population were killed off, and the crop was then cultivated using slave labour from surrounding islands. VOC's monopoly of the spice trade meant that it could dictate the asking price of goods, and production and determine the conditions of trade including who could participate. The trade route also allowed the

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transportation of precious metals like gold and silver to Europe (South African History Online, 2011).

VOC establish the Trans-Indian Oceanic slave trade bringing slaves, enslaving prisoners of war, and skilled labour from India including Bengal, Coromandel and Malabar Coast, Ceylon, the Indonesian Archipelago including Java, Celebes and Makassar, and parts of Africa most significantly Madagascar. The VOC also exiled political and religious leaders (Orang Cayen/Men of Repute), nobility and rulers that resisted colonisation and banished them to the Cape. Some of the notables figures were the rulers of Sumatra Sheikh Abdurahman Matahe Sha and Sheikh Mahmood exiled in 1667, Abadin Tadia Tjoessoep known as Sheikh Yusuf of Macassar who was exiled to the Cape in 1694 with followers for resisting Dutch occupation in the Indonesian Archipelago, and Imam Abdullah ibn Abdus Salaam, a Prince from Tidore who was better known as Tuan Guru (Mahida, 1993). This movement of people established Islam at the Cape and its birthplace in South Africa. Davids (1980:31-48) notes that political prisoners were often highly educated Sheikhs who were initially isolated on the outskirts of the Cape and away from the general population to prevent their escape or influence. Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago was still in its relatively early stages; the Dutch also avoided Muslim strongholds to avoid costly wars that would be characterised as jihad. Davids (1980:41) derives that the Bengalese who were brought to the Cape were most likely to have propagated the religion in the beginning, having had a legacy of practice in their home country. In the eighteenth century, the latter part of the Cape Colony the VOC indirectly encouraged the spread of Islam because Christians had superior rights to Muslims, and slaves who were Muslim and of sober habit were preferred. In this period Said Aloewie of Mocca, Yemen (Tuan Said) and Imam Abdullah Kadi Abdus Salaam (Tuan Guru) consolidated the presence of Islam in the Cape after their incarceration. Tuan Said was brought to the Cape in 1744 and imprisoned on Robben Island for 12 years before his release to the Cape where he preached Islam to slaves. Tuan Guru, the Prince from Tidore, arrived in the Cape in 1780 as a state prisoner, he was imprisoned on Robben Island till 1793. While in prison, Tuan Guru completed a book on Islamic jurisprudence and a handwritten copy of the Quran from memory. Tuan Guru died at the age of 95 in 1807 after having established a Muslim school in Bo-Kaap, and lead and shaped the Muslim community in the Cape (Davids, 1980:45).

The vast migration of people to the Cape and their diversity allude to the basis of the Bo-Kaap community and the character of the first residential area in Cape Town. Shell (1994) estimates that between 1652 and 1808, a total of 63 000 slaves were bought to the Cape. Due to the complexity of records where slaves were brought both by the VOC Company and by wealthy free-burghers data had to be consolidated, and there are limitations. What can be derived from various data including Bradlow and Cairns (1978) is that Indian slaves were the majority, accounting for a quarter to a half, further Indonesians and Madagascans both ranging about 20%, and the remaining coming from Dutch African Colonies. It is important to note that pre-colonial India encompassed Pakistan and Bangladesh and further Myanmar during the British occupation. This migration of people for 150 years shaped the culture, customs, traditions, and cuisine of the Bo-Kaap and Muslim community in Cape Town. Some aspects are rooted in Islamic practice, but others are cultural practices that have been adopted. Common behavioural qualities are "adab" which is an Eastern philosophy of etiquette placing importance on respect and politeness. The tradition of "gadat" continues, this is a collection of prayers. It is alleged that these prayers are particularly melodious in the Cape compared to other parts of the world because slaves did not have the right to practice religion and therefore prayed in a melodious tune to disguise it as a song rather than supplication. It is also common to leave gatherings with food or treat parcel called a "barakat" this is a courtesy but also dates back to the slave age when food was taken back to slaves who could not attend gatherings. Other celebrations include the Islamic New Year, and the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed accompanied by "rampies-sny"; the cutting of orange leaves and then scenting it (Mountain, 2004). This tradition is unique to the Cape and Indonesian Muslim communities and is a cultural practice that has been infused with prayer. These and many other customs are still practised in the community of Bo-Kaap. In the over 250 years that the community has existed in the locality, they have retained a way of life.

The majority of residents have stayed there for generations. The ten mosques in the area are all active but to different degrees. The prominent mosques hold daily prayer and services, madrassah (Islamic school), and facilitate cultural and social activities. Some of the mosque and civic leaders are descents of the founders of the community and are active in preserving the heritage of Bo-Kaap. The community is close-knit

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with a great deal of social cohesion; neighbours are an extension of family and children play in the street. Bo-Kaap is the oldest residential area in the Cape and the only remaining non-white and working-class inclusive area in the inner-city. The community withstood forced removals during the Apartheid era but is now facing displacement by the forces of gentrification.

For many years the community engaged the City of Cape Town (CCT) in seeking solutions and policy changes. When these negotiations failed, the Bo-Kaap community resorted to protests and objections against high-rise building developments. The community took to the streets on 21 May 2018, burning tyres, and bringing traffic to a standstill in Wale Street. Intense protests continued for a week and thereafter reverted to more passive means. Residents expressed their anger because of increased gentrification in the area, for the CCT's lack of consideration of their culture and heritage, rising municipal rates, congestion, several high-density luxury building developments in progress and the sale of CCT land (grounds that were previously part of a maternity hospital) to developers (Booysen, 2018; Jones, 2018).

Donaldson, et al. (2012:186-187) identify processes that have contributed to this discontent; the neo-liberalisation of residential space around the city as a consequence of the Cape Town Partnership, a public-private initiative that is aligned to making Cape Town a global city and to attract investment. There has been a socio-economic ripple effect on Bo-Kaap because of its proximity to the city, which the community saw as a threat to their culture, heritage and existence in the area.

Existing research on Bo-Kaap has been mainly from the perspective of the growth of the real estate market and its effect on the area. This study aims to investigate residents' understanding of gentrification and its effect on their everyday life. The current research suggests that the area has not been completely gentrified, but the costs to residents to remain in the area and how circumstances have affected their everyday life remain unexplored.

These dynamics of gentrification will be explored in the case study of Bo-Kaap looking specifically at the manifestation of gentrification in the lives of residents and the impact on socio-spatial relations.

1.4 The landscape of Bo-Kaap

The landscape of Bo-Kaap is important to understand as gentrification has developed differently in the different sub-neighbourhoods of Bo-Kaap because of the distinct features. According to Fransen and Cook (1980:64) artisans, builders and craftsmen started to build homes in Bo-Kaap from 1750 onwards. During the 1800s, the white population moved increasingly to the south of the city and with the abolishment of slavery in 1834, free slaves began to settle in the area. Bo-Kaap further took on a distinctly Muslim character and became a establish community.

Historically the entire area can be divided into four parts: Malay Quarter, Schotsche Kloof, Stadzight and Schoone Kloof. Some boundaries of these parts of Bo-Kaap are unclear, but residents associated with a specific part (Davids, 1980:10).

The Malay Quarter is situated between Strand and Dorp Street on its east and west, and from Buitengracht to Chiappini Street from south to north. Houses in this part were constructed from 1750 – 1850 and were first occupied by the Malays in 1790. Before this, the forefathers of the people of Bo-Kaap lived around Long and Keerom Street, now what forms part of the commercial centre of Cape Town (Davids, 1980:11-12).

Schotsche Kloof is the official name given to "sub-economic" flats built 1938-1942 on an old VOC farm of the same name. The area is below Signal Hill and curves along the mountain. The City Council had intended to build 400 units, but construction was halted at 198 units when World War II prevented further capital outlay. A condition of occupation was that the tenant was "Muslim Malay"; this was through the insistence of Dr Abdullah Abduraghman, a prominent Muslim Cape Town Councillor in the 1920 – 1930s. Within Schotsche Kloof are a primary school which was initially a Muslim missionary school but has since come under State administration. There is also a community centre that is used for meetings and community gatherings (Davids, 1980:14-15).

Stadzight is the smallest of the four parts; it is a small area at the top of Longmarket Street and adjacent to the Schotsche Kloof flats. The area had been a farm operated by the VOC in the 17th and 18th centuries. The area became residential property from 1940 onwards, with about 16 dwellings. The majority of the land is held in a Trust

and forms part of a heritage site the Tana Baru. The Tana Baru is the burial site of the ancestors of the people of Bo-Kaap (Davids, 1980:16).

Schoone Kloof is the western part of Bo-Kaap. The houses were mainly constructed in the 1920s but many dates back much earlier. The area is also almost exclusively privately owned. Under the Group Areas Act, Bo-Kaap had been classified as a "Malay" area however due to the presence of St. Pauls Anglican Church, St. Pauls Primary and St. Monica's Maternity Home, Schoone Kloof was subsequently declared a "coloured" sub-area. The Christian community in Schoone Kloof was very small, with over 80% Muslim residences. Mainly Muslim children attended the Anglican school; the two communities had good relations. These four parts of Bo-Kaap are notable for their historical significance and development, but the community is largely a culturally cohesive group and affiliated with the entire area. The boundaries of Bo-Kaap have contracted and expanded as the city developed. Before 1900 Bo-Kaap extended well into what today is the CBD; the development of commerce pushed residences further towards the mountain (Davids, 1980:20-21).

Bo-Kaap architecture style consists mainly of small residential units with a mix of Cape Dutch and Georgian cottages. The area's colourful houses have become well known and are a major tourist attraction in Cape Town. Under Apartheid, the area was referred to as the Malay Quarter and reserved for mainly Muslim residents (Group Areas Act, 1950). The reasons for Bo-Kaap's preservation under Apartheid are not clear, some cite that the community provided a valuable source of artisan and manual labour, and others credit the preservation to Dr Izak David du Plessis, an academic, government official and advocate for separate development and the preservation of a Malay Quarter (Kotze, 2013:127). The area, therefore, has a unique set of characteristics within a white inner-city. For developers, the area has presented well-located real estate at a relatively lower price and businesses alike have taken advantage of the flexible zoning regulation and set up shop. The area is of great heritage, and tourist attraction and is utilised by the film industry because of the scenery.

1.5 Problem Statement, Research Questions and Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 Problem statement

Bo-Kaap is the only remaining inner-city Cape Town community of Colour that was not demolished during Apartheid or that has not been completely gentrified. The living heritage is embedded in the residents, who remain a cohesive community, whose families have resided in the area for over 250 years (Davids, 1980: xv-xvi). Amidst increasing threats of gentrification, an uprising occurred in May 2018 when residents took to the streets to protest against gentrification. In November 2018 residents further protested against the delivery of a crane to a high-rise building development in the area. Residents allege their existence and way of life are under threat in the historic area. The research seeks to understand the socio-spatial impact that gentrification has had on residents and the area. A qualitative approach is used to give expression to the human experience of residents in a period of the perceived increased threat of gentrification and social unrest.

1.5.2 Research questions

1. What is residents' understanding of gentrification?
2. How has gentrification manifested in the everyday lives of residents?
3. How has gentrification affected the socio-spatial relations of residents?

1.5.3 Objectives of the study

The specific objectives of the Bo-Kaap case study are to understand:

- Perspectives of gentrification; the understood meaning, context and causes
- How gentrification has manifested and affected residents' everyday lives
- The impact on cultural, religious performativity, aesthetic and non-visible elements
- The impact that gentrification has had on class and race relations
- How gentrification has impacted social and spatial relations and the production or contestation of space

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1.6 Chapter outline

Chapter 1 includes the introduction and provides background to the study. The research focus and its significance are contextualised. It also includes the aims and objectives.

Chapter 2 presents the relevant literature on gentrification. The discussion includes when it was first identified, and the neighbourhood, local and global perspectives of gentrification. The chapter also discusses the role of government.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework that informs the study. This includes Smith's production theory of gentrification and Lefebvre's theory of the production of space.

Chapter 4 outlines the research design and sampling methodology used in the study. A qualitative research approach was used to understand the phenomena. Data collection included observation, interviews, and focus groups.

Chapter 5 presents the discussion, findings and interpretation. The discussion focuses on residents' understanding of gentrification and the manifestation of gentrification in their everyday life.

Chapter 6 includes a brief outline, main findings and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Gentrification is an urban phenomenon first described in the countries of the Global North and later expanded to countries in the Global South. The effects of gentrification have produced economic, social and physical changes in many cities. These changes are often branded as regeneration; however, how they benefit existing residents is questionable. Changes in and the redevelopment of inner-city residential stock often result in class transformation and the displacement of poor, working-class residents and businesses. Redevelopment is not an organic process; rather, it is the result of collective action by business, financial institutions and the bourgeoisie, with government policies facilitating the advance of gentrification.

In cities that have become gentrified at a neighbourhood level, the poor and vulnerable residents experience the effects most starkly; space is being dominated by more privileged classes. Residents experience increasing housing insecurity, local services become out of sync with local needs, and increasingly there is an alienation of long-standing residents (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005:52).

Globally there are many challenges in trying to quantify gentrification; data collection on a household level is difficult as residents may no longer be contactable, the narrative of this by neighbours is often described as "they disappeared", and determining the main reason why residents moved is difficult. Available data in the United States using longitudinal studies however indicate the scale of the phenomenon. In research conducted by Sumka (1979) it was estimated that of the two million people in the United States being displaced annually it is estimated that 86% was due to market displacement from gentrification.

Gentrification and the increased financialisation of the housing market have altered the rental market. Other available statistics from the Joint Centre for Housing Studies of Harvard University estimated that the number of renter households increased by over 9 million in the United States after the Great Recession (Hyra, 2020:16). Institutional investors have expanded their residential stock including single-family

properties, and both mid-sized (5-24 units) and larger (200 plus units) multifamily properties (Maeckelbergh, 2012 in Hyra, 2020:17). The Joint Centre for Housing Studies of Harvard University (2020:2 in Hyra, 2020:17) reported that from 2012 to 2017, the number of units renting for $1000 or more increased by 5 million, while the number of low-cost rental units for under $600 fell by 3.1 million in the United States.

The global economy has facilitated the ease of mobility of capital across borders, neighbourhoods are seeing the influx of capital and not necessary the movement of new residents. Aalbers (2019:6) describes how transnational wealth elites and the middle class invest in residential real estate in tourist capitals and major global cities such as London and New York. These transnational wealth elites do not buy prime properties for use but rather use houses and apartments as a "safe deposit box"; a place to store capital. The impact of these kinds of investments is devastating for neighbourhoods and the urban fabric. The consequences include a disappearing sense of community, a lack of affordable housing stock, and a loss of local economic opportunities. This increases competition and pricing in every segment of the market. Globalisation and milder financial regulatory policies have facilitated gentrification, and its scale and geography have expanded significantly since its origins which will be discussed further.

This chapter provides a review of the literature on gentrification starting with a discussion of the context of gentrification, and further the initial identification of the phenomenon in post-World War II London. Section 2.3 discusses production theory including the return of capital to the city and rent gap. Section 2.4 discusses the consumption factors of gentrification. This involves the influence of individual consumer preferences and the demand for inner-city living that influences gentrification. Section 2.5 briefly discusses an alternate theory of gentrification; that gentrification is situated in the growth of the middle class resulting in replacement rather than displacement. Section 2.6 contextualises gentrification and the role of the State and policy. State urban strategies are seen as a partner in the gentrification process. Sections 2.7 and 2.8 discuss gentrification and its manifestation in South African cities. The introduction of Central Improvement Districts is discussed. Section 2.9 presents the effects of gentrification including displacement, the impact on locality and space and resistance. Section 2.10 introduces the case study of

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gentrification in Bo-Kaap, a neighbourhood above the Cape Town Central Business District.

2.2 The emergence of gentrification in inner-city London after the war

The term gentrification was coined by Ruth Glass in 1964. Glass (1964) defines gentrification as the process whereby working-class residential neighbourhoods were upgraded by middle-class homebuyers, developers and landlords. As a result of this investment, the original inhabitants could no longer afford to stay in the area and were replaced by a more affluent class. Thus, the established community was displaced and the social character of the area changed.

Glass's observations were based on the transformation of inner-city London from the late 1950s when working-class quarters were "invaded" by the middle class. She describes how run-down houses were transformed into elegant, pricey residences occupied by residents of a different socioeconomic class. Large Victorian lodging houses that had previously held multiple occupants were rehabilitated and subdivided into expensive flats. Glass makes two critical points about gentrified areas: First, the perceived social status and value of the new dwellings are enormously inflated relative to previous levels in the neighbourhood; and, second, that once gentrification starts in one district, it expands until most of the original working-class occupants are displaced and the social character of the district is altered (Glass, 1964). Building on Glass's initial conceptualisation, Butler (1997) discusses how pioneer gentrifiers used their educational capital and status as creatives, journalists, academics, architects, media and television executives to fashion a lifestyle. Pioneer gentrifiers created a new social character and identity owing to their lifestyle and interests as middle-class, left-leaning liberals residing in the inner-city that was neglected during the war as the place for the working class.

By the 1960s, as gentrifiers moved into Barnsbury, London, there was a shift from urban redevelopment to urban renewal. This meant that improvement in the inner-city became the work of the private sector (Williams, 1978 in Butler & Lees, 2006:473). The market had become favourable for redevelopment, with demand from the middle class and access to finance with building societies making funds available for inner-

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city property (Pitt, 1977 in Butler & Lees, 2006:473). Developers were buying up tenanted property, evicting and then reselling. The gentrification process was spurred on by two government policies: the 1957 Rent Act, which decontrolled unfurnished tenancies and led to evictions of working-class tenants, and the 1969 Housing Act, which facilitated conditions that favoured the middle class and developers (Butler & Lees, 2006:473).

Although Glass coined the term gentrification, the phenomenon had occurred before the period she studied; however, post-war circumstances in London created conditions favourable for gentrification and made the phenomenon stark. After Glass's initial description of gentrification, Neil Smith attempted to bring a contextual understanding of gentrification by identifying the production factors of gentrification, which are discussed next.

2.3 Production theory

The two main theories of gentrification are referred to as the production and consumption theories. The production theory, first set out by Smith, discusses the restructuring of urban space and the causes of gentrification. Smith posits that gentrification is produced through collective social action not grounded in individual consumer preferences (Smith, 1979:545-546). This section discusses the production theory of gentrification, including the return of capital to the city, the rent gap and the role of revanchist policy (Smith & Williams, 1986).

2.3.1 The return of capital to the city

With the deindustrialisation age, a broader definition of gentrification was needed, one that was not limited to the existing stock seen in 1950s London. Smith redefined gentrification as the reinvestment of capital in urban areas to produce space for more affluent people rather than existing occupants. This definition encompassed inner-city new developments to reimagine cities out of the industrial age. These developments were geared to higher income groups and typically included waterfront developments, hotels, complexes, retail and business districts (Smith & Williams, 1986:3).

Gentrification can, therefore, be said to be the investment of capital and the upgrading of urban space or the creation of newly developed affluent residential or commercial space, which often leads to the displacement of the established community and nearby residents who can no longer afford to live in the area. Smith's theory of gentrification focused on the reinvestment of capital in the inner-city as well as the context of gentrification, known as the production factors. Before Smith's theory, gentrification had mainly been observed and described. Smith's definition of gentrification is also expansive, it includes newly built stock like residential complexes and Waterfront developments. This broader understanding made it more relevant in the post-industrial age and the development of new spaces. Prior definitions, such as those by Glass (1964), limited gentrification to the redevelopment of existing inner-city stock.

For Smith, to explain gentrification according to consumer behaviour alone is limiting as it ignores the role of developers, builders, landlords, mortgage lenders, real estate agencies and the State, and their role in movement of capital. Theory must take into account the roles of producers as well as consumers. This approach indicates that the needs of production, in particular, to earn a profit, are more substantial drivers of gentrification than mere consumer preferences; production and consumption are interrelated, but the relationship is dominated by production. The preference for profit and sound financial investment is more decisive and foremost (Smith, 1979:540). Smith concludes that although middle- and upper-class housing has the capacity for intensive land use or preference, the driver for gentrification is profit and the flow of capital. Gentrification is, therefore, the flow of capital, rather than people, back to the city (Smith, 1979:546-7).

2.3.2 Rent gap

Prior to Smith, literature had focused on the contemporary process and effects of gentrification, focusing mainly on characteristic features such as the upgrading of urban space, the displacement of working-class residents and its replacement by an affluent class. Little attempt had been made to understand the causes and the historical explanation of gentrification (Smith, 1979:538). Smith's (1987) seminal work not only describes gentrification but also attempts to build a theory of its context; his rent gap theory analysed and examined the production factors of gentrification. Smith (1987:462) defined rent gap "as the gap between the actual

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capitalised ground rent (land value) of a plot of land given its present use and the potential ground rent that might be gleaned under a higher and better use." This will be discussed further in the theory section.

2.3.3 From revanchism to planetary revanchism

For Smith, there are set processes that make gentrification distinguishable: social change in a neighbourhood, new and more "moneyed" residents, physical change in the built environment or housing stock, and economic change due to substantial capital investments (Smith, 1987:463). Smith referred to the new residents as the revanchists, a term derived from the French "revanche" (meaning revenge) that was first used to describe certain residents of Paris in the late 19th century. After the defeat of Napoleon III's government, the socialist working-class movement, referred to as the Communards, seized control of Paris Commune for a few months. Bourgeois nationalists opposed the new government and, to restore what they perceived as the "social order", engaged in a campaign of militarism and moralism to reinstate their claim to the city. The revanchists hunted down the Communards with hatred and violence, intent on exacting revenge on those who had stolen the bourgeois order from French society (Slater, 2009 in Hutchison, 2010).

With reference to Glass's definition of gentrification, the initial revanchists were the middle and upper classes who progressively reclaimed the inner-city, the space of the working class. Smith further uses the term 'revanchist city' and compares the political landscapes of 19th century revanchist Paris, and late 20th century cities, and the zero-tolerance policing strategy and global expansion of the pseudoscientific "broken windows" and neoliberal policies (Smith, 2002, 2005). According to Smith (2002: 439):

> 1960s gentrification was a marginal oddity in the Islington housing market—a quaint urban sport of the hipper professional classes unafraid to rub shoulders with the unwashed masses—by the end of the twentieth century it had become a central goal of British urban policy. Whereas the key actors in Glass's story were assumed to be middle- and upper-middle-class immigrants to a neighbourhood, the agents of urban regeneration thirty-five years later are governmental, corporate, or corporate-governmental partnerships.

The scope of gentrification has shown a progression. Part of it has manifested because of the political shift from the liberal era of the 1960s during which the State bore some responsibility for ensuring a minimum level of daily life through redistributive policy (e.g., affirmative action and anti-poverty legislation) to an age of neoliberal revanchism (Slater, 2009 in Hutchison, 2010).

In New York, the neoliberal agenda dismantled the welfare state and villainised oppressed workers, minorities, feminists, environmentalists, gays and lesbians, immigrants, people of colour, the homeless, squatters, demonstrators and anyone else perceived to have "stolen" New York from the white middle class and contested the accepted social order. The subsequent era is one of reduced welfare and increased insecurity accompanied by an increase of victim blaming and violent anti-poor policy. Under Mayor Giuliani in the 1990s, New York City became an increasingly violent place with high levels of state violence perpetrated against minorities, the vulnerable and homeless. Giuliani's zero-tolerance policy sanitised the city of the homeless, sex workers, squatters, graffiti artists, and unruly youth, who were cast as enemies of public order and decency. These efforts sought to restore the social order of the revanchist city with the assertion that sanitising the landscape would open opportunity and reverse city decline. These policies facilitated the banishment or displacement to the urban periphery of persons and elements that were perceived to be not part of the civil society. Revanchism has become the cultural politics of neoliberalism (Smith, 1998). This culture and zero-tolerance policy has been exported to many global cities despite their pseudoscientific grounding, including the City of Cape Town (see Figure 2.1 below). Gentrification has increasingly become systematised with rapidly expanding scale and diversity, as opposed to its relatively modular emergence in the 1960s (Smith, 2002).
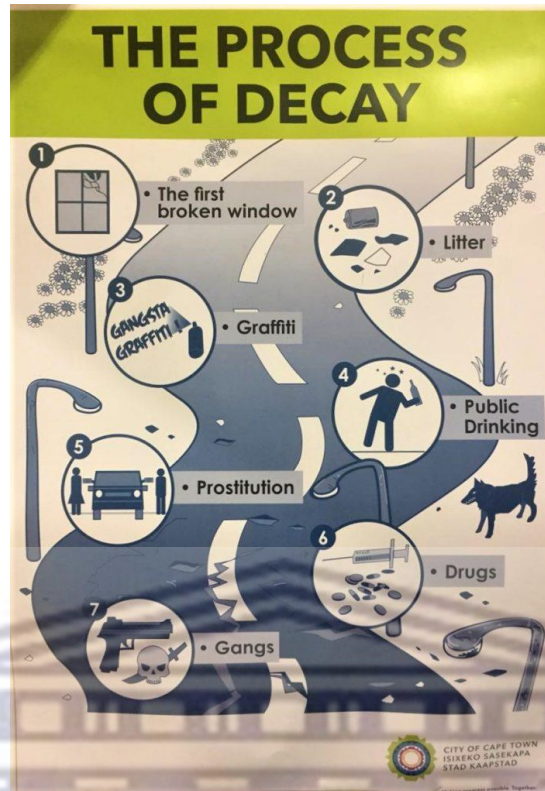
Figure 2.1 The process of decay poster (City of Cape Town, 2018)

The sections above highlighted the production factors associated with gentrification, including the rent gap and the role of the State. How gentrification manifests, including the aesthetic of a community, can be examined through consumer preferences. The next section focuses on these consumption factors of gentrification, also known as demand factors.

