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GENTRIFICATION-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF INNER-CITY RESIDENTS' EXPERIENCES IN JOHANNESBURG

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Johannesburg, 2018

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before to any degree or examination at any other University.



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(Signature of candidate)

25 May 2018

ABSTRACT

With the evolution and the intensification of gentrification, its once clear-cut ties to displacement have been obscured. Displacement is now often denied and contested in the literature and a number of recent studies have provided quantitative evidence of the limited extent of the phenomenon. Questions have also been raised as to whether low-income residents are in fact displaced and whether gentrification is detrimental to the poor. However, the perspectives of people who have been displaced as a result of gentrification have largely been overlooked in the literature, in part due to the methodological difficulty of tracing displaced people. The aim of this study was to explore and to describe the phenomenon of displacement, from the perspective of individuals who lived and/or worked in a gentrifying area in the inner city of Johannesburg, as well as those who had been excluded or physically displaced by gentrification processes. In response to the call for more qualitative approaches to gentrification, a phenomenological approach was used in order to uncover the experience of displacement. In contrast to research that has highlighted the positive effects of gentrification, displacement was found to be a traumatic experience, which had an impact on the overall well-being of the participants of the study. Poor and marginalised people were rendered homeless, causing a disruption in their everyday life-world. The essence of the phenomenon of displacement was found to be one of great pain and loss, which was still experienced by the participants long after their physical relocation had taken place. As the inner city of Johannesburg transforms, reinvestment policies and strategies should therefore seek to be in the interests of the poor and not only the middle class, particularly since today it is home to people who were once denied the right to live there, due to South Africa's apartheid policies.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION **I**

ABSTRACT **II**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS **III**

LIST OF FIGURES **XI**

LIST OF TABLES **XII**

LIST OF BOXES **XIII**

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION **1**

1.1 Introduction **1**

1.2 Rationale for the study **6**

1.3 Aim and objectives of the study **8**

1.4 Definitions of key terminology **9**

1.4.1 Gentrification 9

1.4.2 Displacement 10

1.5 Study area **11**

1.6 Structure of the thesis **15**

CHAPTER 2 GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE **18**

2.1 Introduction **18**

2.2 Debates around the definition of gentrification **20**

2.3 Gentrification and displacement **25**

2.3.1 Research on displacement associated with gentrification 26

2.3.2 Reasons why displacement is under-examined 29

2.3.3 Resident experiences of gentrification-related displacement 32

2.4 A brief review of the gentrification literature in the Global South **46**

2.4.1 Studies on gentrification and displacement in the Global South 47
2.4.2 A brief chronological review of gentrification studies in South Africa 50
2.4.3 The question of displacement in South African literature 53
2.5 Conclusion 55

CHAPTER 3 CONCEPTUALISING DISPLACEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH GENTRIFICATION 58

3.1 Introduction 58
3.2 Conceptualising displacement associated with gentrification 59
3.2.1 Displacement as out-migration 59
3.2.2 New-build gentrification and indirect displacement 62
3.2.3 Displacement and the lived experience of space 64
3.3 Forms of displacement 66
3.3.1 Marcuse's conceptualisation of displacement 66
3.3.2 Davidson's schema on indirect forms of displacement 70
3.3.3 Other indirect forms of displacement 76
3.4 Conclusion 81

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY OF TRANSCENDENTAL PHENOMENOLOGY 83

4.1 Introduction 83
4.2 A brief history of the phenomenological approach to inquiry 85
4.3 Key concepts in Transcendental Phenomenology 89
4.3.1 Epoché 89
4.3.2 Essence 90
4.3.3 Intentionality 91
4.3.4 Life-world 92
4.4 Methodology of Transcendental Phenomenology 93
4.4.1 Epoché 94
4.4.2 Transcendental-phenomenological reduction 96

4.4.3 Imaginative variation 97
4.4.4 Synthesis 98
4.5 Rationale for using a phenomenological approach 99
4.6 Conclusion 100
CHAPTER 5 METHODS AND PROCEDURES 102
5.1 Introduction 102
5.2 Methods of preparation for collecting the data 103
5.2.1 Sampling strategy in selecting and locating the research participants 103
5.2.2 Access to the research site and the potential research participants 104
5.2.3 Sample size 105
5.2.4 Pre-interview meeting with the potential research participants 108
5.3 Data collection techniques 111
5.4 Data collection process 113
5.4.1 Engaging in the epoché 113
5.4.2 In-depth interview process 114
5.4.3 Field notes 116
5.5 Data organisation, analysis and synthesis 117
5.5.1 Transcription and translation of the interview data 118
5.5.2 Phenomenological analysis 119
5.5.3 Coding the data 123
5.6 Ethical considerations 124
5.7 Validity, reliability and generalisability 127
5.7.1 Validity 128
5.7.2 Reliability 132
5.7.3 Generalisibility 133
5.8 Conclusion 134

CHAPTER 6 GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF JOHANNESBURG'S INNER CITY **136**

6.1 Introduction **136**

6.2 Johannesburg's inner city: a brief history of ruin and regeneration **137**

6.3 Regeneration initiatives in Johannesburg's inner city **140**

6.4 The process of gentrification in the Maboneng Precinct **143**

6.5 A brief description of the developments in the Maboneng Precinct **149**

6.5.1 Residential spaces 149

6.5.2 Office spaces 151

6.5.3 Commercial spaces and other developments 152

6.5.4 Public spaces 152

6.6 Integration with the local community **153**

6.7 The Maboneng Precinct: a contested space **155**

6.8 Forms of displacement in the Maboneng Precinct **158**

6.8.1 Direct, physical displacement 159

6.8.2 Exclusionary displacement 160

6.8.3 Economic displacement 161

6.8.4 Social and cultural displacement 162

6.8.5 Neighbourhood resource displacement 163

6.8.6 Displacement pressure 164

6.9 Conclusion **165**

CHAPTER 7 THE EXPERIENCE OF DISPLACEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH GENTRIFICATION **167**

7.1 Introduction **167**

7.2 Demographic information of the research participants **168**

7.2.1 Age, gender, nationality and home language 168

7.2.2 Marital status and family size and structure 168

7.2.3 Income 169
7.2.4 Level of education 170
7.3 Description of previous place of residence 170
7.3.1 Rental costs 171
7.3.2 Security of tenure 171
7.3.3 Conversion into loft apartments 172
7.4 The process of eviction 172
7.5 Description of the research site 173
7.6 Findings of the study 175
7.6.1 Significant statements 176
7.6.2 Themes 177
7.6.3 Textural descriptions 207
7.6.4 Structural descriptions 213
7.6.5 The essence of the experience of being displaced 217
7.7 Conclusion 219
CHAPTER 8 SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS 221
8.1 Introduction 221
8.2 Summary of the study 222
8.3 Comparing findings against previous research 224
8.3.1 Forms of displacement 225
8.3.2 Displacement is a difficult and emotional experience 226
8.3.3 Sense of loss 227
8.3.4 Displacement and well-being 228
8.3.5 Sense of injustice 229
8.3.6 Increased vulnerability and deteriorating conditions 229
8.3.7 Place attachment 231
8.3.8 Sense of hopelessness and acceptance 232

8.3.9 Positive experiences of gentrification? 232

8.4 Challenges and limitations of the study 233

8.5 Implications for future research 237

8.6 Concluding remarks 240

REFERENCES 243

APPENDIX A PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET 283

APPENDIX B INFORMED CONSENT FORM 285

APPENDIX C GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE 286

APPENDIX D SELECTED SIGNIFICANT STATEMENTS 288

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1:	Location of Johannesburg	12
Figure 1.2:	Map of the inner city of Johannesburg	13
Figure 3.1:	A schematic representation of indirect economic displacement	72
Figure 3.2:	A schematic representation of community displacement	74
Figure 3.3:	A schematic representation of neighbourhood resource displacement	75
Figure 4.1:	A summary of the essential processes of transcendental phenomenology	94
Figure 5.1:	A summary of the steps in the process of phenomenological analysis	122
Figure 5.2:	A template for coding a phenomenological study	123
Figure 6.1:	The D.F. Corlett Building	145
Figure 6.2:	The courtyard of the Arts-on-Main complex	145
Figure 6.3:	Art mural of Jan van Riebeeck	147
Figure 6.4:	Ruin and neglect opposite the Maboneng Precinct	148
Figure 6.5:	Car repair shops and light industrial buildings in the Maboneng Precinct	148
Figure 6.6:	Remed's View Building	151
Figure 6.7:	A security guard in the Maboneng Precinct	155
Figure 6.8:	The 'Radiator Centre' Building	159
Figure 6.9:	The M2 freeway on-ramp	160
Figure 6.10:	The Mainframe Building	161

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1:	Marcuse's typology of displacement	67
Table 3.2:	Indirect forms of displacement	71
Table 7.1:	Demographic information of the research participants	169
Table 7.2:	Selected significant statements	176
Table 7.3:	Themes and subthemes that relate to the experience of being displaced	178
Table 7.4:	Theme 1: A difficult and emotional experience	179
Table 7.5:	Theme 2: A sense of loss	181
Table 7.6:	Theme 3: Effects on physical well-being	185
Table 7.7:	Theme 4: Feelings of injustice	186
Table 7.8:	Theme 5: Vulnerability	189
Table 7.9:	Theme 6: Loss of self-esteem	193
Table 7.10:	Theme 7: Living conditions worse than before	195
Table 7.11:	Theme 8: Impact on relationships	200
Table 7.12:	Theme 9: Thoughts and feelings about the future	202

LIST OF BOXES

Box 1:	Example 1 of an individual textural description of displacement	208
Box 2:	Example 2 of an individual textural description of displacement	209
Box 3:	Composite textural description of displacement	210
Box 4:	Individual structural description of displacement	213
Box 5:	Composite structural description of displacement	215
Box 6:	The essential, invariant structure of the experience of being displaced	218

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BBP:	Better Buildings Programme
BID:	Business Improvement District
CAF:	Charities Aid Foundation
CALS:	Centre for Applied Legal Studies
CBD:	Central Business District
CDC:	Centres for Disease Control and Prevention
CID:	City Improvement District
CCID:	Central City Improvement District
CJP:	Central Johannesburg Partnership
COHRE:	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
CoJ:	City of Johannesburg
IMCL:	International Making Cities Livable
JDA:	Johannesburg Development Agency
KZN:	Kwazulu-Natal
UDZ:	Urban Development Zone

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

A range of urban regeneration strategies have been initiated by governments, private developers, and urban planners in various cities across the world in response to the physical decay of central business districts and inner-city areas (Beavon, 2005; Gotham, 2001; Murray, 2008; Turok & Mykhnenk, 2007). One such strategy is gentrification, which initially referred to the renovation of existing housing in working-class neighbourhoods by landlords, incoming middle-class home owners and private developers (N. Smith, 1982), but several scholars have recently extended this definition to include 'new-build' developments (Davidson & Lees, 2005) and the conversion of office and industrial spaces for the middle classes (Davidson & Lees, 2010). Literally, gentrification means the replacement of existing working-class residents by a gentry, who are often comparatively more affluent and more educated than the long-time residents of a particular neighbourhood (K. Shaw, 2008).

Gentrification processes are no longer limited to developed metropolises in North America and Europe, such as New York, Toronto and London (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). It is now also evident in cities in Mexico (Jones & Varley, 1999), Israel (Gonen, 2002), China (He, 2007, 2009; La Grange & Pretorius, 2016), New Zealand (Murphy, 2008), India (Harris, 2008) and South Africa (Garside, 1993; Teppo & Millstein, 2015; Visser & Kotzé, 2008; Winkler, 2009b), amongst others. Indeed, gentrification has become interconnected with processes of globalisation (Lees et al., 2008) and according to N. Smith (2002) it has become a 'global urban strategy' that is 'densely connected into the circuits of global capital and cultural circulation' (p. 80). This 'global gentrification', or what Atkinson and Bridge (2005) have termed 'the new

urban colonialism' (the white, Anglo appropriation of the central city) can be found to be at the forefront of neoliberal urban policies across the world (Lees et al., 2008).