2.4 Consumption theory

Individual consumer preferences are referred to as the consumption factors of gentrification. The consumption theory of gentrification considers people's preference as paramount to gentrification. The view suggests that a demand for inner-city living space is a prerequisite to gentrification (Visser, 2003:86). Changes in middle-class consumer preferences, discussed below, are pivotal in this theory.

Theory focusing on production factors like rent gap, however, was not able to adequately explain gentrification in many cities. For instance, David Ley (1986) argues that rent gap theory had limited application to gentrification in the Canadian

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cities of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. His study suggests the importance of the value of urban amenities (a preference for an urban rather than a suburban lifestyle) and a changing economic base. Ley posits that gentrifiers prefer big cities, the availability of a pleasing landscape aesthetic, recreational and cultural activities, as well as job opportunities and higher salaries. Ley emphasizes alternate consumer preferences and points out that it is not accidental that counterculture lifestyles, including activists and artists, are often associated with the early stages of gentrification. In this formulation, cities are vectors that provide attractions, amenities, density and heterogeneity to which gentrifiers are drawn. A changing economic base refers to the post-industrial metropolitan economy, which is more orientated to services and requires more white-collar workers. Moreover, Ley found a strong correlation in his studies between gentrification and office space per capita (Ley, 1986:524-529).

Similarly, Lipton's (1977) study, although focused on city revival, found a high positive correlation between the density of city office space and high- and upper-middle-income families but a negative correlation with the presence of blue-collar workers. Lipton notes that the development of office space in a Central Business District (CBD) attracts white-collar workers. This, in turn, pushes manufacturing to the urban fringe. The city's centrality, increasing cost and possible inconvenience of public transport, therefore, detract from the appeal of suburbia for more affluent persons.

These changes in middle-class and upper-class consumer preferences and movement to the inner-city are contested by the impact of urban renewal projects. Ley is of the view that urban renewal does displace lower-income earners and endorse luxury-housing units, but ultimately high-income earners exercise their choice to live in the inner-city as opposed to suburbia. Ley acknowledges that there are vested groups that act and mobilise politically and economically to support their investment in the city and influence the housing industry. Research indicates support for this theory of gentrification: cities with administrative CBDs, without an industrial sector, and with a significant commute from the suburbs to the city were more likely to have a middle- and upper-class population near the city centre. These preferences also result from shifts away from the traditional family structure and lifestyle, which include

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decreasing family size, households with no children, single occupancy due to lifestyle choices, and households having less time to attend to domestic chores or home maintenance (Lipton, 1977:136, 146-147).

The consumption or demand-driven theory of gentrification often cites Smith's lack of empirical research. Clark (1988) attempts to address this through six case studies in Malmö, Sweden. Clark's research, which supported the fundamental elements of Smith's rent gap theory, goes on to provide some context for gentrification in the form of the financialisation of the built environment, in which housing has become a commodity. Rent and rent-seeking behaviour are central and orientated toward profit or exchange value rather than social value in an age of privatisation and neoliberal policy-making and implementation.

Apart from the production and consumption theories of gentrification, there is an alternate view that gentrification is a result of socio-economic progression. This is briefly discussed below.

2.5 The rise of the middle-class professionals: replacement not displacement

In contrast to Marxist theorists who focus on issues of the structure of land and its use, rent gap and the flow of capital driven by the ruling class (Smith, 1987), Hamnett (2003) examines gentrification and the establishment of the middle class within the context of the transition to the post-industrial era. He argues that gentrification is a process situated, not in displacement, but rather in replacement as a result of the economic progression and social mobility of a growing middle class (Hamnett, 2003:2402).

This argument draws parallels to Ley's theory (1986) of gentrification regarding the changing economic base. Hamnett (2003:2402-2403) argues that gentrification is concentrated in cities that have had a stark transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy, in localities where middle-class workers have expanded and where there is existing inner-city housing stock that can be transformed. Neil Smith (1979:546-547) acknowledges the role and dynamic of societal changes and individual gentrifiers. According to Smith, however, these dynamics are second to the

predominance of the collective action, support and co-ordination of financial institutions and government policy. The below section discusses the role of government and economic policy.

2.6 Government policy and the financial environment

The role of government is significant within the context of this research; government is able to facilitate favourable or unfavourable conditions for gentrification, such as providing relief to residents with appropriate policy e.g. exemption from inflated property tax. In the post-industrial age, government's role has increasingly focused on attracting investment and facilitating business and infrastructure. There is a movement away from providing services toward privatising or outsourcing these services to the private sector. Government is facilitating local economic development by granting developers investment incentives like tax rebates and property rezoning. These conditions have made business more profitable and enabled developers to move capital toward real estate which creates the conditions for gentrification.

Clark (2015:5-14) discusses an additional element that can provide context to gentrification: financial innovations. Driven by technological advancements and globalisation in the financial environment, the growth of large financial institutional investors and real estate investment trusts (REITs) has led to the built environment becoming a typical component of investment portfolios. Immovable assets have consequently increased in liquidity. Previously, fixed assets like property that require significant capital investment were limited to buyer-and-seller transactions. This typically would be subject to a local financial institution like a bank determining the asset's market value and risk assessment before granting capital. With globalisation and equity trusts increasingly investing in real estate, purchasing a residential property now becomes a divisible share. Furthermore, neoliberal policies adopted in the post-industrial age have interlinked local real estate markets and global urban strategies. These will be discussed in more detail below.

2.6.1 Gentrification and the changing role of government

The dominant theories of gentrification are based on experiences in North American and European cities. Although, as discussed above, gentrification occurred before Ruth Glass coined the term in 1964, the construct of the terms has been shaped by manifestations in those geographic regions. Glass's (1964) definition meticulously examines the gentrification of inner-city London during the initial stages of deindustrialisation. Neil Smith's Marxist-centred explanation of gentrification is constructed mainly through the perspective of American cities.

The emergence of gentrification theory has parallels to the work of activist Jane Jacobs (1961) as set out in her book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Jacobs was part of a movement to resist public works developments conceptualised by New York City official, Robert Moses, who envisioned a modernist New York that entailed creating a megacity with linking highway infrastructure. This approach to city planning went on to influence other American cities in their composition and structure. Moses' expansive urban renewal projects cut across communities and overemphasized motor vehicle transport with imposing highway structures, drawing criticism between 1930 and the 1960s (Caro, 1975; Berman, 1982). Further, in the 1970s, the United States Congress introduced building rehabilitation tax credits and rezoning programmes. These factors made renovating industrial buildings and rundown downtown housing increasingly attractive to developers, illustrating how government action can create favourable conditions for real estate to thrive, and in some instances make communities more vulnerable to gentrification. Government policy impacts how land is utilised and its potential for profit. Policy orientated toward economic revitalisation, tax incentives and building preservation schemes result in capital influx and increased socioeconomic status of an area. This increased status can progressively exclude lower-income residents and attract high-income households (McCabe & Ellen, 2016:143-144).

In the United States, a significant amount of academic examination of gentrification has been on Brooklyn in the 1990s. Historically home to lower-income and minority communities, Brooklyn has gone through waves of gentrification. The area's proximity to the New York Stock Exchange, a commercial hub and premium real

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estate like Manhattan have made the land increasingly attractive to investors. Loretta Lees (2003), describing the intensive "third wave" of gentrification that took place in Brooklyn Heights in the 1990s, went so far as to refer to what occurred as "super-gentrification." A similar process has been seen in other major global cities like London, which has become the site of intense investment and repeat gentrification; the land has become a resting place for the accumulated capital of a global elite. However, gentrification is no longer limited to cities; it is now also occurring in suburban and rural sites. Lees (2003:2490) describes how gentrification is taking place in different sites and taking diverse forms. Although the scale and form have become more diverse, gentrification continues to occur on an individual level; moreover, developers, facilitated by friendly government policy, have gone beyond residential stock with varied use of land and commercial space redevelopment.

2.6.2 Global urban strategies

Harvey's (1989:7-8) paper, *From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism*, outlines the changing nature of urban governance. Harvey discusses that in earlier decades, urban governance was focused on the provision of services, but that this focus has shifted toward enabling local economic development. For Harvey, three aspects have made this transformation explicit: first, private-public partnerships to attract local investment; second, a speculative approach encouraged by these partnerships rather than the planning and co-ordinated development required in governance; and third, a focus on the political economy of place or specific projects rather than addressing problems in the overall jurisdiction, thus diverting attention, concern, and resources from the wider region.

Further, Charlotte Lemanski (2007) directly links gentrification to economic policy, viewing gentrification as a by-product of neoliberalism and the creation of global cities. In this regard, Lemanski (2007:450) states:

> In a city that is being marketed (often by both external agents, domestic municipal and business leaders) as a key global player, the goal of urban regeneration is often not urban revival per se, but undertaking whatever is necessary to attract investment.

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This results in the polarisation of the workforce and the urban landscape. Smith (2002, in Lees et al., 2008:163) also examined the relationship between globalisation, neoliberalism and gentrification. Increasingly the State, directly or indirectly, facilitates gentrification through city "regeneration", tax incentives and weakening zoning regulations to encourage investment. Smith (1996) argues that gentrification has become a global urban strategy interlinked with the neoliberal agenda and the changing role of the State.

Harvey (1989) describes how the State focuses on the political economy of place rather than addressing substantial social issues and focused on specific objectives or needs of a class. In gentrified communities, this often is a creative or bourgeois class and the centring of commerce opportunity, environment, and lifestyle to orientate their ventures. According to Smith (cited in Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008:163), gentrification has become a global urban strategy and can be seen as a by-product of neoliberalism and the creation of global cities. Increasingly the state facilitates gentrification through limited regulation (e.g., zoning to encourage foremost investment and real estate development, public-private partnerships).

What the literature seems to indicate is that for gentrification to take place, there is an interplay between the government and those who have accumulated and transact capital. This can take the shape of tax incentives for developers, business-friendly policy, including projecting a city as a global destination or adopting methods like breaking windows theory or Central Improvement District to alter space and attract investment. Often the context is a movement from industrial to service industry with preferential land use. The State has an active role by granting wider zoning rights or ending rent control.

2.7 Gentrification in South African cities

In South African gentrification has two distinct phases. The first phase from the 1950s – 1980s can be described as classical gentrification. During this phase gentrification was driven by consumption factors, with middle-class residents renovating their dilapidated stock to increase the value of the property, or purchasing properties in

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lower-income areas, resulting in the displacement of working-class people (Monare, Kotzé, & McKay, 2014:S111). This phase is linked to the desegregation of cities in South Africa; under apartheid racial groups where restricted to residing in specific areas. Middle-class whites purchased properties leading to the displacement of working-class communities in historically coloured areas such as Woodstock (Garside, 1993 in Monare, Kotzé, & McKay, 2014:S111). The second phase of gentrification in South Africa started in 1994 with the demise of Apartheid. State-led gentrification was a means to combat the inner-city decline. Government created public-private partnerships and other favourable terms for business. The context opened opportunities for business to make good returns from property investment. (Monare, Kotzé, & McKay, 2014:S111).

Visser and Kotze (2008:2568-2570) describe the emergence of gentrification in South Africa during the 1990s and its advancement in the 2000s after a three-decade period of inner-city decline in most major cities in South Africa. Beginning in the 1960s, major cities had undergone decentralisation, capital outflow and "white flight", which led to urban development moving to the cities' peripheries. In Cape Town and Johannesburg significant business and residential development grew to the south of the city. The devaluation and disinvestment in the inner-city during this lengthy period created opportunity and conditions suitable for gentrification. The cause of gentrification in the 1990s could, therefore, be attributed to the rent-gap thesis of the production theory, but research also indicated a changing of preference and the growth of a new middle class, highlighting aspects of the consumer theory.

More rapid gentrification occurred in the 2000s as the South African government sought to promote economic development and social transformation, with a focus on major cities (Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban) and attempted to create globally competitive cities (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2573). McDonald and Smith (2004), Miraftab (2007) and Lemanski (2007) discuss the adoption and impact of neoliberal policies, which are preferred by local government to become globally competitive but often are at disjuncture with domestic needs and the need for economic redistribution in post-Apartheid South Africa.

In Cape Town, gentrification in the 2000s is difficult to unbundle from City-led policies like urban development and revitalisation, where neoliberal macro frameworks interlinked the city to global networks of capital flow. From 1999 to 2007, an estimated R14 billion in private funds was invested in the Cape Town City Centre (Pirie, 2007:127). The city centre only makes up about 1% (an area no larger than 4 km^2) of the metropolitan area, evidencing intense and highly capitalised investment in a small space. Government support for CBD regeneration and tax incentives for construction and improving building stock resulted in an increasing proportion of metropolitan domestic space in central Cape Town (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2577).

One of the most significant redevelopments and the first office-to-luxury apartment conversion was Mutual Heights (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2577). The iconic Art Deco-style building, completed in 1939, housed the headquarters of a major insurance and financial institution in the heart of the city (Jacobs, 2003). The conversion marked a change in the trajectory of the city centre. After its completion in 2005, over 40 office towers were converted to high-end residential use, many funded by multinational companies (Pirie, 2007:135). Local government facilitated favourable policies like zoning and tax deductions for these conversions and building developments. The return of capital to the inner-city created a need for new services and products for the new residents contributed to emergent displacement pressures for existing residents and businesses and increased competition for inner-city space.

Gentrification in Cape Town in the 2000s was expansive in its features and better defined by elements of second and third-wave gentrification, during which gentrification results not only from changes in existing stock but also from new building developments designed for a more affluent class. In this regard, Davidson and Lees (2005) argue that gentrification is expressed in the development of newly built stock, building use conversions involving massive capital investment, a changing of the landscape, upgrading, and both direct and indirect displacement. Indirect displacement being the result of the gentrification occurring in surrounding areas and having a knock-on effect which leads to reduced supply of affordable housing for the existing community and lower income persons.

In Cape Town, similar to other major South African cities, neoliberal localisation included the marketing of Cape Town as a global city and linking it to global flows of capital. This strategy is not just the facilitation of a free market system but is embedded in local governmental policy manifested in the growing use of public-private partnerships (Miraftab, 2007). The most significant partnership in Cape Town, with crucial oversight in the city centre, was the Cape Town Partnership (CTP) which comprised of members from the City of Cape Town, Cape Metropolitan Council, Property Owners Association, private businesses, and their representative organisation (Visser & Kotze, 2008). Miraftab (2007:603) argues that the urban development strategy (e.g., the CID) overseen by the CTP perpetuates Apartheid spatial planning by restructuring urban space to serve the interests of business and integrating the city into the global economy at the expense of spatial integration.

Miraftab (2007:608) further says that the CTP and CIDs' spatial practices and regulations, including regulating the uses and users of public space; limiting or prohibiting informal traders; removing homeless people; introducing paid street parking in the city; and granting building tax incentives and weakening zoning regulations to encourage investment have sanitised the inner-city to attract global capital and tourism. Increasingly, the homeless, the poor, and informal traders have no space in the inner-city (Miraftab, 2007:608-610). The City also sought to regulate parking in the inner-city by appointing a contractor (i.e., outsourcing a government function) that oversees parking attendants and require users to pay for parking per hour. Parking, prior to its outsourcing, was free in the inner-city and the homeless and an informal network of "car guards" would assist drivers seeking parking, protect the vehicle and request a donation.

The next section further discusses Central improvement Districts (CIDs), which are public-private partnerships facilitated by local government. They are commonly used in global cities and often in cities facing gentrification. CIDs are relevant to this case study as Bo-Kaap is located just above the city centre where the first CID in Cape Town was introduced and its focus on multinational real estate developments has direct consequences for the neighbourhood. Although Bo-Kaap was not within the area covered by this CID, Glass's (1964) analysis of gentrification of inner-city

London points out the effects of gentrification on neighbourhoods adjacent to gentrified areas.

2.8 Central Improvement Districts (CIDs)

CIDs became popular in the mid-1980s in New York under Mayor Giuliani as a strategy of local economic development and "revitalisation". In CIDs, payers of municipal rates (taxes) in a specific zone pay an extra levy (13% of their property rates) to receive more and better services, such as security, cleaning and marketing (Miraftab, 2007:605). The CID aims to retain business and encourage investment. For a zone to become a CID, 51% of property owners must vote to participate, whereupon the levy becomes mandatory for all ratepayers in the area (Miraftab, 2007: 605). CIDs are managed by non-profit organisations that partner with local government and business. They oversee services for both municipal and private subcontractors within the CID.

CIDs are a relatively new phenomenon in South Africa. After the country's first democratic election in 1994, the economic framework of President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela's term, the economics framework was encapsulated in the social democratic Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP). Under the Mbeki administration, South Africa abandoned the RDP and adopted neoliberal inspired Growth Employment and Reconstruction Programme or GEAR (Thompson & Berat, 2014; Karriem & Hoskins, 2016). GEAR was influenced by neoliberal policy, which entailed liberalising international trade, privatisation, and integration into the global economy. Government spending was rationalised, and reduced funding from the national government had many implications for municipal governments, municipalities would have to restructure and unify the municipal tax base to collect revenue. Municipal services were restructured to recover costs; local government had to adopt market-based strategies. The use of outsourcing and public-private partnerships for infrastructure and services increased. The municipality worked toward increasing revenue and income, by widening its tax base and making the Cape Town Central Business District more attractive to business, investment and lucrative consumption. In 1999, the City of Cape Town adopted the Central Improvement Districts (CIDs) policy to generate income through real estate development and tourism and with the

prospects of job creation (Miraftab, 2007:604). South Africa is the most unequal country in the world when measured by Gini coefficient or measure of income inequality (OECD, 2017). The challenges of poverty, homelessness and unemployment are stark. Income disparity is polarised in South Africa, and urban and commercial spaces, therefore, must present an opportunity for the poor. Since 1999, however, the CIDs have increased to more than 20 zones (City Improvement, 2019), and these measures of regulation have been popularised.

CIDs are managed by non-profit organisations and partner with local government and business; they oversee services for both municipal and private subcontractors within CIDs. The Cape Town Partnership (CTP) was the managing organisation for the Cape Town Central Business District; the CTP Board of Directors included members from the private and public sectors. Funding was drawn from the Cape Metropolitan Council, business and ratepayers in the City of Cape Town. CTP was active in promoting by-laws in the City that relate to the use of public space, regulation of informal trading, parking attendants, homeless people and people begging for money. In 2015, the City adopted a municipal planning by-law as prescribed by the national Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA). The by-law gave local government the power to determine and assign land use, spatial planning and development (City of Cape Town, 2015). The increased regulation has undoubtedly changed the aesthetic and landscape of the city but questions remain as to whether there was real development and revitalisation or if it has merely sanitised the city and displaced the socio-economic challenges that the city needs to address (Miraftab, 2007:605).

The partnership between the City of Cape Town and the CTP was criticised because of the authority given to the CTP and its foremost orientation toward business and landowner needs, with limited focus on responsibility, the right to the city, inclusivity and opportunity for the public. Seemingly CTP's initial objective was to create a "world-class city" (Miraftab, 2007:606). In attempting to craft this "world-class city" the City of Cape Town has attempted to make the city globally competitive by facilitating business for multinational firms and investment.

Measures taken to ensure a global city include CTP's discursive and spatial practices. Discursive practices include attracting business and investment in an "exclusive" Cape Town, and the development of multinational real estate companies that promote London lifestyle in secure apartments in Cape Town. These real estate developments are marketed as enclaves for the privileged. Spatial practices involve creating an image of a world-class city and making Cape Town a desirable destination for tourism and global capital. These regulatory practises are described by local residents as creating poor-free zones and are subject to much tension and discussion of the right to the city (Miraftab, 2007). The most prominent of these practises has been regulating the use and users of public space in the city centre and who is allowed access, including the right to access markets. The City of Cape Town has removed or regulated informal street trade, seeking to project an image of a highly orderly city that is appealing to investors and appeasing retailers. This has meant that informal traders must apply for trading permits or trade in markets under private management, creating an environment that is biased toward formal business and exclusionary toward informal traders. Informal traders continue to resist by unionising, asserting their right to the city, urban citizenship, right to trade in the city and to participate in policy drafting. Rosheeda Muller, the chairperson for the Grand Parade United Trade Association, alleges that informal trade is alleviating unemployment and allowing access to market for the economically vulnerable (Miraftab, 2007:608-609). For the poor, the majority of whom are people of colour this is an on-going resistance. South African urban centres have always been a place of violence for people of colour from colonialism to Apartheid policy, all aimed at dispossession and exclusion of people of colour from the inner-city. These practises have gentrified small business from the city; many city residents are now unable to trade in the city because they cannot compete for space on the same scale as a multinational company.

The second notable strategy CTP uses is to "sanitise" public space, which includes regulating parking attendants, street children and the homeless. The CTP tendered a company to recruit and manage official parking attendants, this had prior been a means of income for informal parking attendants, persons with limited economic opportunity. Street dwellers young and old are also discouraged from loitering in the city and are rather taken to NGOs and shelters outside of the city. Thirdly, the city has an excess of surveillance. This includes 24-hour circuit surveillance cameras, private

security on foot and bicycles, and municipal and national police force presence. (Miraftab, 2007: 608-611). However contentious and contested the CID, it accumulated investment of R8.2 billion within three years of its inception (Sunday Argus in Miraftab, 2007:611). This kind of revenue drives the City and policy to continue to orientate the City to protect it as an elite enclave. The adoption of neoliberal policy in the post-Apartheid era through the restructuring of the state and liberalisation of the economy has perpetuated the legacy of spatial inequality, limiting access to the city and the ability to build a livelihood. The City's vision to become a world-class city has a direct effect on the areas surrounding the city centre, most notably for this research, the neighbourhood of Bo-Kaap.

In a suburb close to Bo-Kaap, research suggests a direct link between CIDs and gentrification. A study conducted by Cattell, Michell, Bowen, & Florence (2010) in Claremont, a Cape Town suburb with a major commercial hub, found that gentrification had been significantly influenced by the work done by the CID. The study found that there had been an influx of relatively wealthier residents into the area since the establishment of the CID, increases in property values, rentals and municipal rates, an increase in conversion from residential units to business units in recent years, and residents had reported a change in the social character of the area. The study concluded that CID has had a significant influence in bringing about gentrification in Claremont.

CIDs effectively hand over the governance of public urban spaces to private enterprise, with the frequent consequence of limitation and exclusion of vulnerable persons from these spaces. In Gamlestaden, Sweden, similarly a Business Improvement District (BID) model was introduced to drive urban regeneration, Valli & Hammami (2021) reported growing socio-spatial polarisation, the removal of the most socioeconomically vulnerable residents and the disciplining of residents' and businesses' behaviours and aesthetics. The study highlights the risk that a BID simply moves social problems rather than improving or solving them and that the neoliberal approach can lead to new landscapes of exclusion.

The above has discussed the theoretical background of gentrification and the role of government and the financial environment. The effects of gentrification on a social,

neighbourhood and personal level will be discussed below including dispossession, displacement, the impact on the neighbourhood, persons and the social space of gentrification, and resistance.

2.9 Dispossession and displacement

The South African landscape and the formation of cities cannot be looked at in isolation from its historical past. The colonial era and apartheid shaped the landscape and, later, urban formation in South Africa (Smith, 1992). The historical dispossession of land started in the 1600s with the arrival and expansion of territory by Dutch colonial settlers. The social order was characterised by aggressive colonial expansion, land dispossession and forced labour (Ngcukaitobi, 2018).

A series of laws were promulgated to legitimate the conquest of land. The first half of the 1900s saw three significant Acts: the 1913 Natives Land Act, the 1936 Native Land and Trust Act, and the 1950 Group Areas Act. The Natives Land Act declared that 7% of the total land of South Africa was to be apportioned as reserves for black people. Even though the black population was significantly more than 70% of the total population, the majority of the land was allocated to white people. The Native Land and Trust Act enlarged the reserved land allocated to black people to about 13% of the total. Under Apartheid, these two Acts were designed to create so-called "homelands" for blacks, also referred to as Bantustans. A Bantustan was a self-governing area reserved for a specific indigenous ethnic group. Bantustans were intended to function as independent States for black people; they were aimed at preventing black people from living in the urban areas of South Africa and excluding them from the South African political system (South African History Online, 2016a).

The 1950 Group Areas Act regulated land usage in "white territory" by assigning racial groups (including white, black, coloured and Indian) to different residential and commercial urban areas. The regulation of black people in the city by the Group Areas Act (1950) complemented apartheid spatial planning and an internal passport or a pass referred to as a *dompas* to control movement. The Act resulted in mass forced removals, pushing millions of people of colour to the outskirts of the city to "black

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spots" as an attempt to exclude and regulate people of colour in areas reserved for white people (Clark, 2014:22).

The South African urban landscape is therefore distinct from cities in other countries, starting with dispossession under colonialism and continuing with the creation of the Apartheid city. Black people were systematically displaced, could not reside in the city centre and were forced to live in townships on the outskirts of the city or remain in Bantustans. The engineering of the Apartheid regime was so successful that it proves that city planning can impact and shape society. The city has always been a hostile place for black South Africans whose role was to serve as cheap labour and then return to the townships, Provoost (2014) captures the power of planning processes when he says, "in Cape Town, apartheid is set in stone and poured in concrete." This infrastructure continues to plague black South Africans; even in post-Apartheid, South Africa's town planning laws limit the movement of people in Cape Town, and communities on either side of major roads often have little or no interaction. Spatial planning infrastructure has had a direct impact on social behaviour, access to resources, and economic opportunities.

Further urbanisation of blacks can be linked to rural dispossession (David M. Smith, 1992:22). According to Khan and Karak (2018:307), "capitalist urbanisation has two dialectically interrelated dimensions: development and dispossession". Their research suggests that the urbanisation process is linked to class conflict and the marginalisation and oppression of disadvantaged groups in postcolonial capitalist societies. History would, therefore, indicate a bleak existence for many blacks in South African cities, one of being policed or displaced on the urban fringe.
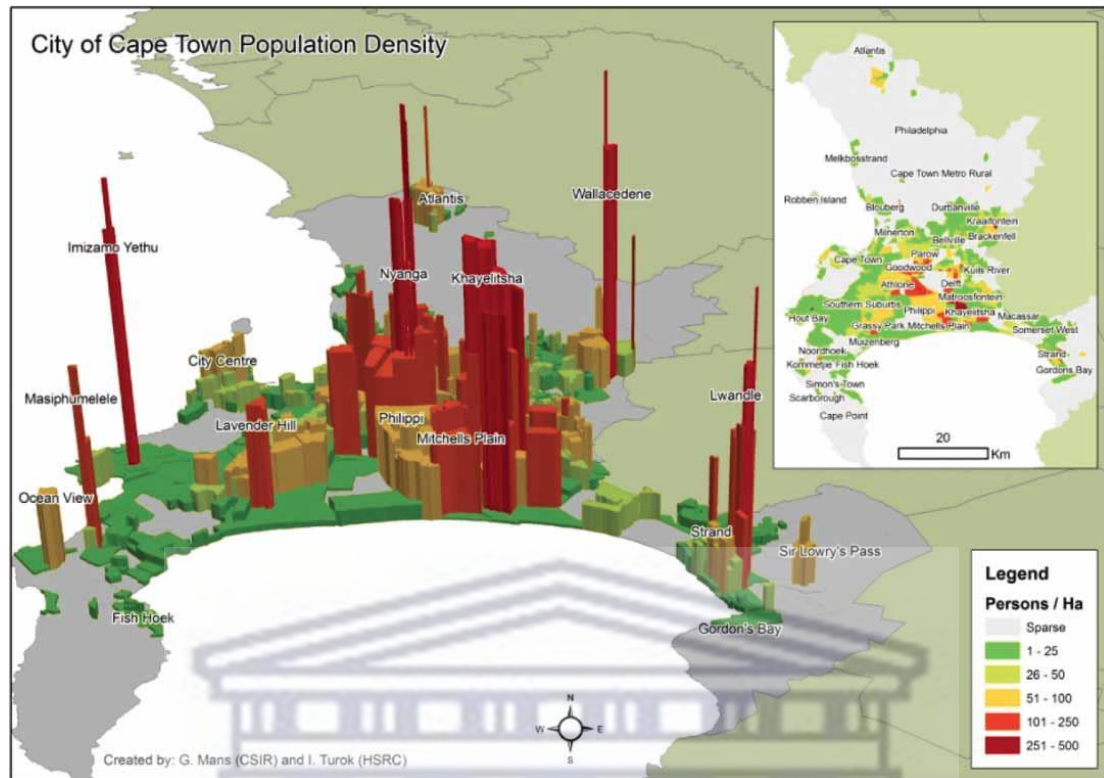
Figure 2.2 City of Cape Town population density (SACN, 2011)

The exclusion of people of colour from the city centre is evident by the inverted density pattern in Cape Town, where high density exists on the outskirts of the city in coloured and black communities such as Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Imizano Yethu, Wallacedene, and Mitchells Plain (Figure 2.2 above). Bo-Kaap, therefore, presents a unique community in Cape Town, with settlement taking place in the area from the 1700s and having not been demolished like other areas of colour in the inner-city. There is, however, some irony in that under apartheid separate development policy, the area was preserved as the Malay Quarter, but in the new democratic area, the community is facing displacement through market forces and public policies. Grier and Grier (1978, in Marcuse, 1985) define the phenomenon as:

> [D]isplacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and that: 1) are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occur despite the household's having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and 3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable.

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The stereotypical displaced person is one affected by a natural disaster or war who has to leave a home because of instability or safety. Although the situation seems in contrast to gentrification, Smith (2005:9) draws parallels between the war on terrorism and revanchism:

> Anti-terrorism, which had always been a convenient mobilizing device for revanchist politics, quickly became the grammar, indeed the modus vivendi, of politics at all scales from the global to the personal. Terrorism of the incidental sort – suicide bombers, hijackers, non-suicide bombers, and the like – has been superseded by an omnipresent blanket of anti-terrorist moralism, thinly camouflaging quests for advantage, power and control – an effort at the endgame of globalization.

Smith (2005) notes that the same companies - Halliburton and Bechtel - who were commissioned to reconstruct war-torn cities like Baghdad have also been commissioned for the post-Katrina reconstruction of New Orleans. The regeneration has resulted in the large-scale displacement of the historically black community.

Research suggests that gentrification leads to displacement; working-class and minority residents are priced out of a gentrified area over time (Smith, 1996; Wyly & Hammel, 2004). Lees, Shin and López-Morales (2015) assert that displacement is at the core or fundamental essence of gentrification. The process involves the forced disenfranchisement of the poor and working class from spaces where they have a legitimate historical, cultural and social claim. These spaces are then transformed for a more affluent class. The extent of displacement is challenging to measure, even in spaces that have been renovated and altered in which a change in character and demographic is evident. It is difficult to measure residents who have left a place of research. The absence of sufficient quantitative data from gentrification occurring in the 1990s means that policy to address displacement has been absent.

There has also been an argument for an alternate theory of gentrification. In London from 1961 to 2001, where gentrification occurred rapidly, Hamnett (2003) reasserts the theory of professionalization, that the change has been one of gradual occupation,

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class structure and replacement rather than displacement. However, longitudinal studies finding evidence of gentrification-induced displacement (Lyons, 1996; Atkinson, 2000 in Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008) have challenged this theory and suggest that replacement represents the scale of displacement in that a whole occupational class can be removed from the inner-city.

Atkinson and Bridge (2005:5) present the negative and positive neighbourhood impacts of gentrification, with displacement featuring heavily in the negative impacts, showing how displacement is central to the gentrification process and experience (Figure 2.3).

Positive	Negative
	Displacement through rent/price increases
	Secondary psychological costs of displacement
Stabilisation of declining areas	Community resentment and conflict
Increased property values	Loss of affordable housing
	Unsustainable speculative property price increases
Reduced vacancy rates	Homelessness
Increased local fiscal revenues	Greater take of local spending through lobbying/articulacy
Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Increased cost and changes to local services
	Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas
Increased social mix	Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos)
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Under-occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas

Figure 2.3 Summary of neighbourhood impact of gentrification

(Atkinson & Bridge, 2005:5)

In the United States, gentrification is often framed as urban regeneration through the partnership of the State, private and institutional actors but facilitates insecurity among poor and working-class black people. The process favours the affluent at the expense of great physical, psychological, cultural, and political trauma for those

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forcefully removed or facing housing insecurity. Gentrification can thus be seen as structural violence. Structurally embedded race and class inequalities produce violence in the form of deprivation of basic human needs of shelter and housing and protection of displacement (Johnson, 2011 in Feldman, Geisler, & Menon, 2011). Gentrification ultimately prioritises capitalist reproduction over social reproduction and human needs; this has become increasingly expansive as gentrification becomes a global urban strategy (Smith, 2002). A study on displacement and gentrification conducted in seven New York City neighbourhoods found that in 2002 about 225,000 renting residents with low incomes had moved at least once due to cost pressures. About 43% report that they had been pressured and displaced by a landlord or government seeking higher rent (Newman & Wyly, 2005 in Feldman et al., 2011:94). In two areas with large black communities, namely Brooklyn and Harlem, residents were displaced significant distances, to New Jersey, upstate New York, or cities in the south such as Atlanta. Some residents moved in with family, into shelters, or onto the street. Further, those who endure the hardship of displacement are typically invisible from the data. The remaining residents are left vulnerable; questions are also raised about the political voice and impact on voting with a significant change in demographics (Newman & Wyly, 2005 in Feldman et al., 2011:94).

2.9.1 The death of the neighbourhood

Gentrification is described by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) as "a housing, economic, and health issue that affects a community's history and culture and reduces social capital". The consequences linked to gentrified communities include higher incidence of injuries, violence and crime, mental and physical health, and social and environmental justice issues (Johnson, 2011 in Feldman, et al., 2011:93). The term social capital was first coined by urban theorist Jane Jacobs, who described it as "a continuity of people who have forged neighbourhood networks" (Jacobs, 1961:138). The process is a gradual accumulation that creates a cohesive community. Jacobs, who campaigned against large-scale developments that compartmentalised lives into spaces for home, work, shopping and entertainment, stressed the importance of informal contact in neighbourhoods that facilitates interaction, develops trust and further establishes norms and reciprocity in a neighbourhood. Jacobs cited the limitations of urban renewal projects that were geared to economic profits but devalued community and social fabric.

According to Jacobs, a good city can absorb newcomers into itself but in increments. Displacement also must be gradual; there has to be a continuity of people in a neighbourhood to maintain the network and form the basis for social capital. If there is a dramatic change due to influx and displacement, this will result in lost social capital that cannot be quickly replaced but rather must be reconstituted over time (Jacobs, 1961:137-138).

Economist Glenn Loury revived the term when he described the role of social capital in the reproduction of racial income inequality. Loury discusses how access to opportunity and development lay within the location and social origin of the individual and their networks, including family, neighbourhood and peer groups (Loury, 1977:176).

2.9.2 Gentrification and the production of social space

The prior discussion reviewed cultural and physical displacement. However, gentrification is a gradual process, and these changes occur in the expansive environment; one can say there is a continuum from an increment (e.g., policy), increased gentrification, displacement pressures and ultimately displacement through eviction or the need to relocate. Some residents also remain in gentrifying communities despite the pressures. Kern (2016) refers to the slow violence that unfolds in the social space of gentrified communities. Social space is used in gentrifying communities as a means of exclusion, alienation and imposition. Social space here:

> [E]ncompasses both the material amenities associated with particular places in the public domain (goods and services provided by retailers, housing, social services) and the social, symbolic, and affective dynamics that are also constitutive of those places (the collective use values, feelings of security or insecurity, processes of inclusion and exclusion, symbols of neighbourhood identity). As such, social space is experienced differently depending on one's social location, e.g., a middle-class homeowner, commercial tenant, rooming-house tenant (Kern, 2016:443).

Gentrified neighbourhoods' social spaces are reconstructed to fit the needs and desires of the new class of residents and are in line with capital investment. Everyday life is restructured in gentrified communities, changing the rhythms, consumption offerings and orientation, and place-making. This reorganisation of space and temporal landscape and privileged spaces can act as a means of exclusion, and marginalisation, thus rendering the existing community invisible and neglecting their needs. These reorganised spaces act as a barrier and facilitate violence in the form of a lack of representation and recognition in the social space. Further displacement may also include the symbolic exclusion of the sense of place or belonging in the shared space of neighbourhood life (Kern, 2016).

Zukin (2008) discussed that new consumption spaces in gentrified communities both further the conditions for gentrification and promote forms of cultural capital and social structures within a reshaped environment and aesthetic code that favours white, middle class and young residents. This new reproduction of space is not a smooth transition but often one of violence and resistance to gentrification.

2.9.3 Resistance

Gentrification has become a global phenomenon that affects the vulnerable in society. In countries like South Africa and the United States, it has disproportionately affected people of colour, whereas, in European cities like Berlin, it is often immigrant communities that find themselves pushed out of gentrified spaces (Polat, 2020). Communities, social justice and humanitarian organisations have not been passive in the response to gentrification. Displacement, housing insecurity and the disruption of communities have created an increasingly vocal response and mobilisation. The argument to secure housing as a human right, and to "reclaim the city" has become central. In 2018, demonstrators gathered on the streets of Dublin to bring attention to the lack of affordable housing. A European economic boom with increased wages, rising employment and economic growth had occurred, yet housing in the city and other parts of the country had increasingly become unaffordable, with 13 consecutive quarters of record-high rental prices (Kenna, 2019). United Nations Special Rapporteur for Adequate Housing, Leilani Farha, has highlighted the impact of the global financialisation of housing and its impact on rents and prices where international investment, rather than local demand, drives prices up. Increased private

equity firms purchasing residential real estate have commoditised housing (United Nations, 2017). Citizens have contested this and pushed for government and the law to prioritise and protect housing as a human right (Kenna, 2019).

In Cape Town, land in historical "coloured" areas like Woodstock and Salt River has been sought after by property developers and investors. These areas, just outside the CBD, have mixed-use properties and were previously the centre of the textile industry in Cape Town. Properties bought up typically have tenanted residents who have been living in the dwelling for two or more generations. The new owners often swiftly serve the residents eviction notices with the intention to redevelop the property and secure better rentals. Often residents are vulnerable and have limited access to justice. Residents have resisted in the form of not complying with eviction orders, protesting, and seeking intervention from government. More formal resistance has come from contesting evictions in court. In court proceedings, residents argue that the City of Cape Town's emergency housing programme, which resettled needy persons in makeshift or Temporary Resettlement Areas called Blikkiesdorp (Tin Town) on the far outskirts of Cape Town, was unconstitutional because it did not respond to housing needs in the city. The City argued that the law required them to provide emergency housing but that they were not obliged to provide housing in the inner-city. The Court, however, ruled that residents should be provided emergency accommodation in a location closest to their current home within a year (Githahu, 2021; Ahmed, Karriem, & Mohammed, 2022).

The section below will further discuss Bo-Kaap as a case study. The community is closed-knit, and under Apartheid remained the only community of Colour in Cape Town not to be forcefully removed. Despite surviving Apartheid intact, the neighbourhood now faces challenges and is increasingly vulnerable to gentrification because of its location.

2.10 Gentrification and Bo-Kaap

The regeneration of the Cape Town city centre and the proximity of Bo-Kaap to the CBD places the area at risk of gentrification. The city centre continues to push up into Bo-Kaap, and the area is subject to land, stock, and rent-seeking behaviour.

Figure 2.4 Aerial View of Bo-Kaap (Pama, 2019)

The above photograph shows the colourful neighbourhood of Bo-Kaap with commercial and high-rise buildings on the left pushing up against the neighbourhood's border. Many houses on the fringe are now used as business premises rather than residences. Kotze and van der Merwe (2000:44-46) constructed a gentrification profile by using personal, behavioural and property characteristics for inner-city Cape Town neighbourhoods. They found that, in Bo-Kaap, fewer characteristics of gentrification corresponded with the residents and area; only 36% of the identified criteria of a gentrified neighbourhood were met. The study concluded that renewal processes taking place in Bo-Kaap could not be classified as gentrification at that stage. It noted, however, that if more middle-class people were to move into the area, the composition could change to the extent that Bo-Kaap would be classified as a gentrified neighbourhood.

After a period of inner-city recapitalisation, Visser and Kotze (2008:2583-2589) reported that new buildings and office conversions had a dramatic impact on the redevelopment of the Cape Town CBD. The average value of residential property in central Cape Town had risen significantly. In Bo-Kaap, the average cost of property transferred increased by more than 50% between 2000 and 2007. The CBD target market was now corresponding to that of people associated with gentrification and

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raised the question of exclusion and displacement. Donaldson et al. (2013:187) discuss how gentrification has been integrated into public policy and is the result of a neoliberal urban development strategy aimed at attracting capital investment. In the Cape Town city centre, this process has had a ripple effect on the surrounding neighbourhood of Bo-Kaap.

A significant change in land use regulations came about through the introduction of the 2015 Municipal Planning By-Law, localising the authority for land use approval. This has impacted the direction of development. In January 2018 the Bo-Kaap Civic and Ratepayers Association (BOCRA) wrote to Heritage Western Cape requesting provisional protection for Bo-Kaap in terms of Section 29 of the National Heritage Resources Act (see Appendix A). BOCRA argued that the area was under threat and endangered due to what they referred to as "insensitive development". The letter listed 15 contested building applications and construction sites underway in the area. The list included several high-rise buildings and high-density structures for commercial, upmarket residential and mixed-use. Incidentally, in 2015-2016, the City had finalised a Heritage Protection Overlay Zone (HPOZ) document, which BOCRA had pursued, but the document had not been given formal effect. The area was therefore under threat from a lack of heritage protection status and a City densification policy. The densification strategy was to direct urban growth and promote a compact, integrated city (City of Cape Town, 2012).

Donaldson et al. (2013) cautions that gentrification can be an unintended outcome of urban policy, including densification. Further, Malan (in Donaldson et al., 2013:179) argues that "zoning areas and conservation areas are mutually contradictory". Zoning areas predetermine specific outcomes, whereas conservation includes restrictions of land use and preservation. Including Bo-Kaap or its proximity in a densification strategy is therefore questionable. Densification of a historic place could transform the social character of the area. The effects of new policies and lack of heritage protection could dramatically accelerate gentrification processes. With several high-density luxury developments in their final stages, changes brought about by City policy choices and decisions of developers will impact the landscape and the demographics of the area.

Increases in municipal rates, which are based on property valuation, have affected the community, many of who have resided in the area for generations and purchased their property from family or the City. The increasing costs are affecting residents' ability to remain in the area. Many residents report that their municipal rates or taxes are in arrears (Jones, 2018). The neighbourhood remains the only working-class inclusive area in the inner-city, with 31% of households having a monthly income of R3200 or less (Statistics South Africa, 2011a).

Residents have been contesting housing conditions and gentrification for over 20 years. The first organisation, the Anti-Gentrification Front, was formed by community activists, Dr. Anwah Nagia and Seeham Samaai in the late 1990s. Dr. Nagia was the spokesperson for residents of Leeuwen Mansions, a block of flats where the first tenants were evicted (Hartley, 2005; Samaai, 2019).

From the 2000s, objections and protests have focused on exorbitant property rates and water tariffs, the sale of public land, lack of heritage protection, irresponsible tourism and luxury developments being built in the area. In May 2018, Bo-Kaap residents protested for three days, blocking streets and burning tyres. Residents had become frustrated with the City's lack of response to their needs and the nuisance caused by luxury apartment construction in the area, constant road congestion and the influx of tourists. The everyday life of the area had changed dramatically, and the influx had disrupted the social space and way of life of residents (Booysen, 2018).

A significant standoff occurred on 20 November 2018, when community members blocked a crane from being delivered to a luxury apartment construction site Forty on L (40 Lion Street), being developed by a real estate development company Blok Urban Living. The community alleged that the land had been obtained irregularly from the City; the land was previously part of a maternity hospital grounds that was no longer in operation. The standoff continued throughout the day with police using force, arresting residents and using stun grenades to disperse the crowd, resulting in injuries to many residents. The disproportionate use of force and violence by metropolitan police against mainly elderly residents gained media attention (Mortlock, 2018).

2.11 Summary

There is evidence for both the production and consumption theories of gentrification. However, it would appear that the former has more impetus. Gentrification has become increasingly expansive in form and may manifest differently in different geographical areas; however, gentrification as a global strategy and its tools show many similarities in global cities. The effects of displacement pressures, displacement and the contestation of social space are global experiences by residents in gentrified communities. Research in Bo-Kaap has mainly used quantitative measures. This research has used a qualitative approach and seeks to give voice to residents.

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CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The literature review has covered the discussion on gentrification starting from the work of Glass (1964) in post-war London to the more recent research of increased globalisation of the phenomena. The literature review also discussed the role of government, the impact on the neighbourhood and social space, and resistance. This chapter will focus on the theoretical understanding of gentrification. It will start with a general discussion of the definition of gentrification. The chapter will then focus in detail on the two theories used to understand the case study. A theoretical framework is used to guide the research and ground it in theoretical constructs (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). This gives structure and focus to the research when interpreting the case study. A Marxist perspective was used; the work of Neil Smith's rent gap and uneven development, and Henri Lefebvre's the production of space and urban society were focused on. Many theories of gentrification are limited and only provide a historical narrative of how gentrification came about, its features and its consequences. Smith's theory of rent gap and uneven development gives context to gentrification, it identifies the patterns of land use and movement of capital that bring about gentrification. This makes the theory useful when interpreting the case study within a global and local context. The core argument of Smith's theory is that gentrification is a back to the city movement of capital rather than people. Capital investment in the area and commercial interests have placed pressure on residents' ability to remain in the area.

The second theory Henri Lefebvre's the production of space is further used to understand how space is used, and is being contested particularly on a household and neighbourhood level. The theory is further used to examine the socio-spatial relations of residents. Lefebvre's Marxist theory of space identifies use value and exchange value. Use value is the value of space derived from using or living in a space. Exchange value represents the profit that can be derived by using the space or by selling the land. The below section will provide a detailed discussion.

3.2 Defining gentrification

In the literature review, Ruth Glass's (1964) seminal work, Aspects of Change, on gentrification was introduced. She observed the phenomenon and coined the term gentrification and described it as the process whereby working-class residential neighbourhoods were upgraded by middle-class homebuyers, developers and landlords. The capital investment in the area resulted in neighbourhood transformation and, as a result, the original inhabitants could no longer afford to stay in the area and were replaced by a more affluent class. The established community is displaced and the social character of the area altered.

In the American History Dictionary (1982 in Smith & Williams, 1986:1), gentrification is defined as deteriorated urban property being restored by the middle and upper class, especially in working-class neighbourhoods. The Oxford American Dictionary (1980 in Smith & Williams, 1986:1) further included an outcome of gentrification and defined it as "the movement of middle-class families into urban areas causing property values to increase and having secondary effect of driving out poorer families".

Brown-Saracino (2010:13-14) found that most early definitions of gentrification focused on the outcomes of gentrification such as economic revitalisation, the transformation of the built environment, and displacement. There is a consensus on the outcomes of gentrification. From the 1970s there was a movement to understand the characteristics, process and causes of gentrification. This further informed different definitions and theories of gentrification (Smith & Williams, 1986:2). Shaw (2008:11-12) comments that the evolving theoretical perspectives of gentrification are sometimes referred to as definition or concept chaos. What is evident is that the presentation of gentrification has mutated over time. Further, the two main theoretical perspectives of gentrification will be discussed, namely consumption and production theory.

3.3 Consumption theory of gentrification

In the literature review, the consumption theory of gentrification was introduced; that gentrification is the result of consumer preferences and the demand for inner-city living space by the middle class (Ley, 1986). This section further discusses the

theoretical position and gives context by examining the work of Daniel Bell (1973) referred to as the post-industrial society. Further, David Ley's post-industrial and Chris Hamnett's professionalization theory of gentrification are discussed.

Bell's (1973) description of the post-industrial society provided the premise for understanding the consumption theory of gentrification. Bell (1976) discusses that the development of technology has transformed the world, resulting in changes in lifestyle, economics, and axes of work. The first major change was the movement from an agrarian to an industrial society, the change from a rural to urban way of life. The second major change is still underway; the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society. The continuum can be thought of as three ways of life; pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial.

The post-industrial society is based on services and information is the foremost asset, which has surpassed labour and energy. In this society, the professional is best equipped to meet the skills required because of education and training. In a post-industrial society, innovation and production are the codification of theoretical knowledge (Bell, 1976:576).

The post-industrial society is based on a service economy. In a service economy, production and manufacturing still exist but they account for a smaller percentage of workers. In the United States, there has been a steady decline in workers engaged in production and manufacturing. In 1950, half of all workers in the United States were engaged in production and almost 34 percent in manufacturing of goods. By the 1970s more than half of workers in the United States were engaged in service-orientated occupations. In a post-industrial society, this percentage is likely to steadily increase. These services are primarily "human services" and "professional and technical services". The fastest growing segments are professional technical and managerial employees in post-industrial society. This can be seen as the transformation of the labour force into an increasingly white-collar and middle-class society (Bell, 1976:577-578). This is a direct result of growing levels of education in the United States and its ability to provide social mobility, described as providing "access to place, income and privilege" (Bell, 1976:578).

Bell's analysis of the post-industrial society is extremely influential in Ley's interpretation of gentrification. David Ley's theory analyses gentrification from the

context of the post-industrial city and places importance on culture and individual agency (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008:93). Ley identifies the framework of major societal relations as the economy, politics and culture. Ley discusses how each has transitioned from the industrial era to the post-industrial era. The economy has moved from production and manufacturing reliant on blue-collar labour to one that is centred on technology and services, and supported by white-collar occupations. The political framework in the industrial era had a laissez-faire policy, alliances with entrepreneurs and business control, to an intervention and regulation, plural interests, and power moving to professionals in the post-industrial era. Ley places a significant emphasis on culture. He describes a cultural shift where in the industrial era growth ethic, belief in progress and the centrality of work were the core ideals, towards the rise of an amenity ethic, the role of the aesthetic and the centrality of consumption in the post-industrial era (Ley, 1980:242). In the period 1968-1978, there had been a shift toward new liberal ideas and political pluralism. The urban manifestation of this was the ideology of a liveable city, which influenced urban policy and a new emerging urban landscape (Ley, 1980:238-240). Ley further discusses how the service-orientated post-industrial city had altered the allocation of land. A new middle class of professionals were seeking a quality of life that was not only limited to economics. Gentrification represented a new phase in the urban landscape; where consumption factors, taste and aesthetic of the city drew an expanding middle class who sought to create an alternate urban lifestyle to suburbanisation (Ley, 1996:15 in Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008:92).