However, much of the research on gentrification has focused on cities in the Global North (Harris, 2008; Lees, 2012, 2014; Shin, 2018) where there has been little discussion on how gentrification might unfold differently in cities of the Global South[1] (Lees, 2012). Indeed, cities in the Global South are often assumed to be essentially an elaboration of the Anglo-American model of gentrification (Bishop, Phillips, & Wei Wei, 2003; Grant & Nijman, 2002) and therefore research in cities in the Global South, including South Africa (Visser & Kotzé, 2008; Winkler, 2009b), has tended to view gentrification processes through the lens of Anglo-American urban theory (Lees, 2012; Lees, Shin, & Morales, 2015). However, this is a narrow view as cities in the post-colonial world are producing new forms of urbanism which do not necessarily imitate Anglo-American experiences of gentrification (Bishop et al., 2003; Lees, 2012). This is especially so in South Africa, where changes in the urban environment have taken place within the context of the socio-political transformation of the country. Therefore, according to Harris (2008), there is a need to learn from these new forms and processes of gentrification in once peripheral cities of the world, rather than exporting Anglo-American understandings of the process. More attention therefore needs to be devoted to the process of gentrification in the Global South and Lees (2011) makes a call to 'decolonise the gentrification literature' (p. 10) away from perspectives from the Global North.

In South Africa, gentrification emerged in the late 1980s (Garside, 1993; Kotzé, 1998; Kotzé & Van der Merwe, 2000). However, there has been little academic research on the process in South Africa (Visser, 2002, 2003; Visser & Kotzé, 2008) and of the few studies conducted;

[1] Places in the geographical south, outside North America and Western Europe, which includes countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

attention has mainly been concentrated on the city of Cape Town (e.g. studies by Donaldson, Kotzé, Visser, Park, Wally, Zen, & Vieyra, 2013; Garside, 1993; Kotzé, 1998, 2013; Kotzé & Van der Merwe, 2000; Teppo & Millstein, 2015), with fewer studies on Johannesburg (Bahmann & Frenkel, 2012; Winkler, 2009b; 2013). This has largely been attributed to the fact that since the 1980s, research has focused on the physical decline of inner-city areas which took place in many of the large cities in South Africa, particularly in Johannesburg (Visser & Kotzé, 2008), although Steinberg, Van Zyl, and Bond (1992) had investigated the possibility of gentrification on the eastern side of central Johannesburg during this period.

While some scholars have highlighted the positive impacts of gentrification on cities that have experienced post-industrial decay and abandonment, it is nevertheless contentious because it has been associated with social and political conflicts (Atkinson, 2004; Davidson, 2008; N. Smith, 1996) and displacement (Atkinson, 2000a, 2003, 2004; 2015; Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Lees, 2007; Marcuse, 1985a, 1985b; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Stabrowski, 2014; Twigge-Molecey, 2014). Displacement may occur in gentrifying areas as result of rent increases and the termination of rental contracts, as well as when people are harassed by landlords and forcefully evicted from their homes (Davidson, 2008). The demolition of housing and the conversion of ownership of rental units can also lead to displacement (Newman & Wyly, 2006).

Displacement may also happen more subtly, when middle-class people place pressure on the housing market, resulting in higher rents and increased housing prices, which over time can push out working-class residents (Atkinson, 1998, 2000a; Davidson, 2008; Marcuse, 1985b). In addition, the cost of living for long-term residents may increase as businesses close down and are replaced by more expensive services, which are mainly geared towards the middle class (Atkinson, 2000b; Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Marcuse, 1985b). Together with

changes in transportation patterns and public facilities, changes in support services may make the neighbourhood 'less and less liveable' for long-time residents (Marcuse, 1986, p. 157).

Furthermore, long-term residents may also witness the changing social and cultural characteristics of their neighbourhoods. Social networks are disrupted as family, friends and neighbours are forced to leave their local area (Atkinson, 2000c; Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Marcuse, 1986). These more subtle forms of indirect displacement affect more people than those who are directly displaced (Atkinson, 2000c; Marcuse, 1985b), where this process of gentrification may lead to long-time residents having feelings of 'alienation and a newfound disconnection from their neighbourhoods' (Atkinson, 2015, p. 377). Marcuse (1985a) therefore described displacement as a 'shattering experience' which 'at worst...leads to homelessness' and 'at best it impairs a sense of community' (p. 931).

Attempts have been made to resolve the issues of equitable reinvestment and polarising displacement since the 1960s, when gentrification first came to the attention of researchers and policymakers (Newman & Wyly, 2006). According to LeGates & Hartman (1986):

> In the optimistic view, gentrification will not cause social conflict and will produce neighbours which are an exciting mix of different races, classes and lifestyle groups living together…A more pessimistic view holds that gentrification will force low-income minority groups out of desirable inner city neighbourhoods to less desirable areas, thus reducing their quality of life and diffusing and defusing their political power (p. 194).

Moreover, research that highlighted the positive effects of gentrification tended to portray the middle class as the 'saviours' of decaying inner-city areas (Lees, 2009), while those researchers critical of the process, highlighted its negative effects and the accompanying displacement of working-class residents (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Mirabal, 2009; Rérat, Söderström, & Piguet,

2010; N. Smith, 1996; Visser & Kotzé, 2008). These concerns are once again at the centre of debates, although the context has changed.

Despite being at the centre of gentrification debates for decades, displacement has been downplayed, or in some cases denied, due to a lack of quantitative evidence (see Freeman & Braconi, 2002, 2004; McKinnish, Walsh, & Whyte, 2008; Vigdor, 2002). Consequently, a generally positive stance on the process has recently been taken and the extent of the negative consequences of the process has been understated, particularly with regards to the significance of displacement (Slater, 2006; N. Smith, 2008). For this reason, gentrification is perceived as rejuvenating communities and creating neighbourhoods that are attractive to middle-class households as well (McKinnish et al., 2010). In part, as a result of this recasting of gentrification as a positive process, there has been a decline of displacement as a research question in the literature and as a defining feature of gentrification (Davidson, 2009b, 2011; Slater, 2006). This has led to questions of whether contemporary forms of gentrification cause significant displacement (Davidson & Lees, 2010) and thus there have been calls for a reinvigoration of research into gentrification-induced displacement (Van Criekingen, 2008).

In addition, the experiences of working-class residents living in gentrifying inner-city areas and those who have been excluded or physically displaced by gentrification processes has largely been absent from the literature (Allen, 2008; Doucet, 2009; Murdie & Texeira, 2011; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Slater, 2006, 2012; Slater, Curran, & Lees, 2004; Wacquant, 2008a; Watt, 2008) and instead, research (such as Butler & Robson, 2003; Caulfield, 1994; Hamnett, 2003; Ley, 2003; Podmore, 1998; Robson & Butler, 2001; Rofe, 2003) has tended to focus on middle-class gentrifiers. It is the contention of this thesis that a more holistic understanding of gentrification can be achieved by including the views of a broader range of people involved and affected by the process (Slater, 2004). It is argued here that more empirical evidence is needed to understand the perspectives of long-time inner-city residents and those who have been

displaced by the process (Doucet, 2009; Slater, 2006; Watt, 2008) and it is to this empirical gap that this thesis aims to contribute.

1.2 Rationale for the study

First, it is essential that in attempting to provide a more accurate account of gentrification, that the issue of gentrification-induced displacement is brought to the fore as contemporary debates are marked by a relative absence of the phenomenon (Atkinson & Wulff, 2009; Davidson, 2007, 2009b; Wacquant, 2008a). Displacement is, however, crucial 'to an understanding of gentrification in terms of retaining definitional coherence and of retaining a critical perspective of the process' (Slater, 2006, p. 748). Indeed, Visser and Kotzé (2008) contend that gentrification implies the displacement and the exclusion of a lower income group by a higher income group. While some researchers have investigated displacement associated with gentrification, these studies have mainly been focused on measuring the extent of the phenomenon (Atkinson, 2000a; Atkinson & Wulff, 2009). Consequently, there are few qualitative accounts of gentrification and in particular of displacement (Slater, 2006).

Secondly, although statistics about the extent of displacement are important, it does not inform us about the meaning of being displaced for the residents of a particular area undergoing gentrification. Moreover, qualitative studies have uncovered traumatic accounts of gentrification-induced displacement (Curran, 2004; Larsen & Hansen, 2008; Newman & Wyly 2006), which are in contrast to quantitative studies where the displacement of people has been denied and downplayed (such as Freeman & Braconi, 2002, 2004; McKinnish et al., 2008; Vigdor, 2002). Furthermore, according to Slater (2006), it is vital to use more qualitative approaches to gentrification if critical perspectives of the process are to be reinstated.

Thirdly, Davidson (2008) argues that debates on gentrification should be informed by empirical research on how displacement is brought about and experienced. In other words, there is a need for a more holistic account of gentrification which includes the views and the experiences of the former and the existing working-class residents of gentrifying inner-city areas (Lees, 2012; Slater et al., 2004, 2010). However, few studies have documented their experiences (Slater, 2008) and this is in part due to the difficulty of tracing those who have been displaced (Atkinson, 2000b; Bridge, 2014; Cohen, Mowbray, Bybee, Yeich, Ribisl, & Freddolino, 1993; Hamnett & Williams, 1979; LeGates & Hartman, 1986; Newman & Wyly, 2006; K. Shaw, 2005). However, more research is needed on working-class residents' experiences of displacement (Atkinson, 2015; Doucet, 2009; Slater, 2008; Watt, 2008) and Allen (2008) argues that '[t]here are strong and sound epistemological reasons' for paying attention to the voices of marginalised people with '"first-hand" experience of the negative effects of gentrification' (p. 180).

Fourthly, it is important that international debates on gentrification are informed not only by understandings from the Global North but also by those contemporary processes of gentrification that are emerging in the Global South, as new forms of urbanism are developing in cities in the post-colonial world, which do not necessarily imitate Anglo-American experiences of gentrification (Bishop et al., 2003; Harris, 2008; Lees, 2012). Therefore, debates on the impact of gentrification need to be informed with perspectives from a diverse set of cities (Lees, 2012; Van Criekingen, 2008). This is especially the case in Johannesburg, as Lees (2016) notes: 'The recreation of Johannesburg as a "World Class African City" demonstrates how gentrification in the Global South is playing out a little differently' (p. 212). In this respect, research on the inner city of Johannesburg in South Africa, where gentrification processes are emerging, presents the opportunity to contribute to current debates on gentrification-induced displacement.

Finally, Davidson and Lees (2010) alluded to the usefulness of a phenomenological reading of displacement. This means analysing the 'structures of feeling' and the 'loss of a sense of place' associated with displacement, rather than the moment of physical displacement (Davidson & Lees, 2010, p. 403). According to Davidson and Lees (2010), '[i]t is these 'emotional geographies' that provide the best evidence of displacement' (p. 403).

With the above in mind and the fact that I was particularly interested in understanding the lived experiences of individuals of the phenomenon of displacement associated gentrification and the meaning that they attach to that experience, I decided to use a qualitative approach to uncover the experiences of people who had been evicted from their homes in a gentrifying area in the inner city of Johannesburg. Therefore, the approach to inquiry used in the present study was phenomenology, as apart from Davidson and Lees' (2010) contention mentioned above, this approach lent itself best to examining the phenomenon of displacement from the perspective of the displacees themselves (see Chapter 3).

1.3 Aim and objectives of the study

In an attempt to address the above research needs, the aim of this study is to explore and to describe the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification, as experienced by a group of inner-city residents in Johannesburg, in order to contribute to an understanding of contemporary urban processes.

In view of the above, the central research question that guided this study was: 'what is the lived experience of people who have been physically displaced from areas undergoing gentrification in the inner city of Johannesburg?' In order to further refine the central research question of this study, the following objectives were identified:

- to identify the various types of displacement experienced in an inner-city area of Johannesburg undergoing gentrification;
- to describe the context and the situations in which inner-city residents experienced displacement as a result of gentrification;
- to describe the experience of being physically displaced from a gentrifying area in the inner-city of Johannesburg; and
- to derive the meaning and the essence of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification.

By focusing on the experience of displacement associated with gentrification, this study will help to contribute to a better understanding of gentrification, as researchers have questioned whether contemporary forms of gentrification results in significant displacement (Davidson & Lees, 2010).