The post-industrial era orientated toward advance services and white-collar employment has alternated the urban landscape. Ley (1986) found the presence of high-status households in the inner-city is closely correlated with a service-dominated urban economic base. In Canada from 1971-1981, growth in service-orientated jobs increased four times greater relative to jobs in the manufacturing industry. This economic restructuring and had created what Ley refers to as a new urban gentry or new middle class (Ley, 1986:525).

The new middle class sought an alternative to suburbanisation and valued the amenities of the city centre. The post-industrial era has altered the household structure, with increased two-income earners or single-occupant households with more disposable income to consume environment and cultural amenities. The new

middle-class value the opportunity of diversity, the availability of recreational and cultural activities, and better jobs and salaries in the inner-city (Ley, 1986:524).

Hamnett's professionalization theory of gentrification is closely linked to Ley's post-industrial theory of gentrification. Hamnett expands the theory, defining gentrification as:

> the social and spatial manifestation of the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial urban economy based on financial, business and creative services, with associated changes in the nature of location of work, in occupational class structure, earnings and incomes, lifestyles and the structure of the housing market (Hamnett, 2003:2402)

While Ley (1986) discusses features of urban amenities, aesthetic, culture, agency and preference of the new middle class to reside in the city, Hamnett expands on the changing class structure of cities in the post-industrial era. He says that gentrification is the result of shifts in occupational and earnings structure moving from an industrial to a post-industrial city (Hamnett, 2003:2403). Further that these changes in occupational and earnings structure have a significant impact on the housing market, with higher earners exerting pressure for limited stock (Hamnett, 2003:2410). The growth in professional and managerial occupations resulting from the transition from a manufacturing to a services industry has fundamentally changed the economic base (Hamnett, 2003:2412). Consumption-side theories have explained gentrification as the result of industrial and occupational restructuring of the advance capitalist economies.

In the Bo-Kaap case study, there is limited evidence of a significant middle class that have moved into the area. Factors that are identified by Hamnett (2003:2422-2423) that could slow consumption-based gentrification and applied to Bo-Kaap include the presence of an ethnic minority, crime, a lack of education amenities, and the presence of social housing. The Bo-Kaap community remain a cohesive community, whose cultural activity often spills out onto the streets. Middle-class households have greater freedom of choice when selecting residence and the safety of the suburbs or gated communities may be preferred to inner-city life with the presence of crime. In the inner-city of Cape Town, education options are sparse compared to the southern

suburbs where most of the prestigious schools are located. Education is a primary means of social reproduction for the middle class, and limited suitable education options for children may mitigate gentrification. Further Bo-Kaap has a significant amount of social housing, 198 units were built from 1938-1942 (Davids, 1980:14). The City has since transferred ownership of many of these units to its long-standing residents. These flats and cottages have substandard building infrastructure including electrical and water issues. The units are largely occupied by working-class families.

The sections that follow will discuss Neil Smith's production theory of gentrification, followed by Henri Lefebvre's theory of the Production of Space. These two theories will be used to interpret the case study.

3.4 Production theory of gentrification

Up until the 1970s, little attempt had been made to construct an explanation of gentrification. The discussion was centred on the effects rather than the causes of gentrification. The effects fell into two categories: cultural and economic (Shaw, 2008). The cultural explanations cited a change in lifestyle, resulting in less desirability for suburbia and preferences for a more socially distinctive community (Ley, 1994). Further, the changes, as discussed above, emerged as a result of the shift from a manufacturing economy to the post-industrial economy, the growth of white-collar service occupations, and development of preferential land use guided by consumption. The economic reasons include the cost-effectiveness of rehabilitating old inner-city housing stock relative to housing in suburbia, and the high cost of commuting into the city, which promoted consumer preference to reside in the city (Ley, 1986). According to Smith (1979), however, there is little evidence for consumer preference as the anchor for gentrification. Smith (1979:539-540), drawing on longitudinal studies conducted by Gale (1976, 1977) for the period 1964-1975, analysed the origin of housing rehabilitators in the gentrifying neighbourhood of Society Hill in the city of Philadelphia, and found that only 14% had moved from the suburbs while 72% had moved from elsewhere within the city.

The consumer sovereignty hypothesis, therefore, shows limitations. A theory solely based on individual preference, and in geographical areas where middle-class suburbanisation is less, and the relationship between suburb and inner-city is

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differential, shows great limitations for consumer theory. A broader theory of gentrification is therefore needed, one that takes into account a wide range of role-players, including producers and consumers. Smith (1979) argues that there exists neither producer nor consumer sovereignty but a symbiosis where production is dominant as a precondition before preference can be exerted. The imperative is based on the need to earn profit and sound financial investment; this is what production theory cites as the driver. Consumer preferences instead play a pivotal role in determining the form and characteristics of gentrified areas. A theory of gentrification must explain the conditions of gentrification, and why some neighbourhoods gentrify and are profitable for redevelopment, while others are not (Smith, 1979:538-540).

3.4.1 Understanding investment and the built environment

Land and improvements build on it are commodities in the capitalist economy. Land is a unique commodity and has three critical characteristics. Firstly, the owner has monopoly control over how the land is used. Secondly, land and improvements may be fixed assets; however, the value is not fixed and may fluctuate due to various factors. Thirdly, fixed assets like land and buildings have a very long turnover period, both physically and financially. In well-developed capitalist economies, a large financial outlay is required in the acquisition of land and investment in the built environment (Smith, 1979:541). This means that financial institutions play a significant role in the urban land market (Harvey, 1973:159, in Smith, 1979:541). Furthermore, capital depreciation is a determining variable that shows the extent to which a building's sale price is relative to the ground rent level. In a capitalist economy, profit and growth is success; all enterprises strive for higher profits and the accumulation of greater wealth.

Land and the built environment represent intensive investments and typically present long turnover periods. When economic growth in other industrial sectors is hindered, the built environment becomes a place for capital expansion. Further land can present opportunity as an asset and can be development for various uses. During the 19th century, most major US cities in the northeast had relatively cheap land outside of the city. This created the basis for suburbanisation as capital moved from the city to the suburbs. Cheaper land on the outskirts of the city presented higher returns, this pattern continued, and the inner-city became adversely affected by the flow of capital to the

suburbs. This period is associated with the phenomenon of "white flight". The literature identified several factors linked to the phenomena such as the closure of major manufacturing industries like Motor City in Detroit, the impact of crime, growing white conservatism, and racial conflict (Thompson, 1999:163-175). Smith's (1979:543-545) theory, however, focuses on cycles of investment including redlining, which resulted in disinvestment and the unwillingness of financial institutions to provide credit to residents of inner-city neighbourhoods. In the US this adversely affected black working-class communities, leading to the increased concentration of poverty in the inner-city.

The large disinvestment resulted in the neglect and growing deterioration of many inner cities throughout the US. This trend continued, and by the 1920s Hoyt (1933:356-8 in Smith, 1979:542) identified a loop that illustrates the evolution of land value in Chicago.
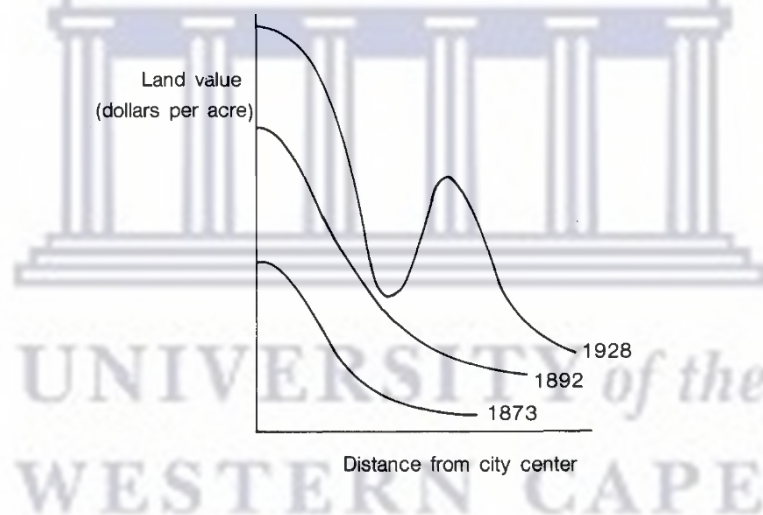
Figure 3.1 Hoyt's evolution of land value in Chicago (Hoyt, 1933 in Smith, 1979:542)

The flow of capital and suburbanisation had resulted in increased land values on the outskirts of the city, while continued disinvestment in the inner-city resulted in declining value in the urban core. The low point in the curve (1928) is where land value had decreased most was old stock and where residents rank lowest in rent-paying (Hoyt, 1933:356-8 in Smith, 1979:542). Suburbanisation continued for decades, most significantly between the 1940s and 1960s. The valley in the land value curve deepened and widened due to sustained disinvestment. Research suggests this occurred in many inner cities as capital depreciated and the land value valley

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increased (Davis, 1965; Edel and Sclar, 1975 in Smith, 1979:542). By the 1960s, the problem of slums and ghettos in the inner-city became apparent. According to Smith (1979:542), a gentrification theory must provide a historical account of the mechanisms of capital depreciation in the inner-city and how this context produced the opportunity for profitable reinvestment.

3.4.2 Neighbourhood capital depreciation and filtering

Smith's (1979) and Bradford and Rubinowitz's (2016) research suggests that the decline of old neighbourhoods is a result of capital divestment than an assumed process. Key market actors including institutional investors, developers and bank lending divestment patterns are linked to a process of older neighbourhood deterioration. The deterioration is a direct consequence of the above mentioned actors opting to invest in large-scale developments on the suburban fridge because of perceived returns and ideologies, and neglecting older urban neighbourhoods. The result is a negative impact on older neighbourhoods, specifically physical and economic deterioration. The lack of finance in these neighbourhoods meant that there is a higher concentration of property foreclosures and abandonment (Bradford & Rubinowitz, 2016).
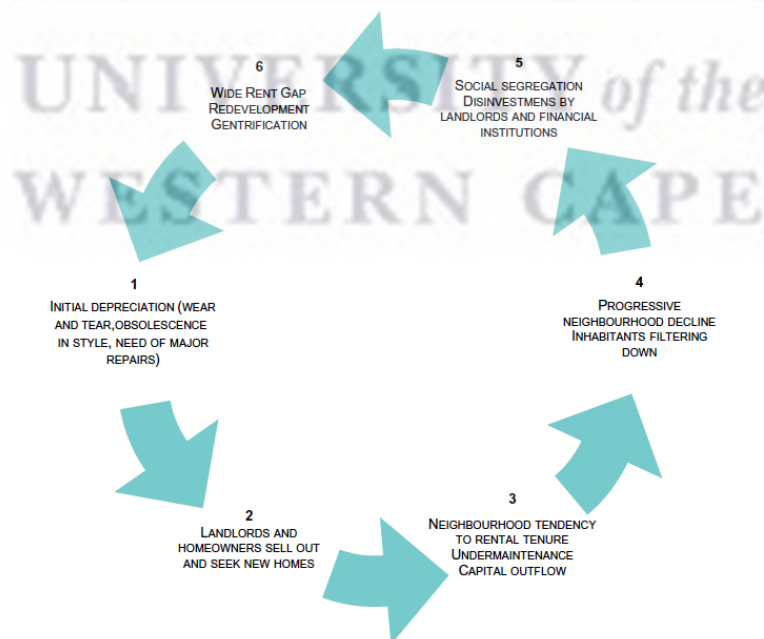
Figure 3.2 Capital depreciation building cycle

(Diappi & Bolchi, 2008:9; reproduced from Smith, 1979)

The process of decline in old neighbourhoods has unique features due to differential environmental, tenant, and landlord relationships. Although Smith (1979) identifies a broad framework of capital depreciation, not all neighbourhoods follow this cycle. His analysis does, however, provide insight into the flow of capital and that stages can exist within different declining inner-city neighbourhoods.

The capital depreciation building cycle in Figure 3.2 is discussed below:

1) New construction and the first cycle of use – a new property when the value of the house reflects the structure and improvements. The value increases with outward urban development and then declines due to labour advancements, style obsolescence, and wear and tear.

2) Landlordism and homeownership – should owners of properties succeed in maintenance and repair or further enhance the property, the neighbourhood will remain stable. Some house owners who became aware of a lack of maintenance and imminent decline in a neighbourhood may opt to sell and reinvest in a safer area. After the first cycle of use, there is a tendency for neighbourhoods to be converted to tenancy. Owner-occupied and tenant-occupied housing have different characteristics. Owners are both customers and investors, and therefore there is a relationship between how much they invest in a property and their living environment. If a property is occupied by a tenant the landlord receives his return from rent and, under certain conditions, may neglect to maintain a property provided that rent can be secured. Under maintenance is typical in a declining market, while rentals with high demand are likely to be well-maintained. A landlord engaging in under-maintenance may utilise the surplus capital in alternate investments. Continuous under-maintenance, however, may result in the inability of landlords to sell their properties. This will be particularly difficult when financial institutions are less forthcoming in granting finance in older neighbourhoods. Maintenance will then only be invested to a minimal extent to retain the rental revenue. The pattern of decline will continue unless there is a shortage of higher-quality accommodation, which provides incentives for investment and returns. If properties are further neglected the neighbourhood will continue to deteriorate, with the continued outflow of capital. The

continued decline will result in house values falling and capitalised ground rent for the neighbourhood falling below the potential ground rent.

3) Blockbusting and blow out – blockbusting is when real estate agents exploit racist sentiments in white neighbourhoods in a declining property sales environment. Housing is then sold to black families at inflated prices. These properties are already in physical and economic decline prior to blockbusting. Typically, black families who are desperate to get into the market to secure their first home purchase the housing stock. They further are not able to access finance needed for maintenance due to the outflow of capital, and institutional divestment blow out. The spread of slums increase, and owner-occupied houses and the middle class sell and relocate to the suburbs.

4) Redlining – with sustained under maintenance and owners selling their stock the house value and capitalised ground rent falls, resulting in a further decrease in the sale price. Financial institutions follow by redlining the neighbourhood and ceasing to provide home loans because of poor returns and high risk. Furthermore, vandalism accelerates the depreciation in run-down neighbourhoods. At this stage, subdivision may set in to intensify use and profitability. Eventually, the landlord will disinvest and only pay necessary costs because of the poor return and high cost of rehabilitation.

5) Abandonment – when the rent collected can no longer cover the costs of utilities and tax this is when buildings are abandoned. This does not happen to isolated properties but is rather a neighbourhood phenomenon. Although abandoned housing may be structurally sound, they are unable to be profitable. Triggers can also include building code compliance (Smith, 1979:543-545).

There are various environment factors when capital depreciation and filtering would not occur. Capital depreciation may not occur in areas where there is stable housing demand. Here, rentals are likely to be well maintained due to the demand and profitability potential. Capital depreciation may also be hindered by rising ground rent and urban expansion. Rapid urban expansion can cause the city-suburban, the urban and the rural landscape to collide. China's industrial revolution and neo-liberalisation

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after 1978 is an example of urban expansion that has proliferated. In some instances, there is no clear distinction: the rural has either been engulfed by the city, urbanised or industrialised, or rural-ness exists within the newly expanded city (Smith, 2008:284). Furthermore, in some cities filtering may not occur due to working-class housing being provided by local government, not the private market. In this case, rising ground rent is more important in facilitating the rent gap (Smith, 1979:547). How gentrification manifests in different locations is therefore not universal.

3.4.3 Rent-gap theory

Rent-gap can be described as the disparity between the current rental income of a property and the potentially achievable rental income. There are expansive processes, agents and market forces that interact and create the context for rent gap. In the section above, some of the processes and agents have been discussed and highlights that the process of decline is situated in the depreciation and devaluation of capital investment in inner-city residential neighbourhoods. The condition of capital depreciation creates opportunities for capital revaluation where profit margins can be achieved. This disjuncture is fundamental in creating economic conditions suitable for rent gap (Smith, 1979:545).

Smith (1987) defines gentrification as the reinvestment of capital in urban areas, designed to produce space for more affluent people rather than current occupants. He explains this process using rent-gap theory shown in figure 3.3 as "the gap between the actual capitalised ground rent (land value) of a plot of land given its present use and the potential ground rent that might be gleaned under a higher and better use" (Smith, 1987:462). Potential ground rent is achieved through the rehabilitation of present building structures, or the transformation or complete redevelopment of the structure or land use. Smith's (1987:462) theory states that gentrification is a means to bridge actual capitalised ground rent and potential ground rent. Typically, in this process, we see how inner-city working-class communities are displaced and replaced by middle and upper-middle-class residents or how space gets redeveloped for increased revenue generation.

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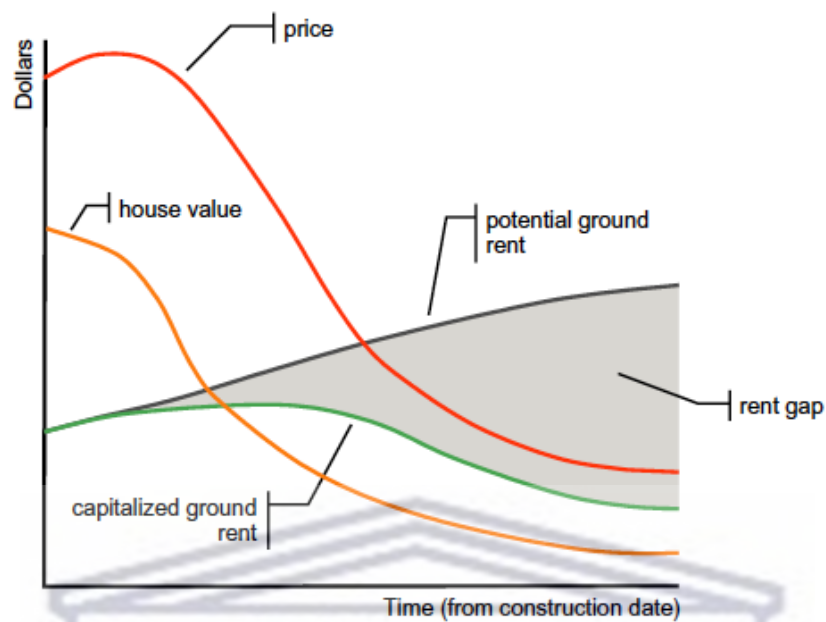
Figure 3.3 Rent Gap (Diappi & Bolchi, 2008:9; reproduced from Smith, 1979:544)

In figure 3.3 the X-Axis represents the time from construction date, and the Y-Axis represents value (represented in US dollars). The upper slope is the sales price, which is derived from the structure value and capitalised ground rent. The second slope is the house or structure value. The upper curve represents the potential ground rent; this is the maximum economic return from the rights using the land to its highest and best use. The lower curve represents the capitalised ground rent; that is, the actual economic return from the rights to use the land that is earned by the owner in its present land use. The rent gap, therefore, is represented by the area between the potential ground rent and capitalised ground rent and grows over time as the capitalised ground rent diminishes. Smith (1979:545) defines rent gap as "the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalised under the present land use".

The evolution of land value in Chicago (Hoyt, 1933 in Smith, 1979:542) can be explained using the rent gap theory. When filtering and neighbourhood decline occur, the rent gap widens. When the rent gap emerges wide enough it presents opportunities for profitability and redevelopment follows. Developers can purchase "shells" cheaply, rehabilitate them, pay the costs of builders and loans and still make a satisfactory return. The ground rent is therefore recapitalised, and the neighbourhood

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begins a new cycle. Gentrification is initiated by the collective action by financial institutions, developers, estate agencies and government and is not grounded in individual consumer preferences. Preference and choice by consumers can be socially constructed, but what is required is recapitalisation by financial institutions. Alongside financial institutions, professional developers are significant, acting within the collective action to initiate gentrification. Developers will purchase properties within the gentrified area, rehabilitate them and then sell them for profit (Smith, 1979:545-546).

Collective Action	
Financial institutions	Production – the return of capital
Professional developers	Production – the return of capital
Estate agencies	Production – the return of capital
Government	Production – initiate rehabilitation schemes, urban renewal, or preferential market conditions development e.g. tax incentives, private-public partnerships, zoning

Figure 3.4 Collective Action (produced from Smith, 1979)

The exception to the predominance of collective action is within adjacent neighbourhoods or once an area has already been gentrified. In these situations, an individual gentrifier may play an important role in the rehabilitation of a neighbourhood, can express their consumer preference; however, the individual will still require the backing of a financial institution for capital (Smith, 1979:546-547).

The State has both a political and economic role in producing the new urban context. The State is leading a strategic urban development vision that stimulates rent gap, accumulation strategies and partnership that favour neoliberal land-use models (Smith in Slater, 2017:89-90). A further component of Smith's theory alludes to an initial period of revalorisation of characteristic capital disinvests from the inner-city and investment in suburban areas or the urban periphery. Once the rent gap is opportunistic enough, capital investment returns to the inner-city and gentrification

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occurs as the opportunity for profit is rife (Smith, 1987). In Smith's (1996) later work he refers to this as the "revanchist city" where the city is reclaimed from the working class. Although concealed he argues that this process is one of violence where the city is systematically "reclaimed" in the image of capital.

The earlier role of government was to initiate rehabilitation schemes and urban renewal. In doing this, the State was absorbing the cost of the last stage of capital devaluation to allow developers to reap high returns. Today, when government is less involved in this phase, developers manage to absorb the costs of devaluing capital and still make a reasonable profit. This indicates that market conditions are favourable to private market revitalisation (Smith, 1979:546).

The depreciation of capital in the nineteenth century that resulted in urban decay in many cities and inner-city neighbourhoods in the Global North, followed by urban expansion and further suburbanisation in the first half of the twentieth century created conditions for gentrification. Smith's rent gap theory examines gentrification, its formation and characteristics, and also provides a historical account. Smith also brings to attention that gentrification's manifestation will not be universal due to local market conditions, and states that in the United Kingdom where there is extensive Council housing, rising ground rent due to urban expansion and development may account for the rent gap.

"Gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets" (Smith, 1979:546). Capital seeks places where it can make a high rate of return. The unequal investment whereby capital is depreciated in the inner-city and capital flows to the suburbs, eventually creates rent gap. Once the rent gap has grown sufficiently and it can contest other rates of return elsewhere then capital will return to the city. The built environment has become a vehicle for capital accumulation (Smith, 1979:546-547).

3.4.4 Uneven Development

Gentrification is part of a larger process of uneven development and restructuring of urban space, which is rooted in the capitalist mode of production. This cyclical investment pattern will be discussed. The relationship between development and underdevelopment is grounded in capitalism and is fundamental to its mode of social reproduction. This geography and spatial dimension manifest on an international, national, regional, and local scale. According to Smith, at every scale capital moves for similar reasons, purposes, and structurally to engender this spatial unevenness. Here three aspects of uneven development will be discussed; tendencies toward differentiation and equalisation, the valorisation and devalorisation of built environment capital, and the reinvestment and rhythm of unevenness (Smith, 1982:142).

3.4.4.1 Tendencies toward differentiation and equalisation

Differentiation and equalisation present opposite ends on a continuum. With globalisation and modern transport, time and space have increasingly collapsed. Raw material can be sourced expansively and capital is able to move beyond the spatial barrier to seek growth. The modern economy, more than before the process of differentiation, counterposes equalisation; it produces the development versus underdevelopment dialect in regions and nations. Differentiation between suburb and inner-city is caught in this dichotomy and the pattern of uneven development lies herein (Smith, 1982:143-145). Ground rent is a mediator within uneven development; it is the equalisation and differentiation of ground rent levels between places in a metropolitan area that most determine the uneven development (Smith, 1982:145).

3.4.4.2 The valorisation and devalorisation of built environment capital

Capital investment in the built environment is immobilised over a long period. This means that the land use is limited and tied to a specific use; this is a barrier to new development. To reduce the devalorisation cycle in the built environment, capital investment is required for maintenance, repairs or replacement over time. In a capitalist market, one that favours high returns and capital accumulation, investors

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will seek more favourable terms. Suburbanisation resulted in the outward flow of capital, where there is higher profitability in new construction versus inner-city repair. The inner-city decline is, therefore, a rational outcome of the free market. Here suburbanisation presents the interplay of equalisation and differentiation at an urban scale. When the rent gap is sufficiently large capital will return to the city (Smith, 1982:148).

3.4.4.3 Reinvestment and the rhythm of unevenness

The third aspect of uneven development is the rhythm and periodicity of the flow of capital. The rhythm of uneven capital investment is closely linked to the national and international economy. Harvey (1978 in Smith, 1982:150) shows that there is a strong tendency for capital to shift periodically yet rapidly and systematically in a given location of the built environment. Capital seeks high rates of return and where risk is low. The current phase of gentrification can be contextualised where there had been a dual process of underdevelopment in the inner-city and increased suburbanisation. The lack of investment and devalorisation in the inner-city created a rent gap and laid the foundation for the diversion of the location of capital investment in the built environment. According to Smith (1982:150), "economic crisis, both necessitates and provides an opportunity for a fundamental restructuring of the economy". With economic restructuring comes the social restructuring of space. Suburbanisation was a means to revive the economy in response to the 1890s and 1930s depressions; this spatial response opened opportunities for investment. Capital flowed out of the city, and the State subsidised suburbanisation as a means to address the economic crisis. This was achieved, both directly and indirectly, through assisted mortgage subsidies and infrastructure like highways. The cycle of this investment and inner-city divestment has led to the current waves of redevelopment and gentrification of the inner-city. Similar to prior suburbanisation, the redevelopment of the inner cities allow for significant profit and capital accumulation. Gentrification has provided a means to counteract falling rates of profit in other locations and sectors. It can be seen as the restructuring of the inner-city residential space. This spatial restructuring is occurring at many different scales, but the urban scale is most defined. The premises of uneven development is that development of a location creates a barrier for further development, as the location develops profit rates decrease. Thus underdevelopment

in another location presents opportunity for a new cycle of development where profit rates are higher due to rent gap. The cycle of uneven development, therefore, involves development and underdevelopment, and redevelopment of given locations and capital moving where the rate of return is favourable (Smith, 1982:149-151). Gentrification and redevelopment are systematically reproduced in capitalist urban development. Gentrification has been in existence for a long time even before it was documented by Engels in the 1800s or coined by Ruth Glass in 1964. The current wave of gentrification is not an isolated locality but a universal form. Gentrification can be found in many global cities, occurring both in the northern and southern hemispheres. Capital as a means of survival strives to create differential space, while globalisation and modernity have facilitated its latitude (Smith, 1982:152). In this case study the close proximity of Bo-Kaap to the Central Business District, and capital returning to the inner-city has created advantageous conditions for gentrification, this is discussed in the findings chapter.

3.4.5 Restructuring vs. Renaissance

The redevelopment and gentrification of areas are often presented as a renaissance or revitalisation. Through gentrification, space is being recreated for the middle class, making it more liveable by their standards and creating an increasingly exclusive space that both displace the working class and exclude them from the economy. The alleged renaissance is marketed to benefit everyone and as a way to increase tax revenue and decrease unemployment. There is little evidence of this, and often, property tax is subsidised (Smith, 1982:152-153).

According to Smith (1982:153), gentrification is part of a fundamental restructuring of the economy; gentrification represents the spatial restructuring at the urban scale. There is also a restructuring of the industrial activity and other scales. The restructuring of spatial and industrial scales indicate that there is a class struggle over the use of space and production of space. The restructuring reproduces a class strategy that provides the basis for exploitation. Similar to the economic restructuring of privatisation and social service cuts to the detriment of workers, so is gentrification and redevelopment within the urban landscape.

3.5 The Production of Space

Henri Lefebvre's work is grounded in his observation of the modernisation of everyday life in France. Lefebvre discusses the industrialisation of the economy, further suburbanisation, and how these combined have destroyed the traditional agrarian and peasant life (Shields in Hubbard and Kitchin, 2011:279).

Lefebvre argues that space is a social product that reflects values and modes of production, and that space is produced and reproduced through social relations. This is described as a dialect between space and social relations; space is therefore produced rather than static. Space is viewed as neither a subject nor an object, but rather as a set of relations between these things. For change to take place, to alter the economy and even behaviour, we, therefore, need to produce or sustain appropriate space. The State is viewed as an agent in this process. Space created by the State is geared toward market interests these spaces facilitate the reproduction of unequal social relations and exclude alternate usage. The State, therefore, facilitates a spatial environment orientated toward "exchange value" rather than "use value" (Lefebvre, 1974).

3.5.1 Spatial existence

Lefebvre's theory suggests that capitalism has inhabited our everyday life, including our social, private and leisure, through the organisation and domination of space. There is, therefore, a need to understand our spatial existence and how it is socially constructed (Lefebvre, 1984). According to Lefebvre, as a result of automation and advancements, there are no longer shortages of crops and bread in the large industrialised cities but instead a shortage of space (Lefebvre, 1984:52). The class struggle, therefore, manifests in the appropriation and the abundance or scarcity of space. The lower class are not only subjected to overcrowding and uneven development because of the quality of space but are also increasingly marginalised and excluded from the city centre. This regionalisation of the lower class to the urban periphery and the politics of space within class struggle has been the basis of Lefebvre's work referred to as "the right to the city".

Lefebvre describes the right to the city as two interdependent rights. The first is the right to participate in the activities of the city. This involves the right to create and produce space centred for use value rather than the capitalist production of space which is geared toward exchange value. This includes the active participation of citizens in the formation of space; that inhabitants are able to use and allocate space. The second right is the right to appropriate space and time, described as the full use of space in everyday life (Lefebvre in Sadri, 2012). This involves the right of inhabitants to play a central role in participating in decision-making in the city and the production of space, which are normally dominated by power, capital or other ruling institutions (Purcell, 2003). This right is also viewed within the context of the right to housing and the ability to exist or dwell in the city (Mitchell, 2003).

The production of space allows us to deconstruct the capitalist society by looking at its structure and spatial relations (Lefebvre, 1974). Space is produced through historical and natural elements and socio-political relations (Elden, 2007). Lefebvre goes on to describe space, where *absolute* and *natural* space is described as space where no production activities of people occur. Through the presence of human activity, absolute and natural space is transformed into two kinds of space, namely *social* and *abstract* space. Social space is produced through a social and collective process. These spaces are formed over time, by generations and in accordance of needs through history. The collective forms the space through psychological and practical actions over a significant period of time. The spatial practice and representation of everyday life is, therefore, a culmination of the collaboration, reconciliation and cultural accumulation of different actors and societies over a period of history. Social spaces represent balance and peace that cannot be created by a single person or institution, and within a short period (Lefebvre, 1974). The space produced can be seen as a cultural representation of society.

Lefebvre describes abstract space orientated to exchange value. Abstract space is produced by capitalism. It is designed and shaped through domination of the ruling powers; it is the outcome of collaboration between the state and capital. The process is devoid of social or collective processes and does not provide equal access to opportunity. Abstract space is characterised by homogenisation and fragmentation, with a lack of relationship to the context and place. Further, this space is hierarchical

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and serves as a framework of power and is unequal by nature (Sadri, 2012). Abstract space is created through imposing its use for exchange value and capitalism.

Space hereby possesses its own dialectic, as the material product (physical) of social relations and through the manifestation of relations (abstract). Lefebvre expands Marx's theory by adding the construct of space; that commodities and class structure exist within and manifest within space. Lefebvre further says that space is a mental and material construct, existing both in nature through human space and human time and in abstraction. The human has its own rhythm or clock, biology and psychosocial features that determine the way in which we perceive and conceived the world and laws of it. Further, these lived spaces and time is dependent on physical and mental constructs (Elden, 2007).

Lefebvre argues that space ties together the physical, the mental, and the social constructs, referring to it as the Unitary Theory. Both social and abstract space consists of this "triplicate" or triad; the perceptions of built forms, mental imaging, and social practice (Gottdiener, 1993).

1. Spatial practice	Perceived	Physical	Materialism
2. Representations of space	Conceived	Mental	Idealism
3. Spaces of representation	Lived	Social	Materialism & Idealism

Figure 3.5 Unitary theory of space (Lefebvre, 2011:38-39)

The Lefebvrian schema observes space in unity between physical, mental and social space. Space is both a mental and material construct, and further produced lived space. This is also described as the conceptual triad. The physical or perceived form is the actual space used, the mental or conceived space is that of maps and mathematics, the instrumental space of the engineers or built environment practitioners, and the third space is the lived space, used, invested with symbolism both real and imagined. Space, however, conceived and designed through production, concept, labour and technology is then adapted as it is perceived or lived in by people. Conceived space

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can be participated in, appropriated or even abandoned. Similarly, social relations which are abstract need material space to manifest. The abstract and material are, therefore, interrelated (Elden, 2007).

3.5.2 The street

The urban society, although it is not an accomplished reality, is on the horizon and referred to as an illuminating virtuality. It cannot be treated in abstraction, as the urban society is in formation although currently veiled and disjointed. This process exists outside the realm of the ancient city and that what was shaped by agriculture, growth exchange and industrial production. It is, therefore, useful to explain the various forms of urbanisation, forms and urban structures that are altered as a result of generalised urbanisation, here the street is examined (Lefebvre, 2003:16-17). In this case study, the street, and street or stoep culture is a highly contested space and this theoretical framework provides an understanding of the space and the discussion to follow in the findings chapter.

The focus of city planning and its dominance placed on the infrastructure for automobiles in the United States showed how the destruction of neighbourhoods and streets resulted in the disappearance of the social nature of city life. Lefebvre (2011:364) makes mentions of the work of Jane Jacobs (1961), that although she does not attribute these effects directly to neo-capitalism, she does describe the problems and contradiction of abstract space produced by capitalism. That with its intent to create and recreate it is self-destructive in nature.

For Lefebvre (1970:30) the street can also represent a place of contestation within abstract place. The street can be inhabited, appropriated, claimed and made a space of one's own. The appropriation of the street can facilitate use value, that it is capable of dominating exchange value (Purcell in Silver, Freestone & Demazière, 2018). The street serves as a meeting place; designated encounters would not be possible without it. The street is referred to as a spontaneous theatre, where one can become the actor, spectacle or spectator. The street allows for movement and circulation; this interaction allows for urban life (Lefebvre, 2003:18). As Lefebvre describes it, "The street is where movement takes place, the interaction without which urban life would not exist, leaving only separation, a forced and fixed segregation" (Lefebvre 2003:18).

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Jane Jacobs (1961 in Lefebvre, 2003:19) showed how in the United States busy streets acted as a buffer against criminal violence like theft, rape and aggression. When streets or street life disappears, crime increases and becomes organised. A living city or street can, therefore, produce a space of social value that has a ripple effect. Lefebvre further comments that in the street, by occupying its space, a group or the city itself can take shape by appearing, performing, and appropriating the place.

3.5.2.1 Counter: from meeting place to passageway

The street is historically where revolutions took place, a place to exchange views and resist institutions. However, the street also facilitates the neo-capitalist organisation, to impose abstract space and express its dominance. The street allows for an extension of places with increased specialisation, where before artisans occupied the street both as the producer and seller. The street has now become a network for consumption, a place to display objects on sale and pedestrian circulation are a means to promote exchange. The street has been reduced to a passageway rather than a meeting place. When there is a threat to power, the first restrictions placed is the ability to loiter or assemble in the street. Urban space has been colonised through the streets using image, a system of objects and the advancement of abstract space (Lefebvre, 2003:19-21).

3.5.3 Parodic reproduction

According to Lefebvre, the transition from agriculture, industrial and urban brings about unprecedented ravage against the natural environment. Nature is reduced and further shrunk, is subject to violent death and is replaced by ideological naturalisation. Nature is fashioned in the form of open spaces, parks and gardens (Lefebvre, 2003).

These two Marxist theorists, Smith's (1987) rent gap theory and Lefebvre's (1974) production of space have been examined to give theoretical perspective and context to the discussion of gentrification to follow.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has given an overview of gentrification theory and has given context to different understandings of gentrification. The post-industrial and professionalization theses of gentrification were introduced. The theories of Neil Smith's rent gap and uneven development. A further theory Henri Lefebvre's the production of space and the urban society was then discussed. The latter theories will be used to interpret the case study.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology used in the study. The chapter starts with a discussion of the research design and paradigm. Further, the instruments for data collection, sampling method, criteria and rational are outlined. The chapter then discusses the data analysis and presentation procedures used in the study. Ethical considerations and qualitative research aspects of quality and trustworthiness of the study are discussed before the chapter summary.

4.2 Research design

The research design is a strategic framework for the execution of research, it served as a bridge between the research questions and the implementation of the research. Research observations are planned and guided by concrete research questions and design. The researcher seeks to draw conclusions or inferences from observations made. The research design provided a plan and a specific structure to ensure the execution of the research so that research questions are answered. The stages included planning, whereby the research questions and the design were defined, and the execution stage during which data was collected and interpreted and the final report was written (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2016:34).

4.3 Research methodology

Methodology is a systematic procedure that the researcher uses when conducting a study, starting from the identification of the problem to its final conclusion. The role of the methodology ensures that the research follows a scientific and valid manner. Methodology consists of procedures and techniques for conducting a study (Singh, 2006:79). There are two main research approaches: quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative methods are more commonly used in natural science research. The approach was first used by 10th-century scientist, Ibn al-Haytham, who developed experimental methods of controlled scientific testing to verify theoretical hypotheses (Steffens, 2006). The approach is to test an objective theory and examine the relationship between variables. The variables can be measured, and the numeric data can then be analysed using statistical methods. Research using this methodology is

more rigorous, tests theories deductively, protects against bias, uses counterfactual explanation and allows for the generalisation of findings (Creswell & Creswell, 2018:41).

Qualitative research is exploratory by nature; its methodology aims to provide an in-depth understanding of lived reality, and it seeks to make sense of social and material circumstances and experiences. Qualitative research uses adaptable methods of data collection, including interviews and observation that are sensitive to the context and respondent. The approach observes the unique experience of each respondent and allows for openness to new theory (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013:2-4). Babbie (2001:270) describes qualitative research as an "attempt to study human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves". Miller and Glassner (in Silverman, 1997:100) further note that qualitative research cannot offer a mirror reflection of the social world that positivists seek, but it can show the meanings people attribute to their social worlds and experiences. The data is collected in the participants' setting and general themes are developed from the resulting data. The data analysis uses an inductive process, building and refining themes, and the researcher further makes interpretations of the extracted themes (Creswell & Creswell, 2018:41).

Due to the complexity of this research, the social context in which it occurs and to gain an understanding of the different meanings held by Bo-Kaap residents, a qualitative approach was used. The research explored the understanding, perspective and lived experiences of residents; a qualitative approach was therefore appropriate. The study allowed residents to convey their lived experiences and narrative at a time of change and resistance.

4.4 Social constructionism

A paradigm is a system of practice and thinking that determines a researcher's nature of the inquiry. How information is constructed in qualitative or interpretive research informs the paradigm of the research. The paradigm is comprised of three dimensions: ontology, which specifies the nature of reality and what there is to know about it; epistemology, which specifies the construction of knowledge and the relationship with the researcher; and, methodology, which specifies the approach of

the study (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2016:6). Qualitative research by nature is based on induction; a process in which observations and evidence are gathered and knowledge and theories are derived thereafter (Ritchie et al., 2013:6). This interpretive paradigm is characterised by an internal reality of the subjective experience ontological framework; that is socially constructed. The epistemological premise is that the researcher or observer is participatory, observes the totality of the context and draws meaning from the situation in the interpretive paradigm (Terre Blanche et al., 2016:6). Observing in context is important, as the tenet is that interrelatedness and aspects of people's lives—such as psychological, social, economic, historical, and ethnic factors—all shape our understanding and experience of the world (Ritchie et al., 2013:13). The methodology employed in the interpretive paradigm allowed for in-depth knowledge and interpretation to be generated. This methodological approach is in contrast to positivism, which focuses on the importance of objectivity, standardisation and typically a deductive or scientific reasoning process.

4.5 Data collection methods

The methods of data collection included observation, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The first phase included in-depth interviews and observations, with observations providing critical insight into the spatial dynamics and the built environment of the area. The in-depth interviews allowed a better understanding of the narratives, explanations and experiences of Bo-Kaap residents in this study. Focus groups were used to access knowledgeable individuals who regularly participated in community activities and events. The framework, therefore, allows all the dimensions of the research to be explored—the context, the people, and the interactions.

4.5.1 Observation

All observations were done in a public setting, and most observations used the observer as participant or participant as observer approach. The spectrum includes complete participant, participant as observer, observer as participant and complete observer. Complete participant is when the researcher fully participates in an activity in the group being studied, partaking in activities and not disclosing to the group or persons they are being observed. Participant as observer is when the researcher

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discloses their status and engages in a close relationship with the group. This approach allows the researcher to ask questions directly and engage in the setting. Observer as participant is when the researcher observes in the most unobtrusive way, with limited engagement in the setting, and does not engage the group or form any relationships. The researcher, although present, may sit quietly and just observe the setting and interactions. Complete observers remain detached from the setting, and their presence is normally unknown. This approach is the most unobtrusive and is closest to observing the natural context (Nicholls, Mills & Kotecha in Ritchie, 2014:245-247).

Observation is the "systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours, artefacts of objects in the social setting chosen for study" (Marshall & Rossman, 2006:98). The researcher observes the behaviour of respondents and environment and documents the properties. The method allows for insight into interaction, processes and behaviour that may not be accurately conveyed verbally. The method is particularly useful where research involves complex interactions that would be hard to describe, and subconscious or instinctive actions that the respondent is unaware of or that are so ordinary as to go unnoticed. The method enables the gathering of information about people's interaction with the environment or physical space and contexts of social norms or pressures to conform (Nicholls, Mills & Kotecha in Ritchie, 2014:245).

Data gathered is relatively subjective as it relies on the observation, memory, and personal account of the researcher, especially if field notes are primarily used rather than audio or video recording. This approach is contrary to positivist methods as it allows for richness in information gathering, understanding of observed phenomena and immersion that are not possible using a quantitative approach.

Observation records are referred to as field notes; they are descriptions of what has been observed and detailed accounts of the setting. The selection of observed activities includes the physical, human, interaction and programme setting (Nicholls, Mills & Kotecha in Ritchie, 2014:254). Observations were conducted throughout this study and were used to inform and confirm narrative. Observations, documented in field notes, videos and photographs, were conducted in various locations in Bo-Kaap.

Six kinds of observations—general observations, community meetings and workshops, community events, community protests, engagement with government,

and court appearances—were conducted, with 35 observations in total. The eight general observations were used to observe people, their interactions and, in relation to the built environment, corner and street culture, and space. Observations were typically done before or after an in-depth interview. Two observations were done in each historical part of Bo-Kaap, namely the Malay Quarter, Schotsche Kloof, Stadzight and Schoone Kloof. Six BOCRA community meetings and workshops were attended; the forum and discussion were useful for information and to gauge community sentiment. Eight community events relating to community challenges, heritage recognition and gentrification were observed, as well as seven community protests. Four engagements with government were observed. Two court appearances (July 2018 and November 2018) in which Blok Urban Living (Pty) Ltd. had interdicted members of the Bo-Kaap community were attended. Observations were expansive and conducted in all four historic sub-neighbourhoods of Bo-Kaap, in meetings about gentrification and community engagements. Photographs documenting scenery were taken where permission was given. The wide scope of observation allowed extensive information gathering, observation in natural settings or proceedings and community dynamics. The observations gave better understanding of narratives and context.

4.5.2 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews allow collection of narratives of specific information in a detailed manner (Crabtree & Miller, 1999:93). They are often used when seeking expert knowledge or when interviewing specific demographics like age, gender, locality or circumstances. They can also provide a more intimate setting to discuss sensitive topics. Crabtree and Miller (1999:89) state that "seeing, listening, and touching is primary sources of information about the world". This interpretive epistemological framework uses interviews as a tool to gather information by creating a listening space where understanding and meanings can be constructed through a discussion of the interviewee's views and experiences.

According to Rubin and Rubin (2012:3), in-depth interviews allow the researcher to obtain detailed insight into the experiences, motives and opinions of respondents and to gain perspective of the way they see the world. In-depth interviews allow the

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reconstruction of events or portrayal of processes from different persons and an understanding of situations that the researcher may not have experienced.

In-depth interviews facilitate oral histories, gaining an understanding of extraordinary events like the Great Depression and World War II. They provide a window into the lives of ordinary people in extraordinary times. The events and trauma help explain the context and how an entire generation can be shaped (Rubin & Rubin, 2012:4). Within this case study, in-depth interviews provide narrative to the histories of apartheid and forced removal and how those experiences influence the interaction and perception of current challenges relating to gentrification. This study focuses on the lived experiences of residents; in-depth interviews allowed for an expansive discussion on understandings of gentrification and experiences, and how it's manifested in community life and the environment.

Interviews allowed for flexibility; the interviewer utilised a structured or unstructured style or a combination. In unstructured interviews, the interviewer maintains some frame of discussion so that all themes or topics under investigation are discussed. Interviews are interactive and generative. The interview allows the participant space to reflect on a situation or process. Content is generated from the discussion, and the interviewer can exercise flexibility as relevant content arises. Questions facilitated responses that explore the content and that are probing to get a deeper and fuller understanding. The in-depth format allows the researcher to understand the factors that underlie participants' responses, which can include their value system, experiences, circumstances, reasoning and beliefs. The interview places focus on the importance of language and how the participants express themselves, which in turn elucidates meaning (Yeo, Legard, Keegan, Ward, Nicholls & Lewis in Ritchie et al., 2014:183-184). This approach proved very successful with respondents; it put them at ease and allowed them to express themselves in their own words.

4.5.2.1 Scheduling interviews

Bo-Kaap has its own rhythm and time. Since most of the respondents were Muslim, the day is organised according to prayer times, which occur five times a day. Interviews in the day were scheduled after the second prayer time, which is typically at 14h00. Interviews in the evening were scheduled after the fourth or fifth prayer

time (half-hour after sunset or one and a half-hour after sunset). All activities in Bo-Kaap are scheduled in this manner. Participants were asked to indicate their availability, and interviews were conducted at a place of the respondent's preference, including their homes, the researcher's workplace or a local café.

4.5.2.2 In-depth interview respondent breakdown

Fourteen in-depth interviews were conducted accordingly: 10 with residents, 3 with community leaders, and one expert interview with a built environment professional from Development Action Group (DAG). A representative of the City of Cape Town's Department of Spatial Planning and Environment was invited to participate in the study but declined the invitation after requesting an outline of the discussion topics which was emailed. Residents and community leaders were purposely recruited because of their residence in Bo-Kaap for at least 18 years and because of knowledge and involvement in community activity. The group was balanced according to gender, age and each sub-neighbourhood of Bo-Kaap. The expert interview provided an alternate perspective to residents.

4.5.3 Focus group discussions

Focus groups are a research method of interviewing about 6-10 selected participants; the discussion is structured by the interviewer who is typically referred to as a moderator. The advantages of focus groups are that they are socially orientated and provide a more natural setting and allow flexibility to explore issues that arise naturally. Open-ended discussion enabled respondents to express themselves in their own terms, perspective and needs (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:114).

In contrast to in-depth interviews, focus groups allowed information to be generated through the interaction with participants. The context allowed the FGD participants to share their own views and listen to others' views, thereby allowing for reflection. The group dynamic presented a more social context than in-depth interviews; ideas and language emerge in a more natural setting. The interaction allowed synergy and generated insight and data. Residents shared their experiences, many residents had similar experiences and challenges; problems like inflated property rates and CBD workers parking in front of their homes. The approach permits questions, clarification and interaction that allow the topic to be move in a circular manner, back and forth,

ultimately leading to deeper, more refined and sharp understanding and explanation. The setting allows social construction, whereby the natural setting facilitates normative influences, the collective, the individual self-identity, and meanings attached and ways in which people perceive, experience and understand the world (Finch, Lewis, & Turley in Ritchie et al., 2014:212-213).

The focus group interviews were structured with different stages. The first stage involved scene-setting and ground rules; here, participants were told how the group would be conducted, setting a tone of respect and openness to different opinions. The second stage involved individual introductions, allowing each participant a chance to speak and so that they may be identified. Participants were also encouraged to say something about why they decided to join the focus group or how long they had been residing in the area. The third stage was the main discussion, exploring all the key issues; this was facilitated with the use of a discussion guide (Finch, Lewis, & Turley in Ritchie et al., 2014:218).

The research questions guided the central questions in the focus group, and care was taken to keep the discussion relevant. This involved choosing when to let the discussion flow with minimal intervention and deciding when to move to another topic (Finch, Lewis, & Turley, 2014 in Ritchie et al., 2014:223). The moderator was mindful of appropriate language so as to remain impartial and to create a forum for diverse views. Leading and multiple questions were avoided. The discussion was started with open-ended questions; thereafter probing or interpretative questions were used to get a deeper understanding of views and experiences expressed (Creswell, 2014:139-141). Further moderating included being mindful of non-verbal language and allowing everyone to participate. This process included limiting dominant participants and drawing out reluctant participants (Finch, Lewis, & Turley, 2014 in Ritchie et al., 2014:224-227).

4.5.3.1 Focus group composition

Two focus groups were conducted; the first group was an intact women's group and the second was a young adult group. Similar to the selection of in-depth interview respondents, all focus group participants were purposely recruited; all were adult

residents of Bo-Kaap who had lived in the area for at least 18 years and participated regularly in community activity.

For the first group, a women's group was used, as they are the most active in the community and civic activities; pickets and marches are dominated by older women in Bo-Kaap. The second group was of mixed gender and comprised of a group of young adults who are active in community activities and were recruited from civic associations, sports clubs and cultural groups. The women's focus group was held in the lounge of a participant's house where they often gather. The young adult focus group was held at a community centre in the evening. Both focus groups were recorded, and the audio was transcribed.