1.4 Definitions of key terminology

There is much debate on how gentrification should to be defined (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, it is important that gentrification is defined from the outset, as according to Marcuse (1999), the manner in which gentrification is evaluated depends to a large extent on how it is defined. This also applies to the concept of displacement. Indeed, Lee & Hodge (1984) have shown how the definitions used of displacement in the literature affect how the extent of the problem is perceived (refer to Chapter 2).

1.4.1 Gentrification

Hackworth (2002) defined gentrification as 'the production of space for progressively more affluent users' (p. 815). This succinct definition of gentrification captures the non-residential

forms of gentrification that have emerged in recent years, where the displacement of people may often not be direct or instantaneous.

Much debate has taken place as to whether residential developments on vacant and brownfield[2] sites are in fact a form of gentrification known as 'new-build' gentrification or whether the process should instead be referred to as 'residentialisation'. Furthermore, some researchers have argued that displacement can only occur from occupied housing (see Chapter 2). With these debates in mind, gentrification was operationally defined for the purpose of this study (using Slater's definition), as 'the transformation of a working class or vacant area of a city into middle class residential and/or commercial use' (Slater, 2009, p. 294). This definition was chosen as it includes both residential and commercial change; instances where new-build developments take place on previously vacant or working-class industrial spaces; and importantly for this study, it also captures changes in class.

1.4.2 Displacement

Recently, much attention has been paid to the conceptualisation of displacement associated with gentrification, as past research has tended to focus on more direct forms of displacement. This will be elaborated upon in more detail in Chapter 3. Following Slater (2009), Hartman, Keating, LeGates and Turner's (1982) definition of displacement will be used in this study, where displacement is described as that which 'happens when forces outside the household make living there impossible, hazardous or unaffordable' (Hartman et al., 1982, p. 3).

In the following section, the area that was chosen for this study will be briefly described, by focusing on the inner-city areas undergoing gentrification in Johannesburg.

[2] Often commercial or industrial land that was previously developed and that has the potential to be redeveloped.

1.5 Study area

The city of Johannesburg was selected as the study area for this investigation as there has recently been a push for the return of the middle class to the inner city, and not much attention has been paid to the poor and the working class, who already reside in the area. The inner city was of particular interest as it has undergone much transformation, since the formal dismantling of apartheid in the 1990s (see Chapter 6). Johannesburg is also an important site for distinctively African forms of modernity and urbanism to arise (Lees, 2014; Mbembe & Nuttal, 2008). Both western and non-western ideas of city development are interwoven in the city (Lees 2014), as it exhibits both the informality, disorderliness, riskiness and low-income groups of the African city (Robinson, 2006); as well as the formal, sanitised, western, 'white' city. However, in contrast to most cities in the Global North, the state is supplying housing for low-income people and as such, the redevelopment of the inner city of Johannesburg, which is a form of gentrification, exhibits some unique manifestations of such a process (Lees, 2014).

Johannesburg was founded as a mining village in 1886, after the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand reef. The city is located on the eastern plateau of South Africa and it is the largest city in the country, covering an area of 1 645 km^2. It is the provincial capital of the wealthiest province in the country, Gauteng (Figure 1.1), and has a population of 4.4 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2012). However, this poly-nucleated metropolis is characterised by extreme disparities in wealth and income; class polarisation, and widespread crime (Murray, 2004).

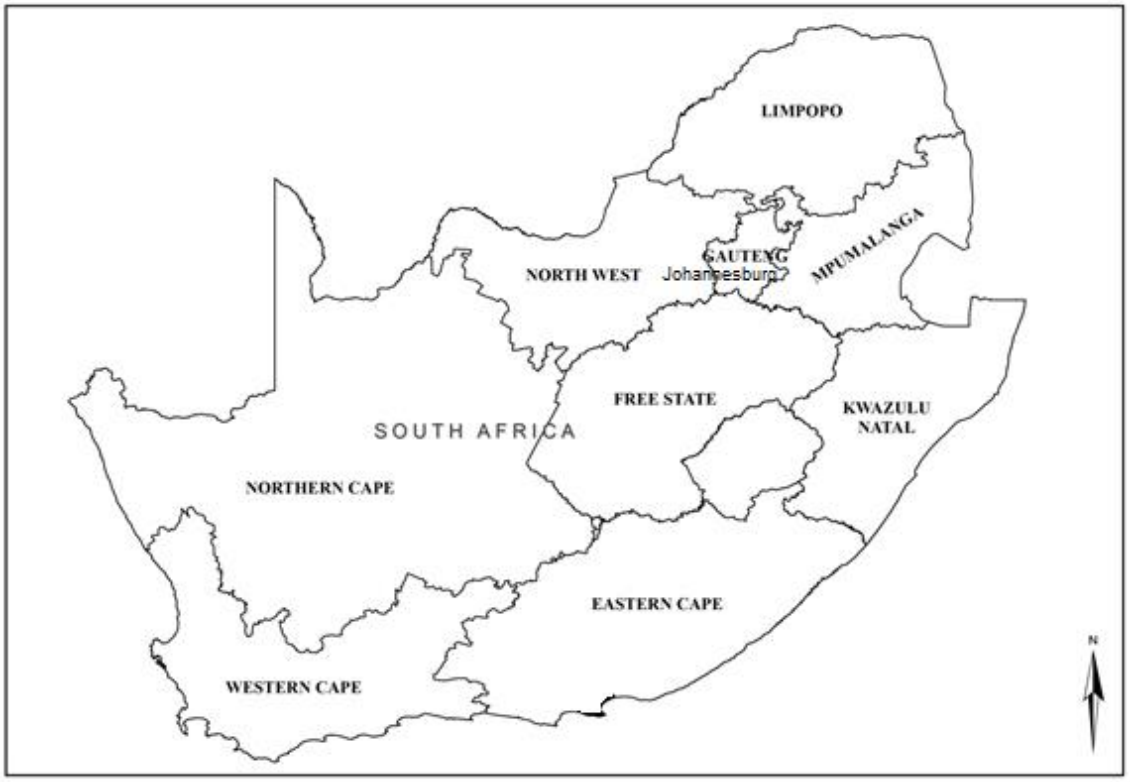

Figure 1.1. The location of Johannesburg in South Africa.

The inner city was the historic centre of Johannesburg and it was once the main employment node of the city. It incorporates the area of Yeoville and Braamfontein in the north; to Marshalltown and Benrose in the south; and Vrededorp and Fordsburg in the west; to Jeppestown, Betrams and Troyeville in the east (Figure 1.2); and it was previously the place preferred by large corporations, high-end retailers, and well-off consumers (Murray, 2008). However by the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the area became associated with 'crime and grime' and some of the worst forms of urban decay and neglect have been witnessed in the area (Murray, 2008).

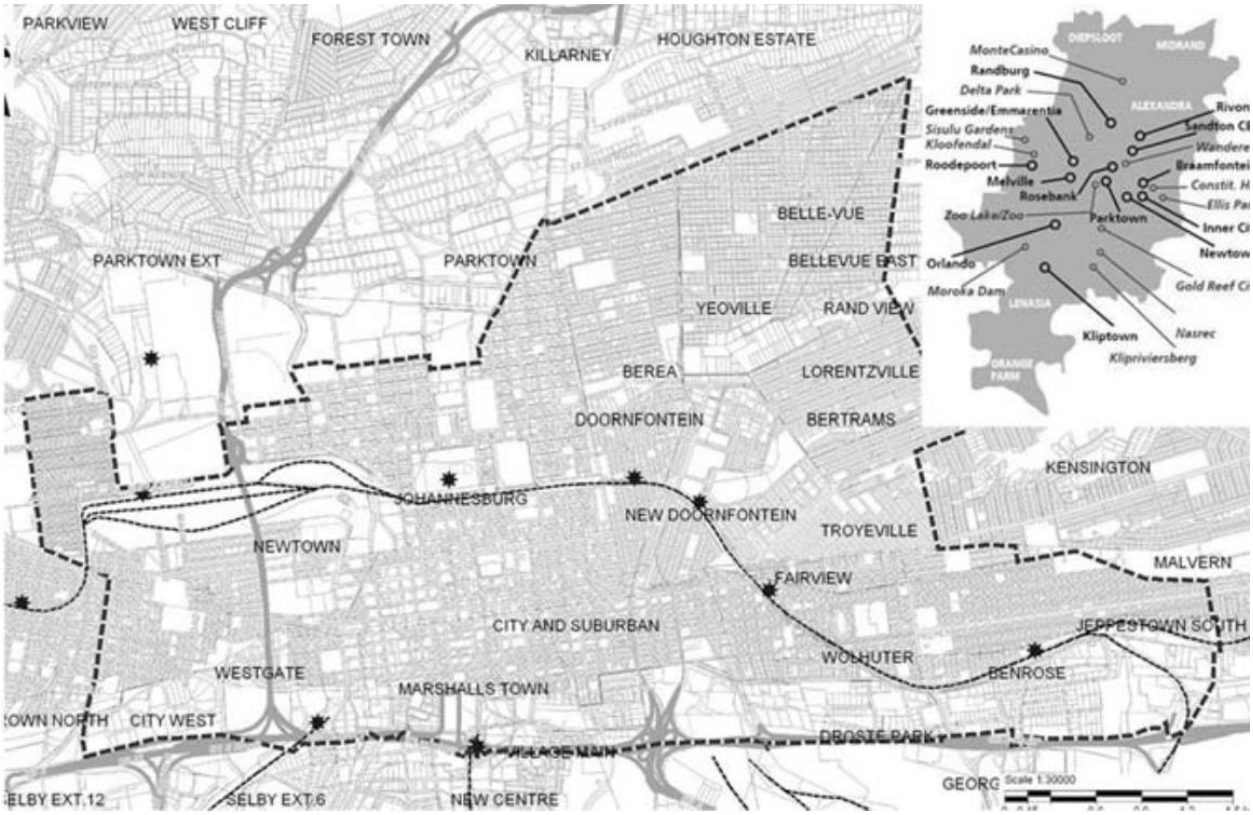

Figure 1.2 The inner city of Johannesburg. Source: City of Johannesburg (2008).

This decay of the inner city has been attributed to a number of complex and interrelated factors such as accelerated decentralisation in the 1970s, 'white flight' since the 1980s, institutional capital disinvestment and the suburbanisation of high-order service functions (Beavon, 2005). Furthermore, following the dismantling of apartheid, the area was inundated by people who had previously been denied the right to live there (Beavon, 2005; Garner, 2011; Winkler, 2009b). Overcrowding, the emergence of slumlords and hijacking of buildings, the non-payment of services, service delivery collapse, and infrastructural neglect, became prevalent in the inner city (Beavon, 2005; Garner, 2011; Murray, 2011).

However, since the 2000s, a range of inner city redevelopment initiatives have been introduced by government and private developers which have been aimed at drawing investors, high income people, the 'creative class' and tourists to occupy once disinvested inner-city areas in

Johannesburg (Winkler, 2013). A number of under-utilised and derelict buildings in the inner city have been bought and developed into luxury residences for young professionals and foreign buyers (Murray, 2008). Furthermore, significant rent gaps between central business districts (CBDs) and maturing decentralised nodes (Beavon, 2005) has also driven changes in the inner city. These processes have in turn provided opportunities for gentrification, as part of urban regeneration, to arise (Visser, 2002; Visser & Kotzé, 2008).

A precinct approach was adopted in order to regenerate the inner city of Johannesburg whereby a cultural precinct was established in Newtown, an education precinct in Braamfontein, a sport precinct in Ellis Park and an art precinct in Maboneng. The present study will focus on one of these sites, namely the Maboneng Precinct, which is a post-industrial art, commercial and residential area where gentrification processes have begun to emerge since the late 2000s. The precinct is located on the eastern side of Johannesburg's central business district, in two of the oldest areas of Johannesburg, City and Surburban and the Jeppestown industrial area.

Previous office, warehouse and industrial spaces have been converted into work, leisure and residential spaces in the Maboneng Precinct. The transformation of this urban space is hinged on Florida's (2005) notion of first attracting the creative class in order to catalyse the process of regeneration (Earthworks, 2013). However, the development of Maboneng is driven by private capital and the developers envision transforming the area into an integrated, mixed use community, with mixed-income residential spaces (Propertuity, 2013).