4.6 Sampling

The sampling employed in qualitative research is informed by the methodology and topic under investigation. Qualitative research seeks to understand subjective reality rather than to provide generalised findings. Typically, a subset of a population is selected using non-probability or qualitative sampling (Higginbottom, 2004:12-13). There are four types of qualitative sampling: convenience sampling, purposive or judgmental sampling, snowball sampling, and quota sampling.

Convenience sampling involves using available participants or stopping participants at a specific location. Purposive sampling involves recruiting a research participant who is knowledgeable on a topic or who belongs to a specific demographic being studied. Snowball sampling is used to recruit members of a population that are hard to recruit. The researcher locates initial members of the target population, collects information from them and then asks them to recommend further members of the population. Quota sampling selects participants into a sample on the basis of specific characteristics to create a sample that has the same distribution characteristics as the larger population (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:183-185).

This study made use of purposive or judgmental sampling. Fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted with respondents selected using the aforementioned criteria. Participants were gender, young adult, and youth (18 – 35 years) inclusive.

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The criteria used to select focus group respondents by default meant that all participants were of Cape Malay or Indian descent and active in community life. Ages are defined as youth (18 – 35 years), young adult (36 – 45 years), middle-aged adult (46 – 55 years), mature adult (56 – 65 years), and senior (older than 65 years) accordingly. All age groups were included in the sample. The intact women's community group was comprised of respondents in the middle-aged adult, mature adult, and senior age categories. The second focus group purposely sampled younger respondents to be youth, young adult and gender inclusive.

In qualitative research, there is no commonly accepted sample size. The sample size is dependent on the "purpose of study, research questions, and the richness of the data" (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen, & Kyngäs, 2014:4). Although the sample was defined, data saturation was used to confirm that an optimal size was achieved. Data saturation ensures the replication of categories and ensures comprehensiveness (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002:17-18).

4.7 Data analysis and presentation

Qualitative data analysis is the examination and interpretation of observations. It involves breaking down, thematising and categorising and then rebuilding, elaborating and interpreting information. Content or interpretive data analysis includes five steps: familiarisation and immersion, inducing themes, coding, elaboration and interpretation and checking (Terre Blanche et al., 2006:322-326). The interpretive analysis is an inductive process in which themes develop through viewing the material, and these themes should be natural derivatives from the text but should also have a bearing on the research question. Coding involves breaking up data into different sections; these may include one or many themes and subthemes. The final step is interpretation and checking, and a written account of the research inquiry is made, often using thematic categories. Findings then need to be reviewed, checking for inconsistencies or weak arguments, possible biases and rationale of interpretation. The researcher also has to be aware of their effect on the research and objectivity (Terre Blanche et al., 2006:321-331). This process was expansive due to the number of interviews conducted and information generated, this allowed for comprehensiveness.

4.8 Research ethics

The research was guided by recognised ethical standards. There are several approaches to ethics, and those discussed below are widely accepted. The philosophical principles applied to ensure the research was conducted ethically were guided by an approach referred to as principlism. The four main principles are autonomy and respect for the dignity of persons, non-maleficence, beneficence and justice. Autonomy and respect for the dignity of persons include ensuring that participation is voluntary and that confidentiality is maintained. The non-maleficence principle requires the researcher exercise due diligence not to harm participants directly or indirectly by taking part in the study. Beneficence is a principle that seeks to maximise the benefit of research and to consider possible risks and wrongs relative to the benefits, advancement, and knowledge that may be gained by conducting the research. Justice requires that research be conducted with fairness and equality; this principle was applied throughout the study (Wassenaar, 2016 in Terre Blanche et al., 2016:67-68). Babbie (2007:62-67) further elaborates on the importance that research follows the ethical guidelines of voluntary participation, informed consent, lack of harm or risk to participants, protection of participants' privacy, confidentiality and anonymity.

The research was conducted in a way to avoid or minimise any possible harm or wrongs incurred by participants. Participants were not coerced to take part in the study and they could withdraw at any time. Participants were given an information sheet and consent form. The information sheet provided basic information about the study and confirmed that the participant's identity and any disclosed information would remain anonymous. The sheet also provided contact details of the researcher and the University of the Western Cape, and the Institute for Social Development. Participants were informed that the research findings would be used for academic purposes only and that information would be presented as themes found in the study or be reported using pseudonyms instead of the participant's real name.

The researcher was granted permission from the University of the Western Cape and the Institute for Social Development to undertake the research. The researcher also discussed the scope of the study and possible concerns with the local civic association

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(BOCRA). The researcher practised awareness and sensitivity to discussion of an emotive nature. A debriefing was conducted with all participants to determine any effects of the study. The concluded work will be made available to participants.

4.9 Limitations of the study

The majority of residents were partly to fully bilingual, speaking both English and Afrikaans. Although the discussion guide was scripted in English, there were instances when the researcher needed to rephrase questions in Afrikaans for certain participants. Care was taken to translate questions accurately to prevent deviation from the intended meaning. Participants were allowed to speak both English and Afrikaans.

4.10 Research quality and trustworthiness

The qualitative approach or naturalistic inquiry has been subject to much criticism relative to the positivist research approach, which posits that naturalistic inquiry is undisciplined and that observations are subjective. Lincoln and Guba (1985) contest this and provide a recommended guide to support the trustworthiness of the naturalistic paradigm. Trustworthiness is addressed by four elements that can be used as a reference: truth value, applicability, consistency and neutrality. Truth value considers how one can establish confidence in the findings of an inquiry within the context. Applicability considers to what degree the findings of a given study may be applied in other contexts or other respondents. Consistency considers whether the findings of an inquiry would be repeated if it were replicated with the same respondents and the same or similar context. Neutrality considers how the findings and conditions of an inquiry are the function of the respondents and not the bias and interests of the inquirer. Within the positivist paradigm, these criteria are addressed through internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity. Positivist research has focused on the importance of generalisability, prediction and control. According to Morgan (1983a:14-15 in Lincoln & Guba, 1985), these criteria are based on assumptions relevant to positivist research and not relevant to the naturalistic paradigm. Further, different research perspectives produce different knowledge claims; therefore the criteria should be appropriate.

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In seeking to provide trustworthiness and to find criteria appropriate to the naturalistic paradigm, Guba (1981) has identified credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. These are illustrated and discussed below.

Aspect	Scientific Term	Naturalistic Term
Truth Value	Internal Validity	Credibility
Applicability	External Validity Generalizability	Transferability
Consistency	Reliability	Dependability
Neutrality	Objectivity	Confirmability

Figure 4.1 Scientific and Naturalistic Terms Appropriate to the Four Aspects of Trustworthiness (Guba, 1981:80)

4.10.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to the confidence in the truth of the research findings. It seeks to ensure that the information collected has been drawn from the respondents and correctly interpreted (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The strategies used in this study to ensure credibility included prolonged engagement at the site, persistent observation, member checking and triangulation.

The fieldwork was conducted over a lengthily period, with 35 separate observations. Member checking involved discussing data and interpretations with the community and getting feedback and further depth of insight. Lincoln (1995) cites that a naturalistic inquiry seeking out multiple constructions of the world from different stakeholders requires sustained searches and prolonged engagement. Triangulation allowed the researcher to approach a topic from a range of vantage points. Triangulation is commonly associated with mixed methodology. However, it can also mean using different data sources, e.g. focus groups, interviews, observations (Treharne & Riggs, 2015). In this study, data was triangulated from all utilised data sources.

4.10.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other settings and with other respondents. The researcher has facilitated this by providing descriptions of the process and participants. This includes the context in which the research was carried out, sample criteria and demographics, sample size and interview procedure. Care has been taken to provide accurate descriptions and documentation to increase transferability (Korstjens & Moser, 2018:122).

4.10.3 Dependability, confirmability, and reflexivity

Dependability refers to the stability of a finding over time. The naturalist view is broader than typical positivist research, therefore, traditional criteria of reliability are not suitable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:299). Confirmability is the degree to which the findings can be confirmed by other researchers. Confirmability is concerned with findings being derived from the data, rather than from the researcher's viewpoints (Korstjens & Moser, 2018:122).

To ensure dependability, an extensive audit trail was kept. An audit trail provides a comprehensive record of the naturalistic inquiry processes, data collection, construction, coding, findings and how data was validated (Anney, 2014). Within the course of this study, records included raw data, schedules, interview notes, observation notes, transcripts, documents, audio recordings and a journal.

A further criterion to consider is the researcher's effect on the study. Assessing this aspect involves critical reflection, awareness of own biases and perceptions, and considering the researcher's effect on respondents (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Korstjens & Moser, 2018). During the study, use of a journal was made for noting the interaction, setting and other reflexive notes. These criteria increased the trustworthiness of the research.

4.11 Summary

This chapter discussed the research approach used to conduct the study. It provided an account of the research design, data collection tools, sampling, data collection methods and data analysis procedure. The chapter ended with the ethical guidelines used in the study and qualitative research aspects of quality and trustworthiness. The following chapter presents the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1 Introduction

The research findings will be written in three sections hereby addressing the research questions: what are Bo-Kaap residents' understanding of gentrification, how does gentrification manifest in the everyday life of residents, and how gentrification has affected the socio-spatial relations of residents. The themes that have emerged will be discussed under these sections. The theoretical backdrop will reflect on the gentrification theory of Neil Smith, and Henri Lefebvre's production of space. The last section will examine general findings and end with a summary. Pseudonyms have been given to residents where quotes are inserted.

5.2 Understanding of gentrification: they see our homes as a commodity

The built environment, as Neil Smith noted, has become a vehicle for capital accumulation. Capital constantly seeks places where the rate of return is higher; this creates unequal flows of capital and cycles of depreciation and investment. Once a rent gap arises, an area becomes favourable for investment (Smith, 1979:546-547). The Bo-Kaap's proximity to the Cape Town CBD and the City's revitalisation is critical in how the space has been disrupted. From observation, it is clear that the city has encroached on the boundary between the two areas, with a significant amount of businesses operating within Bo-Kaap. The city's transformation, investment and expansion directly impacted the area. Although the Cape Town CBD did not experience white flight as extensive as what occurred in Johannesburg, the inner-city had suffered divestment and decline with capital outflow to developments and commerce to the south of the city (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2568-2570). This decline created the opportunity for rent gap, and when government created a favourable neo-liberal framework, capital returned to the city in the late 1990s and gentrification followed.

Government created favourable conditions for investors, focused on attracting global capital and tourism in the CBD. This was done by regulating public space; limiting or prohibiting informal traders, removing the homeless and increasingly sanitising the inner-city, introducing paid street parking in the city and introducing extra security

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and cleaning services funded by increased rates. Other incentives included granting building tax rebates and weakening zoning regulations to encourage investment and redevelopment of building stock (Miraftab, 2007:608-610). Furthermore, the CBD's size is limited due to the geographical constraints of the mountain and sea to the west and north as well as reservation of part of the east city for land restitution (District Six). An expanding city, therefore, resulted in businesses, investors and individuals moving into Bo-Kaap seeking favourable land value.

Bo-Kaap is the only historical area of colour in the inner-city. During Apartheid, a buffer zone along Buitengracht Street existed between Bo-Kaap and the whites only city. Buffer zones were used extensively in Apartheid spatial planning. These architectural divisions were made up of roads, rivers, empty land or non-residential usage like industrial areas. They were used to separate communities of different races and classes, and many remain intact in the architecture of the city today. The buffer zones were an essential part of the Apartheid city as they differentiated the landscape, established boundaries and prevented contact between communities (Giraut & Vacchiani-Marcuzzo, 2013:67-70). In Bo-Kaap, part of the buffer zone included industrial buildings, warehouses and garages. Sarah is a middle-aged female resident and civic association leader who became involved in civic movements and activism as a youngster in the struggle against the Apartheid regime. She describes how Bo-Kaap was segregated from the white CBD:

> …a buffer zone went along the main corridors like Strand Street and Buitengracht Street. In the 50s and in the 60s these buffer zones were created deliberately because of the Group Areas Act. So even if there were houses there these were thrown down there, and the type of buildings that were built there were warehouse type of buildings, garages. So initially they had Slums Act and then after that, they created a buffer zone between Bo-Kaap and the white city. So, they had all these industrial-style buildings as a buffer zone.

Once capital returned to the city in the mid to late 1990s this buffer zone became an accessible space for commercial exploitation, with its proximity to the CBD and relatively lower ground rent.

Mariam, a female community activist, has been residing in the Bo-Kaap for over 45 years. Mariam's activism against apartheid and contemporary perspective of gentrification was shaped when she and her family were forcefully removed from District Six.[2] She recalls the early stages of gentrification when an industrial building opened in the buffer zone; the building is now used for jewellery manufacturing and as a precious metals refinery, and when the Leeuwen Mansions flats were bought by investors. Mariam states that:

> Gentrification in Bo-Kaap has been a fight for more than 20 years. This building [pointing to the] the refinery and Leeuwen Mansions were the first buildings that we started protesting against in terms of gentrification.

Ten families who lived in Leeuwen Mansions flats received an eviction notice in 2001. The families had gone to court and the initial order had been withdrawn by the landlord. It was reported that the tenants were facing eviction as a result of the area becoming fashionable and rentals were spiralling beyond the reach of the current tenants ("Bo-Kaap wins first round", 2001).

Although there had been property-seeking investors and newcomers before then, this occasion was significant as long-standing residents were being evicted from the Leeuwen Mansions flats. Residents also report concern about the health and environmental impact of the refinery.

After a three-decade period of inner-city decline in most major cities in South Africa, capital returned in the late 1990s and advanced in the 2000s. In Cape Town, from the 1960s there had been capital outflow and white flight that had resulted in significant nodes to the south of the city. This decentralisation over a long period resulted in devaluation and disinvestment of the inner-city which created the conditions for gentrification (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2568-2570).

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[2] District Six is a former inner-city predominantly coloured residential area in Cape Town. Over 60,000 of its inhabitants were forcibly removed during the 1970s by the Apartheid regime. The inner-city was declare a white area under the Group Areas Act and all non-white residents of District Six were removed and relocated to the outskirts of the city.

Bo-Kaap has faced a multitude of challenges: its relatively low property value compared to surrounding areas provided opportunities for development and rent-seeking. Its proximity to the inner-city, touristic, cultural and architectural appeal has made it a somewhat ideal site for gentrification. Comparisons can be drawn to a city like Venice, Italy, where capital and economy have overshadowed the social value of the city and existing residents are increasingly being displaced (Zurro, 2014).

Historically, Bo-Kaap can be divided into four sub-neighbourhoods: the Malay Quarter, Schotsche Kloof, Stadzight and Schoone Kloof. These sub-neighbourhoods all have distinct features and variable proximity to the city. The lower sub-neighbourhood; the Malay Quarter and Schoone Kloof have a mix of residential and commercial properties including differential land and zoning rights. The sub-neighbourhoods also have distinct socio-economic characteristics, which were discussed in detail in the introduction. The uniqueness of each sub-neighbourhood has meant that gentrification has unfolded differently in the respective sub-neighbourhoods of Bo-Kaap. The Malay Quarter and Schoone Kloof are threatened by businesses and developers, and many houses along Rose and Buitengracht Street have been transformed into office spaces, creative studios, and cafes servicing the middle class. There is also a newly developed luxury apartment complex in Schoone Kloof which was previously part of St. Monica's maternity hospital grounds. While in the Malay Quarter luxury apartments have been built on the fridge as the residential parts have stricter heritage regulations. The upper sub-neighbourhood Stadzight consists mainly of residential properties. Properties in Stadzight are sought after by developers because of the unobtrusive mountain views, the first security estate is situated here at the top of Signal Hill. The small road was redeveloped after property developers bought most of the houses, and it would indicate erven were joined for the estate to be constructed. The proposed properties were initially advertised as luxury residential units priced between R5.75 million and R7.3 million ("New Bo Kaap security estate", 2014). The estate was soon thereafter acquired by property developer Cedar Falls 212 (Pty). The property developer had acquired the estate and purchased the last resident-owned property on the block which had been home to the Misbach family for over 70 years and also from where they ran a small restaurant called the Noon Gun Tea Room. The house despite community objections lodged concerning heritage would be demolished (Isaacs, 2018). The site was transformed into a luxury

boutique accommodation, Dorp Hotel. The hotel was designed using Cape Dutch and Georgian-style architecture (Botha, 2019). The architectural style used is famous and associated with Bo-Kaap, the impressive facade masks the violence of gentrification and how the space has been contrived.

The historic part of the Malay Quarter is increasingly flooded by tourists and short-term rental arrangements like Airbnb. Touristification of the sub-neighbourhood and platform capitalism like Airbnb are reported by residents as also contributing toward a lack of affordable housing and displacing the community. The threat to the community is capital investment rather than a significant amount of middle-class people moving into the area. Schotsche Kloof the sub-neighbourhood comprising of historically social housing units landscape remains intact but some residents report an influx of immigrant workers and other outsiders seeking affordable rentals close to the city.

Gentrification in Bo-Kaap is layered, occurring at different levels within the sub-neighbourhoods. Smith (1979:546) notes that "gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets". Due to local market conditions, gentrification's manifestation is not universal, but gentrification consistently requires collective action whereby financial institutions, professional developers, real estate agencies invest capital or/and stimulate growth, and government provide favourable economic and regulatory conditions. These production factors drive the return of capital.

A key factor in the redevelopment of the CBD was the first office-to-luxury apartment conversion of Mutual Heights in 2005 (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2577). Thereafter, over 40 office towers were converted to high-end residential units, mainly funded by multinational companies (Pirie, 2007:135). This large-scale investment in the CBD had a significant impact on Bo-Kaap as an adjacent neighbourhood. Apart from the encroaching city on the buffer zone, Bo-Kaap also became attractive to individual gentrifiers. This shift is reminiscent of Glass's observations (1964) of gentrification of Greater London: as one district gentrifies it expands, pushing outwards and displacing working-class occupants.

Miraftab (2007:614) comments on the dominant neoliberal policy and sanitisation of the Cape Town inner-city using Central Improvement Districts (CIDs) as a vehicle. CIDs are public-private partnerships facilitated by local government and used as a strategy for economic development and revitalisation. CIDs uses funds generated by ratepayers, who pay an extra levy (13% of their property rates) to receive more and better services; among these are security, cleaning and marketing (Miraftab, 2007: 605). The CIDs' aim is to retain business in the CBD, encourage investment and make the city globally competitive by facilitating ease of business for multinational firms.

Faranak Miraftab (2007:614) further says that "…the city center's real estate boom and the pressing gentrification of adjacent neighborhoods are meanwhile aggressively displacing residents with middle and lower incomes". Miraftab's observations are echoed in the words of a Bo-Kaap resident, Gadija, who describes how her neighbourhood has gradually been encroached upon and vividly demonstrates how local residents of colour have been forcibly displaced by apartheid policies in the CBD and now gentrification in the Bo-Kaap:

> [P]eople used to stay in Loader Street [De Waterkant]. All my cousins they used to stay next to that mosque… They doing that to us. That [De Waterkant] has all been taken away, gone without us knowing. If you look further back [to the apartheid years], people [of colour] used to stay in Dock Road [Foreshore and V&A Waterfront] and systemically they move the border, move the border…[N]ow the final line or in our time now while we are conscious, while we know what's going on they made the borderline Strand Street, but now Pick n Pay [supermarket] is there and the other big skyscraper is there, so they [are] still moving, moving, moving, so we need to do something to stop them.
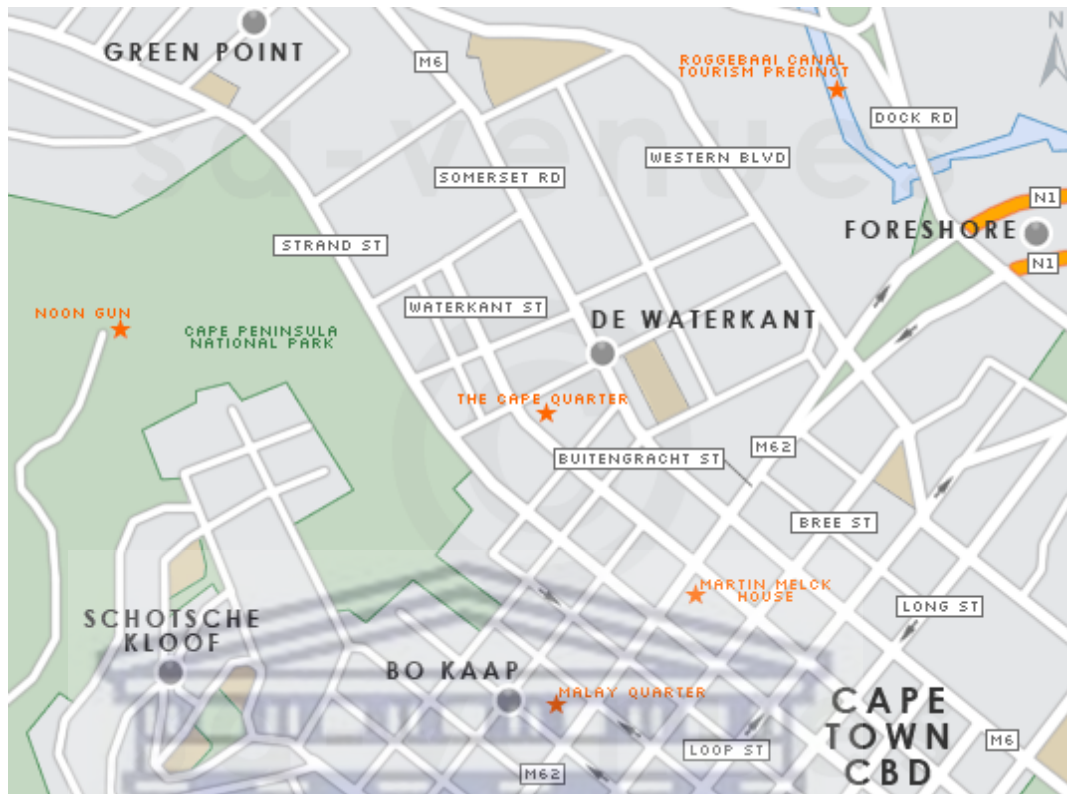
Figure 5.1 Map of Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant (SA-venues, 2013)

The map above shows the area discussed by Gadija. The streets and roads mentioned are to the east of Bo-Kaap and now form part of De Waterkant, Foreshore and the V&A Waterfront. Gadija's life is interlinked with the history of Cape Town's inner-city, she grew up in District Six a predominately coloured area in the inner-city which was demolished and its residents forcefully removed under Apartheid. She feels a sense of vulnerability having been displaced by the Group Areas Act of 1950 under Apartheid (South African History Online, 2014) and now increasingly through neoliberal policy and economics where families are struggling to remain in Bo-Kaap in the post-Apartheid era.

Faced with increased commercial and luxury building development within and near Bo-Kaap, Bo-Kaap Civic and Ratepayers Association (BOCRA) wrote to Heritage Western Cape in January 2018 requesting provisional protection in terms of Section 29 of the National Heritage Resources Act (see Appendix A). BOCRA listed 15 contested building applications and sites under construction, which included several high-rise buildings and high-density structures. In their view, real estate capital

returning to the CBD was spilling over into Bo-Kaap, thus posing a risk to the way of life and livelihoods of residents.

Apart from the multimillion-rand building developments, individual gentrifiers have also become active in Bo-Kaap. Smith (1979:546-547) describes how individual gentrifiers can express their consumer preference, particularly in gentrified adjacent neighbourhoods, although they still require financial institutions for capital. Residents report that newcomers are typically affluent and "white" or "foreign" and that they do not become part of the social fabric of the area. For example, according to Mariam:

> The newcomers are mostly foreigners, or it could be South Africans who have money but definitely not disadvantaged, not people of colour. There are people of colour who have money but still, they can't afford to buy in Bo-Kaap it's still above their means. …the foreigners who move in they don't become your neighbour, they build high walls; they don't live here, they are absent landlords. This is a problem…

Residents report that the newcomers have an alternate perspective of their property, namely, that the residence is typically an investment or a seasonal home. This in conflict with the neighbourhood culture, and as the area gentrifies, more houses are removed from the social fabric, thereby reducing the social capital of the area. Mustafa, who has lived in Bo-Kaap his whole life comments;

> I think firstly the notion if someone views property as a commodity or not. The gentrifiers they view property as a commodity. They don't buy into the community, they want the property and that's an investment. So, they will stick around or they will rent it out, and they will flip it for whatever amount. … [T]he people who have bought the houses are white and foreign, they are not locals. They foreigners, they either stay for a few months at home. [T]he very neighbour next to my mum he's a photographer, so he's about 4-5 months at home and then he travels, to Europe and wherever else.

Bo-Kaap residents are facing significant challenges as more properties are bought by investors and foreigners. For Hajir the threat of displacement due to market forces is

worrying. As a child, her family was forcefully removed from Claremont under the Group Areas Act. She has since resided in Bo-Kaap for about 40 years, after finding a place when she was newlywed. Hajir similarly states that:

> [I]t's foreigners. It's [housing] used mostly for investments. Paul rents out his house, then there are people in Wale Street. The foreigners bought the house, and they use it as B&Bs accommodation. It's investment, it's a money-making thing and ultimately, they can just sell and move away and profit and the people that used to live there are gone.

These comments show the impact of the global economy whereby capital can cross borders and seek profit with severe consequences for communities in the Global South. This also has implications for local regulatory systems as foreign capital purchasing residential stock bypass the standard financial systems, and valuation, and inflates the local housing market.

Residents are explicit in their descriptions of gentrification as "moneyed" persons who are buying up property and using it as seasonal homes, business or commercial entities. They understand that capital is being invested in the area in excess, under favourable market conditions and regulation. Residents feel the situation is making it increasingly harder to remain in the area.

In his research, Nico Kotze (2013) reached similar findings which indicate that although displacement was limited, there was a clear narrative of vast change in the area. According to Kotze (2013:131) the redevelopment of Bo-Kaap to a trendy area with touristic appeal has had a negative impact on older residents who would like to preserve the "Cape Malay Muslim" character of the area. Further that if the property prices were to keep rising that it would fall into the hands of people with money.

5.3 Manifestations of gentrification in the everyday life

The below section will discuss how gentrification has affected the everyday life of residents. The section starts with a discussion of the role of government to give context and then discusses themes of displacement and dispossession.

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5.3.1 The City does not work for you

Smith (1996) refers to the "revanchist city" as a place wherein the city is systematically reclaimed from the working class by the bourgeoisie. This unfolds with gentrification, as homeless people, working-class residents and minorities become subject to anti-poor policy and cultural imposition, fashioned to suit a new class of residents and occupants of the space.

Smith (1998) examined New York City's (NYC) trajectory under Mayor Giuliani and the adoption of neoliberal policy, shifting away from liberal policies prominent in the 1960s and using zero-tolerance policies to displace the homeless, loitering, graffiti, unruly youth and "unsavoury" other elements and make space for a new order. Smith argues that the revanchist had become an increasingly global movement with a multinational clampdown and presence in cities utilising private paramilitary-style policing and surveillance, ultimately becoming what he called planetary revanchism (Smith, 2005:11-12). Miraftab (2007) discusses the arrival of planetary revanchism in Cape Town's CID strategy, which replicated many of the aspects of the New York policies. Like other Global South cities, Cape Town has implemented an urban revitalisation model to attract global investment and business. Municipal structures were changed to cost recovery models in which increasing taxes are collected and local governmental structures are required to operate as private entities. Spatial practices are shifted to increased regulation of use. What was previously open to less affluent residents and loitering is now "sanitised" to make way for business, commerce and, by extension, gentrification. This illustrates what Smith (2008) discusses as the State's active role in a property-based regime of accumulation: not only does the State facilitate the economic transfers of land to global developers, but it also executes revanchist policies through eviction. These neoliberal policies have had a direct impact on Bo-Kaap due to its proximity to the CBD, with gentrification occurring within the area due to the domino effect.

Bo-Kaap residents identify three main themes on this point, as discussed below:

5.3.1.1 Modern-day forced removal

With the restructuring of local government toward a more neoliberal framework under GEAR (Growth Employment and Redistribution programme), 90% of municipal budgets have to be collected from local government revenue. The revenues include the sale of bulk services (water, sanitation, and electricity), with the remaining from property rates and levies (Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998 in Watson 2002:77). This cost recovery model of revenue collection has remained in place however according to Statistics South Africa (2018) municipalities in South Africa now only generated 72% of their own income. The remaining budget is financed by national and provincial government and voluntary donations from public constituencies.

Bo-Kaap residents reported that increasing property rates were a major source of stress and this increased expenditure negatively impacted household income. Residents of Bo-Kaap are historically craftspeople, textile workers, and holders of other lower-income occupations. Most families have lived in their property for many generations. As a result, residents of the area typically do not view their houses as a commodity, but the area's proximity to the CBD has meant that Bo-Kaap's property valuation has exponentially increased. This increase has translated into very high municipal levies for long-standing residents. Mariam discusses this:

> Property rates have always been a fight in Bo-Kaap. People are under the impression, or let me say that outsiders are under the impression that people who live in Bo-Kaap are wealthy because we are in the city. People don't realise that we've been here for over 300 years…[W]e have always fought against the rates, people are not coping. …[I]f we cannot afford the rates then we are becoming a problem; they want to sell and developers put up high-rise buildings they make a lot of money, they [the City of Cape Town] sell the public land and they get more rates. Again, its forced removals but its economic forced removals it's not forced removals like in the old days.

Residents report problems with rebates, and the stress of high municipal bills is driving them to sell their properties. Mogamad a community leader who has resided in Bo-Kaap for over 50 years discusses the situation:

> I don't think people are coping, I just had a chat with my father last night and he showed me the rates paper, he's got the pensioner's rebate but yet they send him a bill of R4000, and they demanding that he pay that until they correct it. He's been paying this for how many years, and the municipality doesn't want to listen to him, to check on his previous accounts that he has been granted a pensioner's rebate. The City is demanding R4000, where do you get a R4000. And he's still lucky because we are living with him and we can contribute. Some people can't pay their debts and that's what happens people are being threatened by "can't afford", I would rather be threatened physically than that, that is a mental threat. The old people panic, this is the law, they can't afford then what they do is they sell.

Another resident Hajir reflects on the role of white capital coming into Bo-Kaap and altering the environment and market-orientated government policy:

> …the white elite is still profiting because big businesses and developers have come to Bo-Kaap and it has altered the environment and affected us. If you look; the City rates, it has affected us, property evaluations are now done every 3 years, it is like exploitation because ultimately it forces us out of this area. … [T]he valuation; it's ridiculous we don't have any intentions to sell our home according to market value, that's only when you have an intention to sell your home. Even our electric tariff and other charges depend on the valuation of your property; it is so unfair, we [are] like barefoot millionaires

Residents report that property rates are being used to systematically remove them from the area. Smith (2008) refers to this as revanchist policies of eviction, a violent process that has been legislated, one that is immoral but still legal. Many Bo-Kaap residents were previously forcefully removed from District Six and Claremont during Apartheid, they now find themselves being pushed out of the city due to increased

rates imposed by local government, the interests of business, and the inner-city increasingly being refashioned for a middle-class lifestyle.

5.3.1.2 Waves of displacement and dispossession

The Bo-Kaap community came about as a result of the colonial mercantile expansion. Part of the community's heritage is from the Indonesian Archipelago. The Dutch East Indian Company's expansion resulted in the first incident of dispossession and displacement, and further for some enslavement. Some of the ancestors of Bo-Kaap residents were brought to the Cape either as slaves or craftsmen to fill the Company's need for labour. Others were prominent members of colonised areas of the East, including royalty and religious leaders who were perceived as a threat to Company activities in Colonies and therefore removed to the Cape for purposes of political isolation. Once in the Cape, those enslaved served as labour, and prominent leaders were sent to Robben Island or isolated on the outskirts of the Cape like Macassar. The colonial rule in the Cape was followed by Apartheid – many of Bo-Kaap's current residents have lived the majority of their lives under Apartheid. Residents speak of the sadness of forced removals under Apartheid, Hajir describes her experience;

> I wasn't born in Bo-Kaap, my father was. I lived in Claremont, Harfield Village. It was very similar to Bo-Kaap. It had a community spirit a sense of community culture in the road where Livingstone [High School] is now. I grew up in that road. And then of course Apartheid was introduced, and we were forcefully removed to Strandfontein. And when we moved to Strandfontein my father always said one day my child [we will return home – Bo-Kaap] because I was very unhappy when we moved from Harfield Village to Strandfontein. It was totally different, it was isolated, it's on the periphery [of the city] it's not central while Harfield, Claremont was very central to other commodities [city services and commerce]. That was a very sad experience, having to move, we were uprooted, I lost all my friends and beautiful memories.

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For residents who formerly lived in District Six and Claremont, it is evident how place, memory, and identity are interlinked. Residents mention landmarks and what milestones happened there; they relate place to periods of their life and memories. "Place" is therefore layered and holds a sense of identity.

These narratives speak of the pain of displacement and the current vulnerability the community is facing under market conditions. During Apartheid the law legitimated forced removals, today gentrification and displacement are being driven by neoliberal polices. Although these are both legal means, there was significant social and moral objection toward forced removals under Apartheid. In post-Apartheid South Africa market forces and local government policy including rates based on property valuation and CIDs are having the same effect of displacing vulnerable communities, however, it is seen to be acceptable. Neoliberal policy and thinking have become mainstream; in so the community's concerns are made invisible and somewhat irrelevant. The free market and policy are seen as rational. A resident Gadija speaks about her fear of displacement and the accompanying sense of vulnerability and compares her experience to those who were forcefully removed. She also relates the dispossession of a sense of place, the ability to gather and assemble, belonging and social reproduction for family, especially children:

> I was always feeling heartsore for my family, like even myself I can't take the train, I can't travel. If I go to Mitchells Plain with a car… if I go there I want to come home early before dark. This place [Mitchells Plain] is heartsore for me. They [the government] never really compensated the people properly, and now you feel; we have always lived *lekker* [well], we could go to work, our children could go to the beach. Now see what they're doing to you now, you are feeling what they feel [the people who were forcefully removed] you [are] feeling what they're feeling. Where are you going to be tomorrow? What will you be able to afford? Where are you going to go? Where are you going to buy? The children who have gone away [working in other places] they don't have a base to come back to, it's heartsore if you don't have a base [family home] to come back to.

According to Smith (2002:440), "gentrification portends a displacement of working-class residents from urban centers". Terms or policies like "urban regeneration", "city

improvement districts" often disguise the violence of gentrification and displacement of lower-class residents. Displacement can occur through direct eviction or when rising costs force residents to move. Parallels can be drawn between Bo-Kaap and Brooklyn, New York, as both neighbourhoods have experienced a considerable influx of moneyed residents. Lees (2003) discusses super gentrification in Brooklyn Heights, which from 1970 to 1980 saw a 9.7% population increase in the wealthiest New York families. This resulted in significant inflation, whereby the average owner-occupied property median price was valued at $1.5 million (Lees, 2003:2502). The effect is the loss of affordable housing options and barriers for long-standing residents of Brooklyn and Bo-Kaap.

The next section will discuss how gentrification has affected the social and religious life of residents.

5.4. Religious performativity and displacement

Gentrification is threatening social and religious practices in Bo-Kaap
This section discusses the disruption of practices like funerals and Thursday night prayers. These practices form an important part of maintaining neighbourhood networks and social cohesion in Bo-Kaap. Further many businesses are moving into the area, and houses purchased by investors often remain vacant, this results in a vacuum of culture and a lack of neighbourliness.

5.4.1 Funerals: "formally from Bo-Kaap"

Residents report a sense of sadness when community funeral notices are read out on the mosque loudspeaker. They report that many notices included a sentence "formally from Bo-Kaap" X street. They discuss that Muslim burial rites are the last religious ceremony and, as a neighbour, you are obligated to attend a funeral. Funerals in Bo-Kaap are attended by the whole community, with mourners overflowing from the house into the streets. With increasing numbers of people being displaced, more funeral notices are read but the person's residence is now elsewhere. This last rite and community gathering have been gentrified, as many former residents have relocated well outside the city and former neighbours, who are largely elderly, are unable to travel to the funeral. Residents report that the area does not feel the same anymore;

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that both the presence of the new and the absence of regular cultural performativity have affected the social space. Rodriguez (2020) dubbed this type of situation as cultural displacement, which is the "practice of making communities feel unwelcome and alienated in their own neighbourhoods" that often precedes and perpetuates physical displacement.

5.4.2 Thursday nights: *Gadat* tradition disrupted

With the proximity to the CBD and increased newcomers in Bo-Kaap, there are conflicting cultural practices. One of these is First Thursdays; a coordinated programme in the CBD where galleries, restaurants, bars and shops extend their opening hours well into the evening. The CBD becomes congested on these evenings and Bree Street with its density of art galleries, bars and night clubs becomes the centre of the event.

Bree Street is located one block from Bo-Kaap and consequently, traffic and loud music carry well into Bo-Kaap. For Bo-Kaap's Muslim residents, Thursday nights are holy nights that precede the obligatory Friday prayer gathering, Jumuah. Bo-Kaap has a rich history of *thikr*, referred to locally as *gadat* (remembrance of God). On a Thursday evenings *gadat* prayers are recited through a collection of invocations and supplications from the Holy Qur'an; this practice has been in place for generations. The evenings typically include gathering at a house or mosque where the Arabic melodic prayers are recited, followed by cake and savoury treats. With the advent of First Thursdays, Bo-Kaap residents now encounter congestion and noise, the whole area is disturbed and a way of life and practices upheld for centuries are threatened. This disruption serves as an illustration of the restructuring of space to meet the needs of capital by dismantling and displacing the social, cultural and economic needs of people noted by Smith (1979:547).

5.4.3 Cultural black holes and displacement
Bo-Kaap residents have an acute understanding that their culture is embedded in them and speak about the preservation of the area being interlinked with living heritage. Although the area is famous for its colourful houses and architecture, residents feel

the community has been disregarded by government and business. For example, Mogamad highlights how culture is viewed by residents of Bo-Kaap:

[A]n old man walking down there, that is living heritage. An old lady of 90 years old, that is living heritage to me. The call to prayer, that is living heritage, the klopse [Cape Minstrels], that is living heritage.

The influx of newcomers presents a breakdown in the social fabric of the area. Old residents who are forced to leave are replaced by newcomers who do not integrate into the community. Some properties that are purchased remain vacant or become seasonal homes, short-term rentals, or offices. The result is a vacuum of culture; in some streets, neighbourliness is nonexistent because people no longer live there. Sarah speaks of the changes in the area;

[W]e are seeing a social breakdown of neighbourliness because of new people moving in, people from outside, South Africans and foreigners who don't buy into the neighbourhood, they just come here for whatever reasons and they don't have any intention of buying into the area; into the social character of the area. If you lucky if they [are] Muslim, they won't have a problem with the *athan* [call to prayer]. Then the newcomers start complaining about various things, be it the *athan* [call to prayer], the minstrels, the kids hanging out on the corner, the children playing in the street, and hang against your car - silly things. All this makes up the area.

Mariam describes how the relationship with neighbours has changed - from being like an extension of family to strangers;

…in Bo-Kaap, we had that relationship where you could knock on Aunty Mary's door and ask her for a cup of salt, now you don't know who's living behind these high walls.

Mustafa talks about how once vibrant streets with community life have disappeared;

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> …but because of the gentrification because of people moving out because of people not being able to afford the rates or those kinds of factors. People don't stand on the corners anymore they not here anymore.

Cultural displacement occurs when a neighbourhood experience changes in norms, which often include aspects that give long-standing residents a sense of belonging. Cultural displacement results in changes in the environment whereby tastes, way of life, and desires now reflect that of newcomers. This results in long-standing residents feeling a loss of culture, history, and familiarity (Zukin, 2010).

Residents often mentioned that newcomers complained about the call to prayer. Residents found this very disturbing; although the *athan* is a religious practice, it is also an intrinsic part of the rhythm of daily life. The five prayers in Islam divide the day up and life is orientated around prayer times, making it a critical part of the cultural vibrancy of Bo-Kaap.

5.5 Gentrifications effects on socio-spatial relations of residents

This section will discuss gentrification within the context of how the environment and society interplay, produce and manifest. It will make use of Lefebvre's theoretical framework of the urban environment and the production of space. According to Lefebvre, the urban environment is pivotal as it is the context of everyday life; the city is the site of social interaction and exchange that is referred to as "social centrality" (Lefebvre in Hubbard & Kitchin, 2011).

5.5.1 Housing insecurity and overcrowding

Lefebvre introduces a further element to traditional Marxist theory: he identifies space and its dominance in class struggle. According to Lefebvre, due to advancements in automation in industrialised economies in large cities, shortages of crops or bread have been replaced by shortages of space. Class struggle, therefore, manifests in the ability to acquire space. The lower class are subjugated to the periphery of the city and are subjected to overcrowding and uneven development. This context further denies the lower class to what Lefebvre refers to as the "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1984:52).

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Given the geographic limitations of the Cape Town CBD, Bo-Kaap has become increasingly contested as the city expands. Although the community remains largely intact, many residents have had to leave the area due to economic reasons. The once homogenous Malay community now has a higher concentration of businesses operating in the area and moneyed persons of diverse backgrounds who have acquired properties for various use. Bo-Kaap faces significant challenges due to its prime location and comparatively lower cost compared to surrounding areas. The area is being increasingly boxed in with more businesses operating in previously residential properties and commercial interests being prioritised by the City of Cape Town. Families often live in overcrowded conditions to survive, with multiple generations and breadwinners residing in a single house or flat. Aisha and her husband are young professionals with two small children. They currently reside with her parents. They would like to remain in Bo-Kaap in the future but even with two good incomes, it's challenging to purchase an affordable house or flat in the area. Aisha talks about residents' housing situation;

> [T]here are families living with 15 people in one household in Bo-Kaap. It's much smaller than this [flat in which the interview was being conducted]. Even 10 people in a house is overcrowded; where the [luxury] development went up, that space could have been used for social housing to relieve some of the frustrations other people experience.

Residents question local government's actions of selling land that was previously part of a maternity hospital (St. Monica's Home) to a luxury building developer. Sarah echoes the frustration of residents;

> [W]hen it comes to Blok the Lion Street development that development is built on the old Saint Monica's Hospital vegetable patch, and it was supposed to be used for social housing. It just has even more emotion because the land was sold without the voice of the people.

With the cost recovery structure of local government, business and luxury building developments provide better revenue prospects for the government. Here government acts as a facilitator of the free market, rather than making service provision for Bo-

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Kaap residents. Residents increasingly find their housing security, conditions and neighbourhood environment compromised as space is dominated and appropriated by business and curated for the middle class.

5.5.2 Displacement of the small business and landscapes

According to Neil Smith (1982:153), "gentrification is part of a larger class strategy to restructure the economy". It is not just limited to gentrifying housing but includes retaking the city for the more affluent users. This involves reshaping the landscape to remake it for the new social order. The new landscape integrates housing, commerce and social spaces. It integrates the gentrified area into the economy, creating new production, consumption and recreation spaces, and refashions the place of residence. Gentrification as an urban strategy weaves the gentrified locality into global financial markets, real estate development and global property agencies. Local governments benefit from the social outcomes and market but do so by creating favourable conditions for private actors rather than the traditional governmental activity of regulation (Smith, 2002:443).

A resident, Sarah, gives an account of the impact of the small economy and "house shop". She relates how it has a social impact when these activities are displaced as these interactions are interwoven in the community and therefore have social value beyond the commercial transaction:

> Big stores come in these types of areas with a big buying power; it displaces the local people, just like when developers develop, it displaces local people. Economically small businesses are displaced, these small businesses form part of the fabric of our society because it's all interconnected. In terms of living heritage it is so much broader…part of living heritage is economy whether they sell from home, they sell *koesisters* (doughnut-like spicy pastry covered in caramelised sugar and coconut sprinkle) or pies. The house shop is something we all grew up with, with auntie so and so that has a little room where she sells stuff and you can go knock by her window or by her door and you would be able to get the Grandpa [pain medication] or this or that. So when a house shop goes, that social connection is lost, it affects everyone else.

In August 2019, a major grocery chain Pick n Pay (PnP) opened a store in Bo-Kaap. The store was named PnP De Waterkant. The De Waterkant area was historically part of Bo-Kaap but had been declared a white area under Apartheid, resulting in the forceful removal of former residents. Current residents found the naming of the store insensitive, as the store is located within the new borders of Bo-Kaap which had already considerably been reduced due to the City encroaching and claiming more commercial space. In November 2019, BOCRA issued the following statement to PnP:

> Your actions are a clear indication that you have no regard for the people of Bo-Kaap and our living heritage. Our living heritage includes the corner/house shops that add to our way of life. Gentrification has had a negative impact on the people of Bo-Kaap and our living heritage. It is shown that the arrival of the big retail stores ... break down and affect small businesses and the community negatively (Bo-Kaap Civic and Ratepayers Association in Nombembe, 2019).

Residents picketed at the store and the retailer responded by changing the name of the store to PnP Bo-Kaap (Nombembe, 2019). For many residents, the action was reminiscent of Apartheid when District Six was renamed Zonnebloem. The De Waterkant area remains contentious, as many current residents had family that lived there when it was part of Bo-Kaap. Moreover, the activity and cultural reproduction of the nearby Nurul Mohamadia Mosque in Vos Street of De Waterkant have also been hindered. Law enforcement has often issued traffic fines to congregants, and there have been noise complaints. For many residents, there is a great sense of loss and sadness that mosques like Nurul Mohamadia (Vos Street), Palm Tree (Long Street), Hanafee Mosque (Long Street) and Quawatul Islam Mosque (Loop Street) now exist in isolation. The surrounding areas have been gentrified to the extent that only the mosques remain on the landscape. In the Pick 'n Pay incident, the strong defence of the name and boundary is an attempt to hold on to what is left.

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5.5.3 Newcomers want to take over

Residents say that the area has changed, they say typically say "it's not the same". They report a loss of community feeling with increased loss of neighbours and newcomers using properties as seasonal homes, short-term rentals or commercial space. The increase of businesses, cafes and commercial stores that they don't use and congestion has increasingly disrupted residents' lives and created a sense of alienation. Fatima an active senior resident speaks about the presence of boutique stores;

> I just went once in that shop it's geared toward tourists firstly because the prices are very expensive. You must remember we are not rich people here in Bo-Kaap.

Home to the descendants of the Muslim community who were brought to the Cape from 1652, the area now known as Bo-Kaap was established in 1750. According to Davids (1980:xv-xvi), the area was first occupied by the present population from 1790 onwards. The space had been produced and reproduced over time by generations through a social and collective process. Lefebvre refers to this as social space, which is orientated toward use or social value. With the restructuring of the area due to gentrification, space is increasingly being dominated by commercial interests or exchange value. This presents a class struggle over the use and production of space. The use of public space by the community including street and corner culture is being contested by increased barriers and replacing it with private and exclusive use. Places where children would play and residents would sit on corners and pavements have been replaced by sidewalk coffee shops, cafes, and boutiques. Here space is being recreated for the middle class, and the community's everyday life is altered and displaced as the urban environment is being restructured. This altering of space has an acute disregard for historical residents, and there is violence in this place-making because it assumes a lack of culture before gentrification. The restructuring facilitates the lifestyle of middle-class white professionals which is referred to as abstract space; it imposes capitalism through the domination of space. Abstract space is created with the collaboration of the State, which facilitates the market, capital and institutional knowledge. This is in deep contrast to social space, which can be seen as cultural representations of society.

The sidewalk is not the only space that has been dominated and restructured to extract exchange value. Two further important features of the socio-spatial built environment of Bo-Kaap—the stoep (raised veranda) and the street—will be discussed below.

5.5.4 The Stoep

Stoep culture is central to Bo-Kaap community life; it represents the interchange between private and public and is a wider extension of the home. Typically, neighbours spend a significant amount of time socialising from their stoeps. The area serves as an informal entertainment, congregation, leisure, or loitering area and contributes to a sense of community. Urban theorist, Jane Jacobs (1961), refers to this presence as "eyes on the street", that having people on the stoep, sidewalk or street provides a sense of security, allows for easier interaction, and builds social cohesion. The stoep is an excellent example of a forum for the development of Jacobs' concept of social capital, "a continuity of people who have forged neighbourhood networks" (Jacobs, 1961:138). The process is a gradual accumulation that creates a cohesive community. Jacobs stressed the importance of informal contact in neighbourhoods that create interaction, and development of trust, and further establishes norms and reciprocity in a neighbourhood.

Social capital occurs within a context; firstly there is a social relationship, so it cannot take place in isolation but has both physical and psychological elements, be it family, neighbourhood or within an association. Social capital is not unrelated to the locality in which people engage in social and civic relations. In the understanding of the spatial aspects of social capital, space is seen as a vessel that can be filled with social capital or diffused (Blokland-Potters & Savage, 2008).

Using the work of Lefebvre, this relates to the concepts of use value, social space and social centrality discussed earlier. The stoep has historically served as a place of social reproduction. The social space's etiquette has been cultivated over generations, and the site serves as a public yet intimate gathering space for interaction.

The below extract from a resident, Gadija, describes how tourists in Bo-Kaap have disrupted the socio-spatial relations of stoep culture. This activity, central to community life, is being altered due to the imposition of capitalism and exchange value. As Gadija states:

> [w]e still sleeping in the morning and you hear your gate open and people [tourists] come onto your stoep [veranda] and they take photos. They come from the morning to the night, some people are very rude to them, they don't ask if they can take a picture of you and tomorrow you see on Facebook or wherever picture of you…what my sister now does, now my sister turns around and some people will swear at them and say pay me for the photo. I'm used to it but it is a nuisance I can't take it they take a picture of you without asking every day is a mad day from the morning to the evening.

The influx of tourists in the area creates constant congestion, buses block the road and off-load tourists who walk the streets and take pictures. The constant presence of tourist onlookers in a living neighbourhood objectifies residents. They describe it as feeling like a "zoo" as if the stoep has become a stage. The area as a tourist site and the photographing of residents imposes an exchange value to a historically socially loaded activity that is a significant part of community culture and reproduction.

5.5.5 The Street: the contestation of space

The features of the street have been discussed in the latter part of the theoretical section. The street is pivotal in the contestation of space in Bo-Kaap. The contestation and domination of space in the street are overlaying, dimensional and in constant motion between use value and exchange value. The street forms an integral part of Bo-Kaap community life. Typical Bo-Kaap houses are semi-detached dwellings, about 100 sqm with very little space around the house. Residents typically park on the street. The street presents a place of contestation. The street can be appropriated, inhabited, or claimed; one can appear, be observed or become the observer. In Bo-Kaap this well-established social space is in constant contestation with business and tourism that impose abstract space; the street function shifts between a neighbourhood meeting place versus a passageway or location of commerce.