Unlike cities in the Global North, where gentrification has occurred along a large area, the regeneration of the inner city of Johannesburg has occurred around 'a number of fortified enclaves which abut zones of blight and decay' (Murray, 2008, p. 193). Indeed, the Maboneng Precinct is surrounded by Jeppestown; a derelict, low-income area. However, in the early years of Johannesburg the top part of Main Street at the beginning of the suburb of Jeppestown was a

middle class area with large houses and properties (Nevin, 2014). During the apartheid era, the area was reserved for whites, but today only 4% of the population is white (Statistics South Africa, 2012); and mainly black, small business owners and migrants from KwaZulu-Natal and other parts of Africa inhabit the area (Walsh, 2013). These migrants are often housed in hostels and residences for single males.

Instead of eradicating blight and decay, this fragmentary regeneration has, according to Murray, (2008) mainly displaced it, as people have been forced out of gentrifying areas to places that are not very different from their previous neighbourhoods. Since the end of the 1990s, when the City of Johannesburg's regeneration strategy was first introduced, private-led evictions have increased in the inner city (Tissington, 2014). Moreover, despite attempts to counter standard gentrification processes in the area, which tend to marginalise the poor, inner-city residents have been evicted from buildings often without access to alternative accommodation (Centre for Applied Legal Studies [CALS], 2013; Clarke & Tissington, 2013; Murray, 2008, 2011; Sujee & Thobakgale, 2014; Walsh, 2013). It is the experience of these inner-city residents who have been physically displaced from their homes that constitutes the focus of this study.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The current chapter, Chapter 1, introduces the study and provides an overview of the research problem. It also sets the context for the study and it outlines the aim and the objectives of the research. Key terms are also defined and elucidated in this chapter. In addition, a short description of the study area is provided, as well as an overview of the various chapters contained in the thesis.

In Chapter 2, the literature review focuses on the current debates about displacement associated with gentrification and the research trends both in South Africa and internationally that informed the study.

Chapter 3 focuses on the conceptual framework of the study in which the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification is elucidated. This chapter also describes the various ways in which displacement can take place, by focusing on both the direct and the indirect dimensions of this process.

In Chapter 4, the methodology of transcendental phenomenology is described. A brief history of phenomenology is outlined and the value of this approach in geographical research. In addition, the key concepts in transcendental phenomenology are reviewed and the philosophical assumptions underpinning phenomenology that informed this study are briefly explained. Thereafter, the rationale for using a phenomenological approach to explore people's experiences of displacement is expounded upon. The chapter closes with a description of the essential processes of transcendental phenomenology.

The methods and the procedures that were used in preparing to conduct the study and in collecting, organising, analysing and synthesising the data, is described in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the procedures that were followed to ensure that the research was conducted in an ethical manner are explained. The strategies that were employed in the study to try and ensure the validity and the reliability of the research are also discussed in this chapter.

In Chapter 6, the context within which gentrification processes have taken place in South Africa are discussed. This chapter also briefly outlines the development of gentrification in the inner city of Johannesburg, with particular emphasis on the Maboneng Precinct. In addition, it includes a discussion on the various forms of displacement that are in evidence in the precinct.

Chapter 7 presents the findings of the research, which is based on uncovering the experience of displacement for several individuals, who lived in the Maboneng Precinct. It provides evidence, in the form of verbatim examples, illustrating the process of horizonalization and the themes that emerged during the analysis of the data. It also includes a textural and a structural description of the experience of displacement. In closing, this chapter provides a synthesis of the meanings and the essences of this experience of displacement.

The findings of the study are summarised in the final chapter, Chapter 8, and compared to previous research which was discussed in Chapter 2. Following this, the challenges of using a phenomenological approach are outlined. In addition, the limitations of the research methodology and the findings of the study are highlighted, as well as the implications of the study for possible future research. Finally, conclusions of the main findings of the study are also included in this chapter.

CHAPTER 2

GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

The term ‘gentrification’ was coined in 1964 by Ruth Glass, following her observations of distinct changes that were taking place in the inner city of London, such as the restoration of old housing; changes in housing tenure from renting to ownership; increases in property prices and the displacement of working-class residents (Glass, 1964; Lees et al., 2008). The process of gentrification was considered to be complete once the original population was entirely replaced (Glass, 1964). As Glass (1964) noted: ‘Once this process of “gentrification” starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class are displaced and the social character of the district is changed’ (p. xix). This has become known ass ‘classic gentrification’.

Gentrification is, however ‘mutating’ (Lees et al., 2008) and new forms and expressions of the process have emerged, as it has shifted from being ‘a marginal event in a few local markets of global cities to a systematic, comprehensive policy for city-building’ (N. Smith, 2008, p. 196). For example, the process has also become apparent in suburban (N. Smith, 2002; Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Smith & DeFilipis, 1999) and in rural areas (Parsons, 1980; Phillips, 1993, 1998a, 1998b, 2004; N. Smith, 2002), although gentrification had typically taken place within older, inner-city residential areas. Furthermore, gentrification is evident in coastal areas (Griffith, 2000) and the process has also extended to retail and commercial areas (Rose, 1996; Zukin, 1995). Moreover, gentrifiers no longer only dwell in renovated, historic houses but they also live in newly built, high-rise apartments and townhouses (Davidson & Lees, 2005, 2010; Visser & Kotzé, 2008).

Gentrification processes have also emerged in the Global South, although much of the literature has tended to focus on the Global North (Harris, 2008; Lees, 2012, 2014, 2016). The process is, however, unfolding differently in the Global South (Lees, 2014; 2016; Lemanski, 2014) as urbanisation in this region is steered by the growth of both 'old' and 'new' spatial economic shifts, whereas in most of Europe and North America, urban theory is focused on post-industrial societies (Lees et al., 2008). Indeed, cities in the Global South are being restructured by the growth of manufacturing and heavy industries; as well as through the growth of hi-tech offshoring and outsourcing activities and innovations in the service sector (Lees et al., 2008).

However, some researchers such as Maloutas (2012) and Ghertner (2015), have challenged the global application of the concept of gentrification, arguing instead that it is more suitable for describing large Anglo-American cities. In addition, these 'mutations' of gentrification do not seem to be consistent with 'classic gentrification' processes (Lees et al., 2008). This has led to a plethora of literature on how to define the process and questions have been raised as to whether gentrification has departed from Glass's (1964) 'classic' description of the process (Slater, 2006; Slater et al., 2004).

In addition, the perception of gentrification has changed from once being regarded as a problem to being viewed as a solution to long-term urban deterioration (Davidson, 2007; 2008; Lees & Ley, 2008; Newman & Wyly, 2006). In other words, there has been a 'reorientation of gentrification as a positive process' (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p. 323). Indeed, gentrification is now advocated more explicitly in urban policy (Doucet, 2014), particularly within a neo-liberal context, as a means to improve the physical, economic and social conditions of disinvested inner-city areas across the world; often under the guise of terms such as 'regeneration', 'redevelopment' 'renaissance', 'revitalisation', 'renewal' or 'restructuring' (Lees et al., 2008). Furthermore, gentrification is also promoted as a sustainable urban form (Rérat & Lees, 2011).

However, gentrification leads to the co-occurrence of 'reinvestment and displacement, home improvement and homelessness, renovation and eviction' (Slater, 2004, p. 322). Therefore, it is not a benign process as some researchers have made it out to be. Instead, it is a 'process that is socially and psychologically harmful' (Atkinson, 2000a, p. 149). For this reason, this study focused on people's experiences of the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification through a study of a gentrifying area in the inner-city Johannesburg, as contemporary debates on gentrification are marked by a relative absence of the phenomenon (Davidson, 2009b; Wacquant, 2008a).

In this chapter, the literature on recent debates on gentrification and displacement will be reviewed and the theoretical approach that informed the study will be discussed. This chapter also sets the study in context of previous research that has been conducted on the topic and it provides a discussion on how the process of gentrification and displacement manifests itself in the Global South, with a particular emphasis on the growing body of gentrification literature in South Africa.

The following section briefly outlines the debates concerning how the process of gentrification should be defined and it shows how the process has evolved over time.

2.2 Debates around the definition of gentrification

Researchers have written and debated extensively on how to define gentrification. On the one hand, researchers have called for an extension of the conceptual meaning of gentrification to capture the large-scale production of space for middle-class people such as new-build developments on vacant land (Davidson & Lees, 2005); while on the other hand, some researchers have argued that gentrification should only refer to the residential rehabilitation described by Glass (1964) and have advocated new conceptual terms such as 'residentialisation'

instead of ‘new-build gentrification’ to ensure the conceptual purity of gentrification (Smith & Butler, 2007). This section traces how the definition of gentrification has evolved over time since Glass (1964) first coined the term, by referring to the various debates over the meaning and the expansion of the meaning of the term.

Earlier definitions of gentrification were closely related to Glass’s (1964) traditional or ‘classic’ description of the process. For example, N. Smith (1982) described gentrification as ‘the process by which working-class residential neighbourhoods are rehabilitated by middle-class homebuyers, landlords and professional developers’ (p. 139). However, by the late 1970s a wider conceptualisation of the process began to develop (Davidson, 2011), with a more expansive meaning of the term ‘gentrification’ emerging in the early 1980s (Sassen, 1991). It had become apparent that the residential transformation described by Glass (1964) was only one aspect of the gentrification process, as waterfront and office developments; retail and restaurant areas and hotel and convention centres were purposefully constructed in the inner city for the middle classes (Smith & Williams, 1986). This led N. Smith (1986) to state that gentrification is ‘a highly dynamic process…not amenable to overly restrictive definitions’ (p. 3) and he argued that contemporary gentrification cannot only be viewed through the lens of Glass’s ‘classic gentrification’.

Indeed, gentrification now refers to a much wider phenomenon and new terms which are mostly derivatives of the term ‘gentrification’ have emerged to describe and explain the process, such as ‘suburban’, ‘rural’, ‘new-build’, ‘super’ (Davidson & Lees, 2005; Lees, 2003a; Slater, 2006) and ‘hybrid’ gentrification (Lemanski, 2014). According to Lees et al. (2008), ‘rural gentrification’ was probably the first derivative of the term gentrification and this process became apparent in rural areas surrounding large cities and in the hinterlands of metropolitan areas (Parsons, 1980; Phillips, 1993, 1998a, 1998b; N. Smith, 2002; Smith & Phillips, 2001) where the new middle class had settled. ‘Rural gentrification’ thus refers to the socio-economic

and cultural changes of rural areas, and the displacement and the marginalisation of low-income people which follows as a result of this process (Lees et al., 2008).

'New-build gentrification' refers to the development of housing for the middle class in inner-city areas, particularly on brownfield sites (Davidson & Lees, 2005; A. Smith, 1989), while a more recent derivative of the term 'gentrification' is 'super-gentrification' or 'financification' (Butler & Lees, 2006; Lees, 2000, 2003b). In this process, another level of gentrification takes place in an already gentrified area which entails a greater economic or financial investment in an area than during earlier waves of gentrification (Lees et al., 2008), resulting in 'more expensive and exclusive enclaves' (Lees, 2003a, p. 2487). Super-gentrification is mainly steered by globally connected workers in London and New York (Lees, 2003a; Lees et al., 2008).

There are other 'mutations' of gentrification which display the 'fluidity' of the definition (Lees et al., 2008). For example, 'studentification', which was first coined by D. Smith (2002), refers to a process by which a significant number of students occupy particular parts of towns and cities where universities are located which results in social, economic and environmental changes in these areas (Lees et al., 2008). More recently, Lemanski (2014) coined the term 'hybrid gentrification' in reference to the re-sale of low-income, state-subsidised housing in South Africa to middle-income people.

Apart from being residential, gentrification can be commercial too (Bridge & Dowling, 2001; Kloosterman & Van der Leun, 1999; Rose, 1996; Zukin, 1995; Zukin, Trujillo, Frase, Jackson, Recuber, & Walker, 2009). Therefore, Ley (1996) called for a wider definition of gentrification that includes the 'renovation and redevelopment on both residential and non-residential sites' (p. 34). 'Commercial gentrification' refers to the gentrification of commercial areas, commercial streets or commercial properties. It has also been called 'boutiqueification' or 'retail gentrification' (Lees et al., 2008). Furthermore, Van Criekingen and Fleurry (2006) have

demonstrated how commerce can be both the actor and the driver of gentrification. 'Tourism gentrification', on the other hand is both commercial and residential. The term was coined by Gotham (2005) and it refers to the process whereby an area is transformed into an exclusive and relatively wealthy district, with flourishing tourism and corporate venues (Lees et al., 2008).

However, the extension of the definition of gentrification has been debated. For example, some researchers (such as Lambert & Boddy, 2002; Buzar, Hall, & Ogden, 2007) have argued that new-build developments are not a form of gentrification because buildings such as newly constructed townhouses and apartments are inconsistent with the 'classic' gentrification description of a renovated 'old' building (Lees et al., 2008). Lees et al. (2008) on the other hand, argue that such developments are considered as a form of gentrification because it shares a number of features with 'classic' gentrification, namely: (i) capital reinvestment in inner cities; (ii) the social transformation of an area by incoming high income groups; (iii) changes in the landscape; and (iv) direct or indirect displacement. Lambert and Boddy (2002) however, contend that this is extending the term too far and that gentrification must remain firmly in line with Glass's (1964) description of 'classic' gentrification.

Furthermore, it is argued that the term 'gentrification' should be reserved for processes where direct displacement occurs (Boddy, 2007; Buzar et al., 2007) and terms such as 'reurbanisation' and 'residentialisation' are favoured instead of new-build gentrification where the displacement of low income groups is mainly indirect, as brownfield sites are usually vacant (e.g. Boddy, 2007; Butler, 2007; Buzar et al., 2007; Lambert & Boddy, 2002). Davidson and Lees (2010) argue that these debates are mainly based on a specific understanding of post-industrial, urban demographic change where population change in a neighbourhood is conceptualised to be a form of replacement, rather than displacement (e.g. Hamnett, 2003).

Moreover, Lees et al. (2008) have argued that by advocating for the use of terms such as 'regeneration', 'redevelopment' 'renaissance', 'revitalisation', 'renewal' or 'restructuring' and more recently 'urban sustainability' instead of the word 'gentrification', some scholars deliberately avoid the language of gentrification and attempt to gentrify the term itself. This serves to also mask what has become a 'dirty word' for developers, financiers and politicians (N. Smith, 1996) and which Glass (1964) coined to denote a 'worrying trend' (Slater, 2011, p. 572). Lees (2003a) argues that '[t]hese neutered terms politely avoid the class constitution of the process involved. It's hard to be for "gentrification", but who would oppose "urban renaissance", "urban regeneration" and "urban sustainability"?' (p. 61). Indeed, these terms are often utilised in order to ward off criticism and resistance to gentrification (Lees, 2003b; Slater, 2006; Tickell & Peck, 2003). Furthermore, Slater (2009) argues that these neutered terms strengthen a neoliberal account of competitive progress (Peck & Tickell, 2002) that paves the way for 'stealth gentrification' to take place (Wyly & Hammel, 2001).

Slater (2006) argues that researchers should not focus on a narrow view of gentrification any longer and persist in arguing that gentrification must remain true to the empirical details of Glass's (1964) geographically and historically dependent definition of the process. According to Slater et al. (2004), the most essential part of Glass's work that should be highlighted is her critical emphasis on the transformation of class. Indeed, N. Smith (2002) states that it is important to remain committed to the critical intent behind Glass's coinage of the term, 'precisely because the language of gentrification tells the truth about the class shift involved in the "regeneration" of the city' (N. Smith, 2002, p. 445). Therefore, gentrification reflects not only 'changes in the housing stock, but changes in housing class' (Slater et al., 2004, p. 1144). This is indeed an unusual point of agreement amongst gentrification researchers (Wyly & Hammel, 2001), as most researchers acknowledge that gentrification is the creation and the transformation of space for a more affluent, middle class (Doucet, 2009; Murdie & Texeira, 2011; Slater et al., 2004) and that all of the variations of gentrification include a socio-economic

and cultural change which occurs as a result of 'middle class colonisation and recolonisation' (Lees et al., 2008, p. 135).

As a result of the overemphasis on how to define gentrification, as well as on arguments about whether researchers should remain loyal to Glass's (1964) description of 'classic' gentrification, attention has been diverted away from the negative consequences of the process (Slater, 2006). This tended to also obscure the fact that working-class residents are displaced as a result of gentrification processes (Slater, 2006). However, the issue of displacement remains crucial in researchers' efforts to define gentrification and to recognise the politics thereof (Allen, 2008; Haase, Kabisch, & Steinführer, 2005). Therefore, following Clark (2005), Lees et al. (2008) have advocated for a targeted and elastic definition of gentrification which implies displacement.

Therefore, the following section focuses on the issue of displacement associated with gentrification, which in recent years has been both under-theorised (Slater, 2006) and under-examined (Davidson, 2008).

2.3 Gentrification and displacement

Displacement was an important feature of early gentrification research (Slater et al., 2004) in terms of how the process was defined (Grier & Grier, 1978); how it was measured (Schill & Nathan, 1983); and how it was vital to a fuller understanding of the entire process (LeGates & Hartman, 1986; Marcuse, 1985b; Nelson, 1998). However, with the evolution and the intensification of the process of gentrification, its once clear-cut ties to displacement have been obscured (Wyly, Newman, Schafran, & Lee, 2010). Furthermore, according to Slater (2008), displacement has now been denied and contested, rather than being documented and contemplated as it was in the 1980s. Watt (2008, p. 206) remarked that there has been a

'displacement of displacement' from the literature on gentrification and many researchers now view displacement 'as an important contingent relation, rather than a fundamental necessary relation' (Wyly, et al., 2010, p. 2603). This section discusses some of the debates surrounding displacement associated with gentrification and it sheds light on what has led to the decline of displacement as a research question in the gentrification literature.

2.3.1 Research on displacement associated with gentrification

During the 1970s and 1980s, many of the studies on gentrification were concerned with displacement (such as those of Laska & Spain, 1980; Marcuse, 1986; Palen & London, 1984; Smith & Williams, 1986), and in gentrification debates there was little of the introspection that exists today on the issue of displacement (Davidson, 2009b). Indeed during the 1980s, displacement was solidly entrenched as *the* consequence of gentrification (Marcuse, 1985b). For example, Marcuse (1985b) stated that 'gentrification is inherently linked with the displacement of lower-income households as it is abandonment' (p. 934). Therefore, past research accepted that displacement was part of gentrification and merely sought to estimate its impact (Slater, 2009). Even researchers associated with a less critical standpoint on gentrification, such as Ley (1996), were concerned about displacement: 'The magnitude of dislocation is unknown…though the scale of renovation, demolition, deconversion, and condominium conversion noted…implies that tens of thousands of households have been involuntarily displaced…' (p. 70). However, researchers differed in their perspective of the gravity and the extent of displacement associated with gentrification (Sumka, 1979).

Up until the late 1980s, academic research was characterised by researchers trying to understand the causes of gentrification, often undertaken in reaction to the injustices experienced by working-class residents as a result of the process. Indeed, more attention was paid to the effects of gentrification on the long-time working-class residents than to the middle-class gentrifiers

(Slater et al., 2004). According to Slater (2006) few academic articles existed that celebrated gentrification. N. Smith (2008) however, disputes this and claims that 'the early history of gentrification research did harbour considerable celebratory writing' (p. 197). Researchers also recognised that there were many dimensions of displacement which ranged from social displacement (Chernoff, 1980) to the displacement experienced in industrial areas caused by the desirability of living in lofts for the middle class (Zukin, 1982; 1988).

However, by the 1990s, the debate began to shift, and an undoing of the gentrification/displacement relationship commenced. This was mainly attributed to Hamnett's (1994) argument that post-industrial demographic transformation was leading to a 'professionalisation' of the social composition of urban areas (Davidson, 2009b). He continued this argument by stating that the reduction of the working-class population in many inner-city areas and its replacement by the middle class was due to a decline in the size of the working-class population and not displacement as such (Hamnett, 1994). In other words, occupational shifts were drawn upon to show that working-class populations had not been displaced, but rather that they were replaced as a result of wider economic transformation (Davidson & Lees, 2010). However, Watt (2008) argues that to some extent this is true, but that it is questionable as to what extent this transformation was simply a reduction in the working-class population.

More recently, debates have centred upon proving or refuting displacement's occurrence through studies of in-migration and out-migration (which refers to the physical displacement of people from their homes and/or their neighbourhoods) (Davidson, 2009b). For example, research by Freeman (2005), Freeman and Braconi (2004), McKinnish et al. (2008) and Vigdor (2002) have provided quantitative evidence of the limited extent of displacement and have questioned whether low-income residents are indeed displaced and whether gentrification harms the poor. In fact, it has been suggested that local residents could indeed benefit from gentrification through the improved quality of their neighbourhoods, better access to services

and resources or more local amenities (Doucet, 2009; Freeman, 2006; Vigdor, 2002). Furthermore, Byrne (2003, p. 421-422) has argued that these benefits may be economic ('expanding more employment opportunities in providing locally the goods and services that more affluent residents can afford'); social ('new and more affluent residents will rub shoulders with poorer residents on the streets, in shops, and within local institutions such as schools'); and political ('affluent and poor citizens must deal with each other's priorities in a democratic process'). In spite of these findings, other researchers such as Wyly and Hammel (2001) have documented acute housing affordability problems in the neighbourhood in which Byrne (2003) conducted his study, which is an example of what Marcuse (1985b) calls 'displacement pressure' (see Chapter 3).

These arguments celebrating gentrification and/or denying displacement, however, strip gentrification of its historical meaning and its defining features (Slater, 2009), namely class conflict and the displacement of people (Slater, 2006; N. Smith, 2008). It is therefore, critical to challenge the interpretation that displacement is marginal and that gentrification benefits the poor, as displacement is cited as one of the primary threats of gentrification by those concerned about its exclusionary effects (Newman & Wyly, 2006). People experience the loss their homes and their community (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2005; Rérat et al., 2010; Valli, 2016) and their right to the city because of gentrification (Slater, 2010). Moreover, Fullilove (2004) likens displacement to a clinical condition known as 'root shock':

> Root shock…ruptures bonds, disperses people to all directions of the compass…The elegance of the neighbourhood – each person in his social and geographic slot – is destroyed, and even if the neighbourhood is rebuilt exactly as it was, it won't work. The restored geography is not enough to repair the many injuries in the mazeway (p. 14).

Indeed, a number of qualitative studies have uncovered traumatic experiences of gentrification (Curran, 2004; Larsen & Hansen, 2008; Newman & Wyly, 2006) and have revealed a sense of

bereavement with being displaced, especially for the elderly (Betancur, 2002; Curran, 2004; Davidson & Lees 2010; Fried, 1966; Hartman et al., 1982; Marris, 1986).

Qualitative accounts on gentrification in the past have tended to focus on descriptions about how gentrifying areas change, without actually engaging directly with the displacees (Allen, 2008). As a result, these studies have tended to pay particular attention to how long-time residents perceive the changes in their neighbourhood, rather than focusing on displacement per se. However, a few recent studies have emerged which have documented the experiences of working-class residents in gentrifying areas (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Doucet, 2009, 2014; Doucet, Van Kempen, & Van Weesep, 2011; McGirr, Skaburskis, & Donegani, 2014; Stabrowski, 2014; Twigge-Molecey, 2014).

2.3.2 Reasons why displacement is under-examined

One of the reasons why displacement became 'displaced' from the literature on gentrification was methodological in nature (Slater, 2006). Displacement is difficult to research empirically and to document because '[b]y definition, displaced residents have disappeared from the very places where researchers and census-takers go to look for them' (Newman & Wyly, 2006, p. 27). In other words, there are practical difficulties in tracing displaced people (Atkinson, 2000b; Bridge, 2014; Cohen et al., 1993; Hamnett & Williams, 1979; LeGates & Hartman, 1986; K. Shaw, 2005), and in determining the effects on them of being relocated. In addition, Atkinson (2000b) pinpointed that apart from being situated in disparate locations, displaced people may not in fact identify themselves as displacees. As a result of these methodological difficulties, displacement has been easily overlooked by researchers (Wyly et al., 2010). Furthermore, the difficulties of direct observation have led to years of neglect (Slater, 2006), even though researchers had systematically worked to measure the extent and the consequences of displacement during the 1960s and 1970s (Hartman et al., 1982; Sumka, 1979).