Public places of assembly and the street have historically been the place where discussion and revolution ignites. This is not dissimilar in the post-industrial age, as seen with movements including Occupy Wall Street, the Arab Spring and the Yellow Vest Movement in France. The street allows for performativity and audience, this is increasingly more public and globalised in the age of social media.

The street is a central part of Bo-Kaap life. It services as a meeting place, playground or sports field, a place for religious performativity like *janazah* (funeral) processions, the link and walkway from the home to mosques for the five daily prayers, board or cards game area for adults, a place of cultural reproduction during the *Muharram* (New Year) march and link between houses when cake is exchanged during *Ramadan* (month of fast). All these practices have been cultivated over centuries in Bo-Kaap. Newcomers are often unaware of the significance or not tolerant of these practices. Long-standing residents try to sustain their lifestyle amidst the imposition of newcomers, CBD workers parking in the area, congestion and noise from businesses, and tourism flooding the area.

A respondent, Sarah, describes the attitude of newcomers and their concerns over Bo-Kaap street culture and loitering:

> [I]n Wale Street they will hang out at Fadia's house, kids have been doing this and teenagers have been doing it for generations; it's now their time. And they are doing it and you find that neighbours are becoming intolerant of that; this is the new neighbours, they are not originally from Bo-Kaap. Even if they are Muslim but if they're not from the area they have the same attitude. I'm like why because they have this fear, it's a general fear and they associated with anybody that is grouping together and hanging out. They say if you come home at night and you see a group…

Some residents have also been displaced and with this, these practices die. A respondent below gives an account of the disappearance of street culture. For example, Mustafa states:

As a youngster growing up I could also remember like on each corner or at least every second corner there was a group of guys chilling socialising talking about whatever topics or current, talking about the rugby, talking about Kloof (local rugby team). That doesn't happen anymore there's maybe one or two corners now but it's not like it used to be anymore. Maybe from my shop, if you can, if you walk down to that corner there these a bunch of guys, and that also used to be a deterrent for any possible robberies. But because of the gentrification because of people moving out, because of people not being able to afford the rates or those kinds of factors, people don't stand on the corners anymore they not here anymore.

As more houses are bought by newcomers or businesses there is a breakdown in neighbourhood connectivity. In some cases, residents don't have any immediate neighbours in their road, the adjacent houses operate as businesses, seasonal homes or short-term rentals. In other cases houses are bought by investors and remain vacant; they can be likened to safe deposit boxes that will be sold once a significant profit can be made. Increasingly there are parts of streets and houses that are vacant, devoid of people and their embedded culture.

In an attempt to counter the increasing sale of houses community, leaders have created a dialogue around "living heritage". The discussion first emanated in Boorhaanol Masjid by the late Imam Abdurahman Bassier (1923-2004) with a focus on the fear of mosques becoming inactive because of the absence of a congregation. Later civic leadership expanded the concept of the importance of everyday community life and wanted the government's active support in preserving the community and providing tangible relief to assist in the preservation of the community (e.g. via rates concession). With the area being a major tourist attraction and providing significant revenue to the tourism industry, residents hoped that government would invest in the community. Respondents report, however, that the tourist industry behaves unethically and is disruptive in the area; tourists being drawn to the architecture of the area take over the streets and capture the "colourful houses". The representation of the area is often reduced to this identity with disregard for the community.

The next section will further discuss three significant street events that embody class struggle, the right to the city and gentrification; the minstrel parade, mass *boeka* (breaking of the fast) and Bo-Kaap vs Blok protest.

5.5.6.1 The Minstrel Parade

An annual contentious issue is the minstrel carnival referred to as "Tweede Nuwe Jaar" (Second New Year). The parade historically begins in District Six, proceeds through the CBD and ends in Bo-Kaap. With the increased presence of business, hotels and newcomers the City has sought to regulate the event. In some cases, minstrels were not allowed to enter Bo-Kaap and the route was altered. Although residents feel regulation is required, there is a sense that the minstrel parade is being rebranded by the City of Cape Town for tourists' benefit and that the parade has lost its origins and community significance. The Tweede Nuwe Jaar march has strong links with the Cape's slavery history, and the present parade—although influenced by many other performative elements that came later—has its roots in the annual slave march. Tweede Nuwe Jaar was historically the day slaves would get off "work" whereby a procession was held as an expression of reclaiming identity (Martin, 1999; South African History Online, 2015).

In 2019 the "Tweede Nuwe Jaar" was rebranded as the Cape Town Street Parade. Two opposing Minstrel organisations are at odds about the organisation, and funding of the parade granted by the City of Cape Town. Bo-Kaap residents also allege that the newly formed Kaapse Klopse Karnival Association Director, Muneeb Gambino, who is also a lawyer at Cape Town law firm, Norton Rose Fulbright, worked closely with luxury building developer Blok Urban Living (Pty) Ltd (Blok). Bo-Kaap residents had been contesting a high-rise luxury apartment complex called Forty-on-L (40 Lion Street, Bo-Kaap) that was under construction by Blok in the area. Blok had acquired land from the City of Cape Town that was previously part of a public maternity hospital, St. Monica's Home, and had further brought an interdict against members of the community. Blok alleged members of the community had interfered and obstructed building material being delivered to the construction site of Forty-on-L. In the related court proceedings, Blok was represented by Norton Rose Fulbright. The minstrel carnival and land issue, therefore, converge, with both having links to

Norton Rose Fulbright. Residents report the area and community is being pillaged of their land and cultural value by big capital. Residents also report that the City is facilitating business in this respect through partnerships, by-laws and selling public land. Smith (2008:284) highlighted the role of government in these types of situations by noting that:

> [T]he role of a highly powerful state is absolutely crucial in this process, not just to facilitate the economic transfer of land and property to global developers but to execute the revanchist policies.

The right for the minstrel march to continue in Bo-Kaap, therefore, became a very loaded issue. For some residents, the march is an expression of culture, a sense of belonging, and claiming the right to the city. The historical significance is recognised by most residents. Increased funding and regulation of the event indicate that the march's character is being altered toward commercial interests and for exchange value. There is, however, an argument that, despite this, the march still creates the mass convergence of the working class and people of colour into the historically white only inner-city and the historic Malay Quarter. With the increased displacement of persons of colour from the inner-city and Bo-Kaap, the event and occupation of the street can still be seen as an act of resistance and claiming the right to the city.

5.5.6.2 Reclaiming the street – 'Mass Boeka' and Eid prayer

From mid-May to early June 2019, Bo-Kaap residents reclaimed the streets through a series of *boekas* (breaking of the fast) and performing Eid prayers in Wale Street, which is the main corridor between Bo-Kaap and the CBD. For the initial two events, residents did not seek permission from the City of Cape Town; they simply closed the road and redirected traffic. The *boeka* was a means of peaceful protest, a way of reclaiming space, and a voice against gentrification and its impact on residents' lives. In these situations, the street was a place of contestation; cars that dominate the street departing CBD and driving through Bo-Kaap during rush hour were diverted. The CBD experienced a traffic jam, while residents came out and set up a picnic in the street. Residents thereby imposed social value and contested the abstract space; the street became a place of interaction rather than being reduced to a passageway to facilitate the neo-capitalist project.

The community invited the general public via social media and thousands of people from all over Cape Town joined in solidarity. The scale of the attendance and presence of older persons and children meant that law enforcement was unable to stop the event or use any kind of force. Space, therefore, temporarily operated primarily as a social space and outside the bounds and regulation of government and imposition from business. The geographical limitations of the Cape Town inner-city have meant that increasingly public spaces are formally and informally appropriated by the middle class, e.g., through regulation or revanchist policy, private-public partnerships, and cafes utilising the pavement. These *boekas* allowed for peaceful mass action while still contesting and powerfully occupying space.

5.5.6.3 Bo-Kaap vs. Blok Protest

On 20 November 2018, luxury building developer Blok attempted to bring a crane into Bo-Kaap. As a result of prior incidents where the community had halted construction vehicle loads from entering the area due to safety concerns, Blok had obtained an interdict order against the community from intervening in delivery to the site. A crane was to be delivered to a luxury building development site under construction in Lion Street, Bo-Kaap. The contested site was previously part of St. Monica's Maternity Hospital grounds and was being redeveloped after Blok acquired the land from the City without public participation. That morning, the crane was escorted by private security, traffic services, Metropolitan Police and South African Police Services but was halted by residents peacefully protesting on Buitengracht Street which serves as the boundary between the CBD and Bo-Kaap. The protesters were mainly elderly women who stood peacefully and recited in Arabic, "Hasbunallah wa ni'mal-Wakil" (Sufficient for us is Allah, and [He is] the best Disposer of affairs) while preventing the crane from entering Bo-Kaap. The community alleged that the land had been illegally acquired by the developer and should have been utilised by the municipality for social housing to address overcrowding in the area. The community also voiced their concern for the City of Cape Town's disregard for their quality of life and exclusion in decision-making processes. The City's actions had perpetuated a legacy of Apartheid-like governance in which Bo-Kaap residents continue to be disregarded in a largely white middle-class

inner-city. The protest, therefore, forced residents to the streets as their concerns were not acknowledged in formal structures of government. Residents wanted to make their voices heard, give expression to the class struggle, and claim their right to the city.

Lefebvre identifies two interdependent rights that make up what he refers to as the "right to the city". The first is the right to participate in the activities of the city and the second right is the right to appropriate space and time, described as the full use of space in everyday life (Lefebvre in Sadri, 2012). The second right includes the right of inhabitants to play a central role in participating in decision-making in the city and the production of space (Lefebvre in Purcell, 2003). In this situation, the decision-making process has been dominated by local government, capital and ruling institutions. The protest reflects the contestation of space between use and exchange value, and residents' objection from being excluded from the decision-making process. Here local government has advanced the interests of real estate developers, prioritising the land use for exchange value.

Below is an image captured by a local photographer Ashraf Hendricks when police attempted to disperse protesters.

Figure 5.2 Residents clash with police during an anti-gentrification protest
(Jones and Hendricks, 2018)

The stand-off between the police and the community lasted from the morning to late afternoon. By the afternoon the crane was escorted into Bo-Kaap after police

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dispersed the crowd with stun grenades and forced residents aside. Several residents were injured and some were arrested. The crane entered Bo-Kaap but was unable to reach the site due to the high inclines, narrow road and heavy load.

The protest was widely reported in the media and made apparent the violence and sadness that residents have experienced due to gentrification (Jones and Hendricks, 2018; Elliott and Smith, 2018; Mkoko, 2018). When looking at "spaces of representation", violence is used to maintain a system of interest and increasingly commodify space. The community is contesting these spatial practices; their actions are grounded in their identity and belief in their right to space and land.

Isin (2000:14 in McCann, 2002:77) also describes citizenship and Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city as a continual and active process of appropriation of city spaces, through use rather than ownership. He argues that "the right to the city [involves] the right to claim presence in the city, to wrest the use of the city from privileged new masters and democratize its spaces". The protest further represents the contestation of space, claiming citizenship and the power to participate in decision-making in the city and the production of space.

5.6 Virtual contestation of space

Residents raise concerns over the depiction of Bo-Kaap in media. They say that the visual representation of the area is largely depicted as devoid of people, culture, and the social and historical identity of the area. The area is known for its "colourful houses"; this is marketed by the government, and the tourist industry, and dominates social media. Similarly, the film industry uses the area as a location for its architecture and landscape. The problem with this representation of space is that it reduces and disregards the everyday life of a living community. There is a dissonance between the representation of the space and the lived reality. The representation of space reduces the space to a monument, implying that the area was once the "Malay Quarter" and serves as a tourist destination. The effect of this results in the ghosting, dehumanisation and objectification of residents.

5.7 Local government has failed residents

Many residents report a sense of alienation toward local government. They report that from 2013 to 2015 residents participated in a process to apply for a Heritage Protection Overlay Zone (HPOZ). In 2015 the draft document was finalised and went out for comment. The process, however, then came to a standstill and was only revisited in 2019 when the community sought assistance from the national government. The HPOZ was approved by the council in 2019. Residents, however, say by that time many insensitive developments had already been built or approved and that the delay was intentional. Community members allege that the damage had already been done and they had been adversely affected directly by the presence of new high-density luxury building developments, and the impact of increased property valuation that affected their rates.

Residents report that property valuation and rates are being used to "class cleanse"; that the Malay community are being systematically pushed out of the area. Many people can no longer afford to stay in the area because of the property rates. For example, Mogamad speaks of how the City of Cape Town has valued his family home over 2 million rand:

> The City (Municipality) inflated the rates, that's why they [community members] can't afford. If you looking they evaluate a house at 2.5, 2.8 million. This house is evaluated at 2.8 million.

Mogamad's family home is a humble cottage but because of its prime location, the house is valuable real estate. This valuation means that his property rates are inflated. Hajir similarly discusses how the Municipality conducts property evaluation more often and its impact on the community:

> …evaluations are now done every 3 years. It is like exploitation because ultimately it forces us out of this area and I think that is the ultimate aim of the City.

The Bo-Kaap community is at a pivotal stage; the current elders are the last generation to have lived a significant period of their lives during Apartheid when Bo-Kaap was the Malay Quarter. This generation's world view has been shaped by the events of Apartheid and forced removals, and this has influenced their perspective of gentrification. Mariam compares the use of inflated property rates to Apartheid forces removal: "Again, its forced removals but its economic forced removals it's not forced removals like in the old days when it was legislated. It is coated forced removals."

Residents further accuse the local government of irresponsible zoning regulation. Residents report that increasingly properties have been granted business rights in Bo-Kaap, and that building plan departures have been granted. This includes approving plans for skyscrapers and other high-density buildings, which dramatically impacts the social character and congestion in the area. Visser and Kotze (2008) say that the City of Cape Town's aspirations to become a global destination have resulted in a government framework orientated toward investment with redevelopment tax incentives and flexible zoning regulation.

5.8 Summary

This chapter examined the research findings; the observation and interviews presented a coherent story. Residents understand that their neighbourhood has become a site of significant capital investment; the result is a struggle over space and their ability to remain in the area. The everyday life of residents has been disrupted as the environment has been altered to service a middle-class lifestyle; both the presence of the new and the absence of the old are unsettling for long-standing residents. Residents report that their cultural and religious practices are being displaced.

6. CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This study aimed to explore Bokaap residents' understanding of gentrification, and the socio-spatial impact of gentrification on the everyday lives of residents. This chapter gives a summary of the main findings of the study, which are deliberated upon under sub-headings derived from the objectives of the study, and followed by recommendations. The limitations of the study are also discussed before the concluding remarks of the study.

6.2 Main findings

6.2.1 Residents' understanding of gentrification

Residents have an informed understanding of gentrification, especially relative to their locality, and the impact on their daily lives and existence in the area. They also understand that gentrification is part of a global phenomenon, they identify that investors, businesses and "moneyed" persons are buying property in Bo-Kaap and often the purchase is an investment rather than a home. The buyers are identified as foreigners, white capital or middle class. Residents also identify that the local government is complicit in the process of gentrification by imposing excessive property rates and creating a favourable environment for developers and businesses. For the elder generation, the struggle has continued since Apartheid; the community identified as coloured or Malay, many of who are working-class and struggling to preserve a place in the city dominated by whiteness. Residents show a sense of anxiety at the prospect of not being able to remain in Bo-Kaap due to market forces and for some the prospect of a second trauma. For residents, there is a feeling of vulnerability due to increasing property rates and an inability to afford the cost of basic household amenities.

6.2.2 Manifestations of gentrification in the everyday lives of residents

Residents report that the social character of the neighbourhood is changing fast and that gentrification is perceived to be a real threat to the continuity of the community.

Smith describes gentrification as part of a fundamental restructuring of the economy; that it is a spatial restructuring at the urban scale. These restructuring are occurring at multiple scales including international, national, regional and local. On the urban scale, there is a class struggle over the use and the production of space, and further the restructuring of the economy which serves as the basis for exploitation (Smith, 1982:152-153). In this case study, gentrification has come to the doorstep of a 250-year-old working-class inclusive community of Colour where unprecedented capital is being invested to transform the space, appropriate it and enforce a culture of middle-class centrism. For the long-standing community, the process is devitalising, a form of spatial violence where residents feel an increased sense of alienation. Residents' everyday life has been disrupted by the influx of businesses and moneyed individuals.

6.2.3 How gentrification affected the socio-spatial relations of residents

The social differences, exclusion and appropriation of space of the new class result in physical elements that increasingly make it harder for residents to preserve their way of life. In Bo-Kaap social space has been cultivated over centuries; it is informed by history and a way of life. According to Lefebvre (1974), these spatial practices and representation of everyday life are an accumulation of culture, collaboration and reconciliation of different actors over time. These spaces represent balance and peace. The recent influx of capital and gentrification is a disruption of this social space, dominating and superimposing capitalism. Space is being contested and altered for exchange value.

The presence of increased short-term rental accommodation, businesses and tourists has significantly altered the socio-spatial environment and relations of residents. Some residents no longer have neighbours as the properties around them are used as businesses, holiday accommodation or have been bought as an investment and remain vacant. Residents report that the changing environment has disrupted their way of life and sense of community. For residents practices like stoep culture and daily activities are disrupted by tourists and businesses. This has a devitalising impact on the neighbourhood. Residents say their continuity and way of life are under threat.

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6.3 Recommendations

This study was exploratory, it found that residents are experiencing a multitude of challenges. Residents were very informed about gentrification and identified issues like increased property rates, business, short-term rentals, and luxury developments that are threatening the continuity of the Bo-Kaap community. Further studies could make use of quantitative data to support the findings. The release of Census 2022 data could further provide insight into a possible changing demographic or the decline of single-dwelling resident households with more businesses operating in the area, and the increase of short-term rental accommodation. Quantitative research could allow for more robust research, that can be generalised and inform meaningful policy to aid residents.

The close-knit community of Bo-Kaap can also provide an opportunity for research on displacement. Former residents could easily be traced using community references. Research conducted could identify the main drivers of the relocation, and identify where former residents have moved.

What is evident in the study is the unwillingness of the local government to assist the community. The community has since strengthened its relationship with the national government and this has shown to be beneficial. After a short community engagement process, Arts and Culture Minister Nathi Mthethwa announced in May 2019 that 19 areas in Bo-Kaap had been declared National Heritage Sites (Mkoko, 2019). This relationship needs to be developed and possibly explore further means of protection for the community, which would make it more difficult for businesses to operate and for high-density luxury buildings to be constructed in the area. The issue of property rates needs to be addressed as it has become a significant driver of displacement, although senior residents qualify for a rates rebate there is a need to expand this benefit to long-standing residents. Touristification has increasingly become a problem, more regulation is required and inclusivity. This could allow for economic opportunity and lessen a sense of objectification of the community. Further, the community needs to continue to pressure the government to address social housing and the overcrowding problem in the area – this will improve the living conditions of residents, and also is seen as a means to mitigate the influx of the middle class.

6.4 Limitations to the study

This study used non-probability sampling; residents with specific criteria were purposely sampled and therefore the results cannot be generalised to the whole population. The research however has high trustworthiness whereby criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability were used (Guba, 1981:80).

The researcher was unable to interview a representative from the City of Cape Town, Department of Spatial Planning and Environment. The City had initially expressed interest in participating in the study but later declined the request upon reviewing an outline of the discussion topics which was emailed to the office. The interview could have added a better understanding of the City's urban policy framework, perspective on gentrification and the Bo-Kaap community.

Although this study used a qualitative approach when determining the research design a review of available demographic data was done to have an overview of the population. The most recent demographic information available was from Census 2011 population statistics and Census 2016 community survey. This data may have been somewhat outdated. At the time of the study Census 2022 was in progress.

6.5 Conclusion

This research shows how gentrification has impacted and disrupted the way of life for residents in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town. I have discussed how capital investment in the inner-city has affected Bo-Kaap due to its proximity to the Central Business District. The first office-to-luxury apartment conversion in the inner-city was Mutual Heights, an iconic Art Deco-style building. After its completion in 2005, over 40 office buildings were converted into luxury residential apartments, many funded by multinational companies (Pirie, 2007:135). This triggered the return of capital investment to the city. The city's expansion and rate of investment have resulted in businesses encroaching on Bo-Kaap's border with mainly former residential dwellings on the fringe having been converted into business premises. Neil Smith's production theory of gentrification discusses how financial institutions, professional developers, and estate agencies use collective active to return capital to the inner-city.

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Government acts as a facilitator and provides favourable conditions like tax incentives, private-public partnerships, and favourable zoning regulation (Smith, 1979).

Gentrification is occurring in Bo-Kaap both due to its proximity to the Central Business District, and unfolding in the area differently within its unique sub-neighbourhoods: the Malay Quarter, Schotsche Kloof, Stadzight and Schoone Kloof. Residents report that local government has been unhelpful, here government focus has shifted toward enabling local economic development and business rather than the provision of services and the wellbeing of the residents. Apart from enabling business interests in the area, residents report that property rates linked to property valuation are resulting in modern-day forced removal. Bo-Kaap residents' property valuation has increased exponentially due to the presence of revamped stock which often serves as season homes or short-term accommodation, and new luxury residential developments. The inflated property valuations have affected long-standing residents' property rates and have made it increasingly unaffordable for many households.

Bo-Kaap is a small area, its 0.95 square kilometre in radius and includes about 739 households (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Residents report that increased business operating out of former residential houses, persons buying properties for season homes, the presence of increased short-term accommodation, and properties that are bought as "safe deposit boxes" that remain vacant are creating a lack of affordable housing stock, and further increasing the price of available stock. The result is the displacement of residents and the breakdown of the social fabric and sense of community. Gentrification is increasingly devitalising the lives of long-standing residents. The process starts with cultural displacement where long-standing residents increasingly feel alienated in their neighbourhood, and in the worst case further advances to the physical displacement of residents.

For many residents, the touristification of the area is very disruptive, on a day-to-day basis tourist buses block the roads, and residents feel a sense of objectification as tourists constantly flood the streets and intrude on their properties and social space. Irresponsible tourism has created a sense of monumentalising the area and creating nostalgia for the "colourful houses". The result is that area is portrayed as a tourist attraction; a neighbourhood that was once the Malay Quarter rather than a living

neighbourhood. The community strongly reject this depiction and has proposed the importance of promoting and preserving living heritage to local government. Gentrification in Bo-Kaap can be seen as a form of spatial violence where the culture and environment are constantly imposed, and everyday residents have to overcome social differences to preserve their way of life. For residents, there is a sense of vulnerability and uncertainty about what lies ahead for their families and the prospect of having to move, what they refer to as modern-day forced removals. During Apartheid the law legitimated forced removals, now gentrification is displacing vulnerable residents through neoliberal polices. In terms of the law, these are both legal means but there was great moral objection against the Apartheid government and solidarity with displaced persons. In post-Apartheid South Africa, these neoliberal polices have been accepted by society, and in this way, the community's concerns and struggles are made invisible. Gentrification then creates questions as to how we conceive housing, dwelling, and right to the city. Is the right to housing reduced to and dictated by neoliberal market forces? This in an increasingly globalised economy, and one of economic disparity. For residents of Bo-Kaap, the neighbourhood is sacred, they feel bound to the area because of their history, and housing and the preservation of their culture are seen as an innate right.

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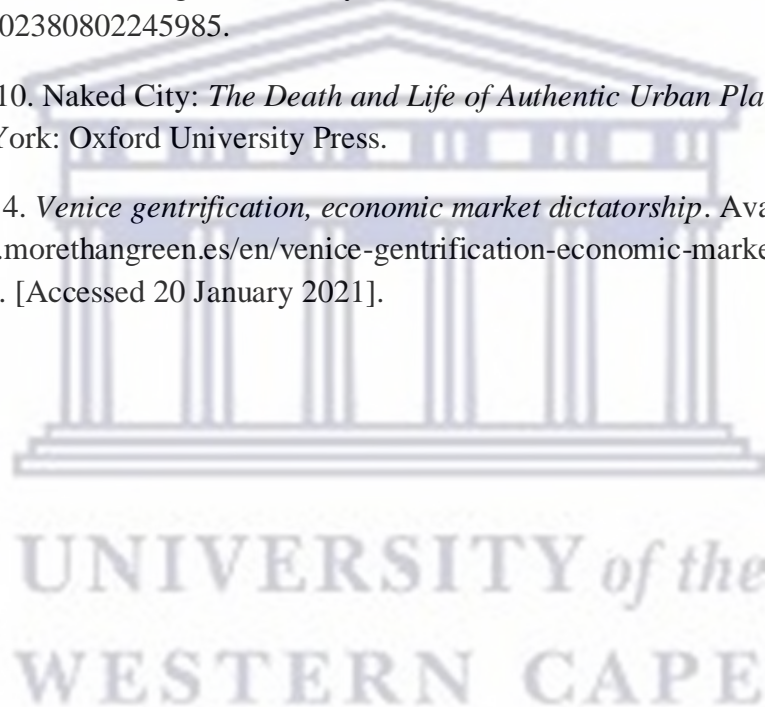
Appendices

Appendix A - Bo-Kaap Civic and Ratepayers Association (BOCRA) writes to Heritage Western Cape