These difficulties in conducting research on displacement, however, did not guide researchers towards a qualitative agenda to address displacement (Slater, 2006). Instead, during the 1990s, it directed them away from displacement completely (Lees et al., 2008; Slater, 2006). For example, Hamnett (2003) reasserted his thesis that London's labour force had 'professionalised', due to a lack of data on the displaced:

> The transformation that has taken place in the occupational class structure of London has been associated with the gradual replacement of one class by another, rather than large scale direct displacement (p. 2454).

Moreover, Hamnett (2009) suggested that gentrification does not always involve displacement and more recently he reaffirmed that the reduction in the working-class population in a city is not necessarily the result of direct or exclusionary displacement, but is rather, largely due to the changes in the industrial and the class structure of a city (Hamnett, 2010).

Davidson and Lees (2010) argue that Hamnett is able to make this assertion because 'the aggregated data of the UK census cannot prove displacement, however neither can it demonstrate the absence of displacement!' (p. 399). Displacement is difficult to quantify (Atkinson, 2002; K. Shaw, 2005), and according to Slater (2009), there is no statistical data that quantifies displacement in a compelling way. Atkinson (2000b) also points out that it is not possible to determine how many moves were made in between two census counts, which is a measure of what Marcuse (1985b) has termed 'chain displacement' (see Chapter 3). Furthermore, the data sets that are available are ill-suited for an 'analysis of the full social complexity of individual and family circumstances' (Newman & Wyly, 2006, p. 42). Therefore, the use of census data to identify displacement has limited ability to explain or to understand the process, as it merely indicates movement (Atkinson, 2000b, 2002). Moreover, Hamnett (1999)

argued that this methodological approach cannot easily distinguish between displacement and replacement.

Thus, according to Davidson (2011), where gentrification is considered without the correlate associate of displacement, it is often in the context of post-industrial changes where the working-class population is seen to have been replaced, rather than displaced (Haas et al., 2005; Hamnett, 2009). Davidson (2011) argues that to portray replacement as lacking the politics of displacement is to unduly naturalise the process, due to the fact that replacement and/or transformation of working-class populations in post-industrial cities took place naturally. Instead, it is argued that the processes that resulted in this have a politics (Butler, Laclau & Zizek, 2000; Lazarus, 2010). Where the issue of displacement is rejected in the literature, it is often accompanied by the discarding of class politics (Davidson, 2011). However, as mentioned earlier, gentrification is a transformation that is embedded in class (Wyly & Hammel, 1999, p. 716), where with each class transformation comes the possibility of displacement, either direct or indirect.

Furthermore, attention has been steered away from the experiences of working-class residents as researchers have tended to study the characteristics and the practices of gentrifiers (such as Butler & Robson, 2003; Caulfield, 1994; Hamnett, 2003; Ley, 1996, 2003; Podmore, 1998; Rofe, 2003). The underlying reason for these studies on the gentrifiers, was the perception that in order to get a full understanding of the causes of gentrification, their movements and their desires had to be investigated (Slater, 2006). Therefore, instead of having a concern for the working class, researchers had focused on investigating the behaviour of the middle-class gentrifiers. Slater (2006) describes this as 'blanking out' the working class. If the working class is mentioned in the literature, it was typically in reference to how the gentrifiers felt about 'others' or neighbours, who were unlike them (Slater, 2006).

In addition, the way in which displacement is defined by researchers in turn affects the way in which it is assessed. Indeed, Lee and Hodge (1984) have shown how the definitions used of displacement affect the extent of how the problem is perceived and they distinguish between liberal and conservative definitions of displacement. In conservative definitions of displacement, only the more extreme forms of harassment and evictions will be regarded as a displacement pressure; while in more liberal definitions, displacement is a process that includes the pricing out of residents and the transformation of shops and services (Lee & Hodge, 1984). Therefore, differences exist in the assessment of displacement associated with gentrification (K. Shaw, 2008), in part because of the way in which the phenomenon is defined. Furthermore, the reason for the relative absence of displacement from recent gentrification literature is largely due to an inadequate conceptualisation of the phenomenon (Davidson, 2008, 2009), in which the spatial relocation of long-time residents is 'held up as a litmus test for displacement and by extension, gentrification' (Davidson, 2009b, p. 228). Another issue, identified by Davidson & Lees (2010) is that displacement is often 'perceived of as a singular outcome, not as a set of (place-based) processes that are spatially and temporally variable' (p. 400) (see Chapter 3).

The following section highlights the impact of displacement as a result of gentrification on people's lives.

2.3.3 Resident experiences of gentrification-related displacement

Seeking to uncover people's experiences of displacement is important (Newman & Wyly, 2006; Slater, 2008), as a number of studies have shown that displacement from home is a traumatic experience (Curran, 2004; Larsen & Hansen, 2008; Newman & Wyly, 2006). Several authors have also recounted the devastating effects that displacement has on the well-being of people. In this section, the experiences of people who have been physically displaced from their homes

will be discussed, followed by a discussion on the experiences of displacement of those who manage to remain in their neighbourhoods, despite gentrification.

2.3.3.1 Experiences of physical displacement

During the 1960s and the 1970s, several studies conducted on displacement found that the effect of the loss of familiar environments was unanticipated and of an unexpected depth (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Fried (1963) described this experience as 'grieving for a lost home' (p. 151). Similarly, Hartman (1984) has stated that '[i]nvoluntary residential changes also produce a considerable amount of psychosocial stress, which in its more extreme form has been found analogous to the clinical description of grief' (p. 306). This is often because of the deep social ties that long-time residents have developed within their community, as well as the strong support networks that have been fostered (Fullilove, 2004). Marris (1986) came to a similar conclusion, pointing out that the emotions expressed by displaced residents appeared to be similar to feelings of grief and that '[e]viction from the neighbourhood in which one was at home can be almost as disruptive of the meaning of life as the loss of a crucial relationship' (p.57). He further found that this grieving process, which takes place after changes that affect daily life, may ensue to such an extent that responses to everyday situations need to be revised (Marris, 1986). Moreover, these changes may impact people to the point that it puts an end to 'the working model of the world that had existed in the individual's head' (Fullilove, 2004, p. 14).

Apart from losing their homes, displacement imposes substantial hardships on the displacees, particularly on low-income people and the elderly (Henig, 1984; LeGates & Hartman, 1986). A significant number of displacees in a study conducted by LeGates and Hartman (1982) indicated a deterioration in the housing and/or the quality of the neighbourhood that they moved to, although some displacees had found similar or better housing and neighbourhoods than where

they had previously lived. In addition, displaceees often move to more expensive accommodation (Hartman, 1979; LeGates & Hartman, 1982). For some households these rent increases may be modest but for others, it may be considerable. Low-income displacees are harmed in particular, as they tend to find the least suitable alternative housing and neighbourhoods; and they encounter the highest proportional increases in housing cost (LeGates & Hartman, 1982). In much the same way, Hartman (1984) found that:

> In seeking a new place to live, the displaced tend to move as short a distance as possible, in an effort to retain existing personal, commercial, and institutional ties and because of the economically and racially biased housing-market constraints they face. What they find usually costs more, has less adequate space, and is of inferior quality (p. 305–306).

Similarly, Atkinson (2000b) found that displacees often move to places where overcrowding is worse and the housing is also of a poorer quality.

While these studies demonstrated that displacees tended to live in close proximity to their previous neighbourhoods, He (2009) however, in a study of state-led gentrification in Shanghai, China highlighted the negative impact imposed by gentrification on low-income groups, who had been displaced to the outskirts of the city. She found that displacement to the outskirts of the city denied low-income residents the 'convenience and the joys of urban life' (p. 359). Furthermore, displacement threatened their socio-economic prospects and their livelihoods as social networks were fragmented, and the time and costs of commuting were increased which may result in unemployment (He, 2009). Access to public facilities was also constrained and the facilities and infrastructure in these peripheral areas were highly underdeveloped. Despite improved housing conditions, the quality of life of the displacees was less favourable, along with their life prospects. He (2009) concluded that this process of relocating people to the outskirts of the city was not purely a process of suburbanisation, but rather it was a process of class displacement.

In addition, the South African experience of displacement, as a result of the apartheid policies in in the country at the time, in which thousands of people were forcibly removed from their homes, often under the guise of slum clearance, has had similar devastating effects on people. For example, Hart (1988) investigated the forced displacement of people to the periphery of the city in District Six, Cape Town, which was proclaimed as an area exclusively for the settlement of white people. In this study, Hart drew attention to the deep emotional toll that this experience had on the lives of individuals:

> The inconvenience occasioned by the physical wrenching of people from long-time homes pales in the face of more prolonged and damaging psychological distress. Oral evidence, literary accounts, and almost two decades of newspaper reporting unite in their testimony to the fear, humiliation, bitterness and anger that accompanied the displacement. Not least among the consequences was fragmentation of the identity and heritage of a particular community which had profound implications for its social, political, and cultural expression (p. 616).

The psychological pain and suffering of the displacees were still experienced long after the physical displacement of this mixed-race community, which had been characterised by the sense of place and belonging that its residents felt. Hart's study also drew attention to the effects of displacement on the community and the political, social and cultural implications thereof.

Although there is not much in the literature on the health effects of gentrification, the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC, n.d.), International Making Cities Livable (IMCL, n.d.), and Wilder, Mirto, Makoba, and Arniella (2017), have highlighted the negative effects of neighbourhood changes as a result of gentrification on the health and well-being of people. Indeed, several authors have identified the effect that physical displacement, including the fear associated with the possibility of being displace, have on the mental health of people (Fullilove & Wallace, 2011; Wilder et al., 2017). Stress, depression, hypertension, lowered self-esteem

and feelings of inferiority are some of the negative health effects associated with gentrification and displacement (Wilder et al., 2017).

Researchers have also found that working-class residents tend to express a stronger attachment to place than middle-class residents (Fried, 1966; Marris, 1986). Consequently, Fried (1966) and Marris (1986) expected that working-class residents would experience the effects of displacement more intensely. They further argued that place of residence becomes an important focal point around which identification and belonging are constructed for low-income households, particularly for those who have fewer resources and reasons to travel outside their neighbourhood and foster social ties (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015).

As alluded to earlier, people can experience displacement even when there is no spatial dislocation and feelings of displacement can be experienced long before being forced to move from a particular neighbourbood (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Sakizlioğlu 2013; Stabrowski, 2014; Twigge-Molecey, 2014; Valli, 2016). In the following section, these more indirect experiences of displacement will be discussed.

2.3.3.2 Experiences of displacement beyond out-migration

Until recently there has been little research published that seeks to understand the experiences of existing and long-time residents who manage to remain in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Feelings of displacement are not only embedded in social changes, but they are also connected to changes in the symbolic environments and the physical changes in the neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2015). Indeed, Davidson & Lees (2010) uncovered a number of displacement processes that can occur while living in a gentrifying neighbourhood, which resembles the impacts of physical displacement, namely, ‘the forced disconnection from familiar place and the (phenomenological) relocation into a new urban social context’ (p. 405). This section focuses on

the experiences of these more indirect forms of displacement that play 'out in more silent registers' (Davidson & Lees, 2010, p. 405).

Loss of commercial services

The in-migration of gentrifiers into working-class neighbourhoods stimulates new commercial demands (Rérat et al., 2010). Consequently, the establishment of new commercial services in gentrifying neighbourhoods tend not to cater for long-time, working-class residents. Instead, it serves the needs of more affluent clientele living in the neighbourhood or those visiting the area (Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Valli, 2016). Prices are usually unaffordable in these new retail services. However, this is not the only barrier to long-time residents going to the new restaurants, bars, cafés and boutiques in the neighbourhood. According to Valli (2016) those residents, who do have a reasonable income, do not necessarily patronise these new retail offerings as there is no-one there that they can identify with or who grew up with them from the community. This then can lead to polarising the community even further (Doucet, 2009).

As the retail landscape of gentrifying areas changes, the continued existence of local, affordable corner shops is threatened; which over time may significantly decline in number (Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). As the number of middle-class residents increase, the range of products in shops catering to the needs of low-income residents in the neighbourhood, also decreases (Marcuse, 1985b). When these shops close down, daily life is made even more difficult for low-income households as and they have to travel further to purchase their goods (Sakizlioğlu, 2013). In Davidson's (2008) study, residents also had concerns that the loss of commercial services in their neighbourhood would have an impact on the management of their household duties, childcare and family activities. The loss of commercial services also means that 'sites of association' have declined for many long-time residents (Davidson & Lees, 2010, p. 406) which in turn can be experienced as a loss of sense of place (Davidson, 2008; Marcuse, 1985b).

Loss of leisure spaces

This loss of sense of place can also be experienced through the loss of social venues and meeting places for low-income long-time residents (Davidson, 2008). People often have a strong attachment to these places because of past memories of social interactions that took place there (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Furthermore, a number of researchers such as Davidson (2008), Shaw and Hagemans (2015) and Valli (2016), have found that long-time residents feel excluded from the trendy new bars and nightspots in the neighbourhood that cater mainly for the middle-class.

In addition, the production of spaces for new artistic activities, particularly those spaces which represent 'white privilege' (McLean, 2014; Shaw & Sullivan, 2011) further engenders a sense of loss of place. Valli (2016) found in a study of Bushwick, New York, that although these artistic activities and venues were rapidly transforming the neighbourhood, the majority of the residents felt left out as these venues were perceived to be catering for a higher economic capital and possibly a different cultural capital. When this feeling of 'out-of-placeness' (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2008; Marcuse, 1985b; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015) takes place in an environment that was once familiar, it is regarded as a 'loss of place' and therefore displacement (Valli, 2016). These artistic activities and venues therefore contribute to the exclusionary dynamics of gentrification (Valli, 2016).

Feeling 'othered' in the neighbourhood

The presence of gentrifiers in the neighbourhood engenders immediate and deep feelings of displacement for long-time residents (Valli, 2016). Instead of associating visual expressions of gentrification with changes in the physical environment or in the housing market, participants in Valli's (2016) study associated it with the appearances, ethnic profiles and lifestyles of individuals moving into and/or spending time in the neighbourhood. They felt 'othered' by the

gentrifiers and this prevented them from frequenting some neighbourhood spaces. Consequently, this resulted in a change in the sense of place and belonging experienced by long-time residents, which constitutes an important aspect of displacement (Valli, 2016).

The influx of gentrifiers, together with new lifestyles, new activities, new businesses and services and a new economic status, also leads long-time residents to question their habits and practices, along with their self-identity (Valli, 2016). Everyday experiences with the gentrifiers can also change a sense of 'feeling at home' in the neighbourhood for long-time residents. Like Cahill (2007) found, participants in Valli's study described not feeling welcome and at ease in their neighbourhood any longer. Furthermore, Valli (2016) stated that '[t]he encounter with new faces in the neighbourhood brings to the surface internal conflicts about one's positionality within structural and subjective dimensions of class, ethnicity, gender and culture' (Valli, 2016, p. 1202).

Loss of neighbourhood and community

When places, which once characterised the neighbourhood, disappear as a result of gentrification; long-time residents are no longer able to relate to these spaces and their community does not bear much resemblance to the place that they once knew (Abrahamson, Manzo, & Hou, 2006; Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2008; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). In other words, the creation of new norms, behaviours and amenities in a neighbourhood that are suited to their requirements of the gentrifiers (Brown-Saracino, 2009), rather than that of the existing community, results in the neighbourhood becoming even less recognisable for long-time residents; and they no longer feel at home within them (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Hyra, 2015; Valli, 2016). As Shaw and Hagemans (2015) point out that:

> If the sources of the familiar become unfamiliar – shops, services, meeting places, other people in the neighbourhood, the nature of local social order and governance

> - low-income people may lose their sense of place without the capacity to find a new one (p. 327).

This loss of a sense of place can be as painful and as traumatic as being physical dislocated, according to Shaw and Hagemans (2015).

Furthermore, Shaw & Hagemans (2015) point out that the effect of familiarity on feelings of safety for long-time residents is important, where '[f]amiliarity with and in a place and its other inhabitants - knowing and being known - enables a sense of place identity, and is...essential to individual and collective feelings of safety' (p. 337). Therefore, if the neighbourhood feels less familiar, long-time residents are likely to feel less safe as familiarity with place generates a type of 'streetwise' safety (Anderson, 1990).

In addition, the deconcentration of poverty, which is often cited as a positive outcome of gentrification, however, 'leads to the deconcentration of the familiar', in the form of the loss of familiarity with people and place (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015, p. 337). Together with the problem of an increasingly unaffordable housing market, this growing sense of what Davidson & Lees (2010) call 'neighbourhood disattachment' contributes to the significant displacement of people even though they may not be physically displaced (see Chapter 3). In other words, loss of place does not necessitate the physical displacement of people but it can take place as residents experience the transformation of a place (Atkinson, 2015; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015).

Apart from social changes in the neighbourhood, the process of defamiliarisation is also slowly brought about by physical changes in the built environment, which includes changes such as physical improvement, renovation and aesthetic changes to buildings. It also involves the demolition of buildings and the alteration of the neighbourhood by the gentrifiers (Atkinson, 2015). This results in changes to the physical history of the neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2015)

and the neighbourhood as remembered by long-time residents is in stark contrast to the one that has emerged. These 'physical reinscriptions of place' were pinpointed by long-time residents in a study conducted by Atkinson (2015) as the source of their unease about what was taking place in their neighbourhood (p. 383). In other words, long-time residents felt alienated and estranged (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2009b) and experienced what Atkinson calls 'feelings of psychic distance' from their neighbourhood, as a result of their changing relationship to place (Atkinson, 2015, p. 383).

This transformation of the neighbourhood often takes place without the involvement of long-time residents in the process (Davidson & Lees, 2010). As a result of economic pressures engendered by these changes and the fact that these changes often do not cater to their needs (Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Valli, 2016), long-time residents may feel pressured to leave (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson & Lees, 2010). In addition, Davidson & Lees (2010) assert that relocating to another neighbourhood may become more desirable than living in a neighbourhood where 'they no longer had personal or collective investment in' (p. 406).

As people move out of gentrifying neighbourhoods, community ties are broken (Davidson & Lees, 2010) and long-time residents who remain behind, do not feel as at home in their neighbourhood as they did before (Sakizlioğlu, 2013). The reason for this, according to Atkinson (2015), Keddie (2009) and Sakizlioğlu (2013), is that their friends and neighbours have moved out and the feeling of a sense of community has slowly started to disappear. Consequently, long-time residents may experience a deep 'sense of nostalgia for changing social relations and lost connections' (Atkinson, 2015, p. 382). Therefore, they may also feel displaced as a result of a loss of community (Rérat et al., 2010).

In neighbourhoods where gentrification is at a more advanced stage of development, long-time residents experience a deeper sense of displacement. As neighbourhoods are rendered

unfamiliar, ‘once strong socio-spatial bond(s), ...are dissolved’ (Davidson & Lees, 2010, p. 406) and feelings of grief which are usually associated with physical displacement, may also be experienced by residents who manage to remain in gentrifying neighbourhoods. For example, Davidson and Lees (2010) found that long-time residents’ experiences of displacement in Wandsworth, London, were ‘laden with feelings of bereavement, dislocation and disassociation’ (p. 406).

In contrast to the above findings, Martin (2005), in a study of gentrification in Notting Hill, London, found that working-class residents did not express much emotional attachment to the neighbourhood. Where place attachment was articulated by working-class residents, it was closely related to material aspects such as shopping conveniences and the quality of local facilities. Martin (2005) further contends that the attachment to the symbolic meanings of place appears to be mainly a middle-class concern, as they were the ones who lamented the loss of traditional landscapes in the neighbourhood as a result of gentrification, such as the loss of independent shops. On the other hand, the issues and the changes which were of concern to working-class residents were ‘distinctly material, and often very localized, worries were closest to their hearts’, such as overcrowding, crime, drugs, neglect by the local authority, as well as the supposed threat of a growing immigrant community (Martin, 2005, p. 19). Martin (2005) however, found that it was paradoxical that gentrification was of negligible concern for working-class residents, who were actually threatened by the process. However, he does acknowledge the limitations of the brief semi-structured interviews which were conducted for his study, which may not have captured the ‘deeper’ thoughts and feelings of gentrification of the participants of his study.

Living with the threat of displacement

A number of studies have investigated how residents living in gentrifying areas experience the threat of displacement (Paton, 2012; Sakizlioğlu, 2013; Twigge-Molecey, 2014). An almost

intolerable situation is created for some long-time residents when they feel like they are continuously 'on notice' to move out of their homes. In turn, feelings of unease and anxiety about being displaced are engendered as a result of this tenurial insecurity (Atkinson, 2015; Sakizlioğlu, 2013). Consequently, long-time residents experience a loss of security (Stabrowski, 2014) and an 'emotionally destabilising environment' is created (Atkinson, 2015, p. 385). Furthermore, disinvestment strategies such as not maintaining and repairing dwelling spaces create feelings of being 'out-of-place', even as long-time residents try to remain in their neighbourhoods (Atkinson, 2015). Apart from the anxiety of possibly losing their homes, long-time residents also have a very deep concern about their livelihoods being destroyed (Sakizlioğlu, 2013).

Living with the threat of displacement is therefore a source of major psychological turmoil for long-time residents living in gentrifying neighbourhoods (Sakizlioğlu, 2013; Twigge-Molecey, 2014). Sakizlioğlu (2013) found, in a study of a state-led gentrification in Istanbul, Turkey, that this was particularly so for those who had fewer formal rights. The prospect of gentrification resulted in the physical decline and the social disintegration of their neighbourhood and increased insecurity for these residents (Sakizlioğlu, 2013). The study also showed that property owners too were forced to sell their homes as a result of gentrification. Furthermore, Cahill (2007) noted that:

> The pressure of displacement is not an abstract threat but experienced in material ways: slips under the door offering a buy out in public housing, family members relocating temporarily never to return home, personal experiences of being harassed by landlords, doubling up of families in tiny apartments, and seeing friends displaced (p. 215).

Therefore, working-class residents who manage to remain in their neighbourhoods, despite threats of being physically displaced, do so in an increasingly restricted way (Stabrowski, 2014).

Positive experiences of displacement?

Some researchers (such as Atkinson, 2002; Byrne, 2003; Freeman & Braconi, 2004) have argued that gentrification has positive effects not only for gentrifiers, but also for existing, long-time residents. Often cited in the literature, these effects include: physical rehabilitation of the environment, a turnaround in the deterioration of neighbourhoods, better local services, increased property values, profits for existing residents, increased tax revenues, fiscal budget increases, the deconcentration of poverty, increased political representation, greater social and ethnic diversity and greater economic sustainability of the neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2002; Davidson, 2008).

In some studies, such as those conducted by Doucet (2009), Freeman (2006), Martin (2005), McGirr et al. (2015), Sullivan (2007) and Valli (2016), long-time residents articulated an approval and an appreciation of the changes taking place in their neighbourhoods which had undergone disinvestment in past. For example, in a study conducted by Valli, (2016), long-time residents welcomed the positive outcomes of the new businesses in their neighbourhood, such as increasing the liveability and the security of the area. However, Valli (2016) found that only a small number of them in fact spent time in these new businesses. They did, however, report that they were prepared to try and enjoy these new places, in spite of not feeling entirely comfortable with going to these new restaurants in their neighbourhood.

McGirr et al. (2015) in a study of gentrification and residential satisfaction in a neighbourhood in Toronto, Canada, found that it was mostly long-time homeowners who welcomed the changes in their neighbourhood. In addition, they were greatly satisfied with their neighbourhood community. In contrast to a number of other studies, McGirr et al.'s (2015) study portrayed gentrification as a process free of conflict. This 'harmonious transformation of neighbourhood' was in part attributed to the rent controls that protected long-time tenants, and

the fact that landlords were only permitted to increase rents to market levels, when tenants moved out voluntarily (McGirr et al., 2015, p. 15).

Similarly, Sullivan (2007) in a study of two gentrifying neighbourhoods in Portland, Oregon, found that the majority of the residents 'like how their neighbourhood has changed' (p. 589). Slater (2008) however, argues that this finding is not unanticipated, as a large number of the participants were white, in their thirties, college-educated homeowners who were actually newcomers to the neighbourhood. In other words, most of them were not working-class, low-income nor long-time residents. Sullivan (2007) however, does acknowledge that it was less probable that long-time black residents and renters would see these changes in a positive light.

Nonetheless, earlier research conducted by Atkinson (2002) found that there was little empirical evidence to support contentions in the literature of the positive impacts of gentrification. Atkinson (2002) states though, that this is not to say that such outcomes are not likely. Indeed, Slater (2008) argues that gentrification can be positive, but that this is the case specifically for gentrifiers, city managers and in particular owners of capital. Similarly, Davidson (2008) found that the opinions of long-time residents' on the changes in their neighbourhood are, however, dependent on their socio-economic status and their positionality. It is, however, not the case for those 'who genuinely do stand to be harmed, or have been harmed, by gentrification' (Slater, 2008, p. 216).

Indeed, Davidson & Lees' (2010) found that new-build gentrification had little positive associations for working-class residents and Shaw and Hagemans (2015) have similarly shown that it is difficult for existing, working-class residents to ascertain how recent reinvestment enhanced their neighbourhood or their lives. In the case of Davidson & Lees' (2010) study, long-time residents tended to focus upon the possibility of growing housing unaffordability and therefore exclusionary displacement (Marcuse, 1985b). Increasing insecurities over rising rents

and anxieties about the problems that they might experience if they lost their residential tenancy may also be experienced (Davidson, 2008; Valli, 2016). Furthermore in Atkinson's (2015) study, participants described their anxiety associated with the prospect of having to find another home; their loss and despair over leaving places and people who they loved; and the injustice of being priced-out or estranged by the physical and the social transformations of their neighbourhoods.

Although gentrification may result in an increase in their value of their homes, Davidson (2008) found that this may, however, be offset by homeowners' concerns about the difficulties that their children and relatives may confront in finding homes and/or whether they would be able to afford to move home in the future. Therefore, housing affordability becomes a concern for both private renters and homeowners, as neighbourhoods are transformed through gentrification. Moreover, in studies conducted in Sydney (Waitt, 2004) and Chicago (Wyly & Hammel, 2005), where new spaces of consumption were initially largely accepted by the residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods, here displacement also later became a concern.

In the next section, the various studies on gentrification and displacement that have emerged in the Global South will be outlined.

2.4 A brief review of the gentrification literature in the Global South

Although there were some references to gentrification in the Global South in academic literature during the 1990s (e.g. Garside, 1993; Kotzé, 1998; Jones & Varley, 1999; Steinberg et al., 1992), it was only in the 2000s that there was an increase in the literature on gentrification in countries such as China (He, 2007), Singapore (Wong, 2006), South Korea (Shin, 2009), India (Harris, 2008), Brazil (Sandler, 2007), Chile (López-Morales, 2010), Mexico (Walker, 2008) and South Africa (Kotzé & Van der Merwe, 2000, Visser, 2002, 2003; Visser & Kotzé, 2008).

In 2005, Atkinson and Bridges' edited book was the first to have a few chapters devoted to case studies outside of North America and Europe. Furthermore, Porter and Shaw's (2009) edited collection of 'global' case studies included cases from the Global South, such as from Asia (Jing, Allegretti, & McKay, 2009), the Middle East (Ledraa & Abu-Anzeh, 2009) and Africa (Winkler, 2009a, 2009b). However, the 40 classic texts on gentrification in *The Gentrification Reader* (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2010) do not include any case studies outside of North America, Europe and Australia (Lemanski, 2014). More recently, however in a book by Lees et al. (2015) on 'global gentrification', a number of studies have emerged on gentrification in cities in the Global South, such as Cape Town in South Africa (Teppo & Millstein, 2015), Rio de Janiero in Brazil (Cummings, 2015), Lagos in Nigeria (Nwanna, 2015) and Puebla in Mexico (Jones, 2015). In this section, the focus is on a brief review of gentrification studies in the Global South in general, with a particular emphasis on research that has been conducted in South Africa. In addition, this section examines of the question of displacement associated with gentrification in South African literature.

2.4.1 Studies on gentrification and displacement in the Global South

Gentrification has 'become a state-led, global urban strategy in the Global North', which Lees et al. (2008) argue, involves 'an innovative race to create attractive, novel, and interesting – but also safe and sanitised – playgrounds for wealthy residents and visitors who work (or receive interest and dividends) from the institutions of global capital' (p.166). Similarly, there has been a rapid emergence of state-led gentrification in the Global South since the 2000s, which has changed the inner cities of China, India, Pakistan, and Brazil (Lees, 2012). However, according to Lees (2012), gentrification in North America and Europe today is not comparable to the 'mega-gentrification' and the 'mega-displacement' taking place in some cities in the Global South. For example in Shanghai, almost a million people had been relocated from the inner city to the outskirts of the city as a result of state-led gentrification (He, 2007). This resulted in these

displaced inner-city residents being situated further away from their workplaces, educational institutions, social networks and health facilities (He, 2007; Lees, 2012). Betancur (2014) therefore called for more 'nuanced approaches' (p. 1) to researching gentrification in the Global South, as the process 'plays out differently in different places and the process is deeply affected by local context' (K. Shaw, 2005, p. 168).

Research on the Global South has in general tended to investigate how gentrification in particular inner cities has 'travelled from the Global North to the Global South' (Lees, 2012, p. 155), whilst also emphasising the similarities of their studies to gentrification in the Global North (Betancur, 2014). There has also been a tendency for gentrification in the Global South to be viewed through the lens of Anglo-American theory (Lees, 2012; Lees et al., 2015). Other researchers have highlighted the heightened socio-economic differences in gentrifying areas of the Global South when compared to that of the Global North (e.g. Grant & Nijman, 2002). Harris (2008) on the other hand, used a comparative approach in a study of gentrification in London and Mumbai to highlight the distinct geographical and historical expressions of this process and its effects. By drawing attention to the different forms of state intervention and the socio-spatial impact of gentrification in Mumbai, Harris (2008) challenges the Eurocentric conceptualisation of a global proliferation of gentrification. Furthermore, he argues that his case study on Mumbai provides an important illustration from which gentrification research can learn.

In addition, Lemanski (2014) explored gentrification in a southern 'slum-like' area, which is usually reserved for 'downward raiding' terminology, as an example from which to contest urban theories traditionally established in the Global North, highlighting the necessity for these theories to be reconsidered within the contexts of the Global South. Moreover, Lemanski (2014) argues that rather than applying theories, which are imbedded in one context to another, context-specific empirical findings and theories should be used as the initial step for analysis instead.

Indeed, various researchers have highlighted the importance of the relationship between gentrification and the specific context within which it takes place (Betancur, 2014; Lees, 2014; Lemanski, 2014; K. Shaw, 2005; Simone, 2008). The particular timing of urbanisation and the specific geographical and historical circumstances are therefore, vital to understanding gentrification in the Global South (Lees, 2014).

Lees (2014) identified several peculiarities regarding gentrification in the Global South. In contrast to cities in the Global North, gentrification in the Global South is associated with industrialisation, modernisation, modernity and suburbanisation. Another aspect that distinguishes gentrification in the Global South from that of the Global North is that the process is taking place at the same time as the growth in slums in southern cities. Furthermore, Lees (2014) states that the type of gentrification taking place in the Global South is mostly high-rise new-build developments with little concern for conserving the existing architecture, although this is also progressively becoming the leading form of gentrification in the Global North.

In South Africa, unique manifestations of gentrification are also emerging, which Lees (2014) has argued is incompatible with the notion of gentrification being the white, Anglo appropriation of the inner city. She contends that although the remaking of Johannesburg is a form of neo-colonialism because it is mainly steered by white, private investors with high-tech smart city ideas, which aim to attract international investors, tourists and the wealthy into the new inner city (Murray, 2008); it is however, more complicated than this. What was once a white, segregated space during apartheid, the inner city has become a racially black space through disinvestment and low-income reinvestment. As a result, gentrifying spaces have been created next to Pan-African spaces and have not been displaced by them (Lees, 2014).

However, some researchers such as Maloutas (2012) and Ghertner (2015) have challenged the global application of the concept of gentrification. Maloutas (2012), for example, argued that it

is more suited to describe processes in large cities in Anglo-America. However, Lees et al. (2015) argued that his questioning of the applicability of gentrification theory outside of the Global North is not established on sufficient evidence, as the research itself was limited to Global North literature. Nonetheless, following Roy (2005) and Parnell (1997), Lees (2014) suggests that while Anglo-American theories and conceptualisations of gentrification may be ill-suited for understanding the process in the Global South, it may also 'be appropriate as planners and policy makers borrow and replicate across borders' (p. 506). Indeed, López-Morales (2015) cautions that theory from Global North should not be considered as 'useless' for understanding gentrification in the Global South (p. 571). Instead, he points out that 'gentrification provides a useful relational lens where the injustices of capital-driven redevelopment can be seen in its actual polarised nature' (López-Morales, 2015, p. 565).

The following section provides a brief review of the literature on gentrification in South Africa.

2.4.2 A brief chronological review of gentrification studies in South Africa

Gentrification studies in South Africa are divided into two distinct phases (Visser & Kotzé, 2008). In the first phase, which started in the early 1990s, the process of urban change that was taking place at the time was described as gentrification. Researchers drew on the 'classic' interpretation of this process and the new class structure of former working-class areas was seen as a consequence of processes of gentrification (Garside, 1993). These studies made use of two theoretical perspectives that were characteristic of Anglo-American debates at that time, namely, production-side arguments and consumption-side arguments (Visser & Kotzé, 2008). For example, Steinberg et al. (1992) drew upon production-side arguments of gentrification, highlighting the significant rent gap in Johannesburg, which they speculated would provide the opportunity for gentrification to take place. Research by Garside (1993), Kotzé (1996, 1998)

and Kotzé & Van der Merwe (2000) on the other hand, drew on consumption-side arguments in their research of Woodstock in Cape Town.

Furthermore, Garside (1993) described and identified the processes which brought about changes in the residential environment and class structure of Woodstock during the 1980s, while Kotzé's (1998) study focused on identifying the gentrifiers in order to establish whether urban renewal processes in Cape Town's inner city indeed constituted gentrification. Similarly, Kotzé & Van der Merwe (2000) tried to determine whether processes of urban change in Cape Town could be classified as gentrification. These earlier studies on gentrification focused on the South African city at the beginning of the end of apartheid or during the early post-apartheid period (Visser & Kotzé, 2008).

In the early 2000s 'classic' opportunities for gentrification processes to take place in South Africa, emerged as part of urban regeneration (Visser, 2002). This was facilitated by the introduction of Central City Improvement Districts (CCIDs) and a number of other inner city redevelopment programmes; and the significant rent-gap which existed between central business districts and central city nodes (Visser, 2002). This marked the second phase of gentrification studies in South Africa during which the process was examined through the conceptual lens of urban regeneration, rather than that of gentrification (Visser & Kotzé, 2008). For example, gated communities (Dirsuweit, 1999), tourism-related urban change and the development of second homes (see Donaldson, 2007; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2007), was the lens through which changes in urban processes were examined (Visser & Kotzé, 2008). However, Winkler (2009a) noted that urban regeneration (in reference to Johannesburg) was 'nothing more than a euphemism for gentrification' (p. 25). During this time, researchers such as Visser (2002, 2003) also evaluated the potential of gentrification as an area for research within the post-apartheid urban context.

More recently, the focus has still been on Cape Town (e.g. Booysens, 2012; Donaldson et al., 2013; Kotzé, 2013; Lemanski, 2014; Teppo & Millstein, 2015; Visser & Kotzé, 2008), where gentrification is now well-established in areas such as Woodstock, De Waterkant, Sea Point and the Bo-Kaap (Visser & Kotzé, 2008). However, there have been a number of studies that have focused on Johannesburg where gentrification processes are emerging (Bahmann & Frenkel, 2012; Nevin, 2014; Walsh, 2013; Winkler, 2009b), particularly focusing on the Maboneng Precinct (Bahmann & Frenkel, 2012; Nevin, 2014; Walsh, 2013). Nevin (2014) used the concept of mutuality as a lens through which various forms of living in the Maboneng Precinct are examined, while Bahmann and Frenkel (2013) conducted a comparative analysis of walled, post-industrial spaces which cater for the middle class, namely Arts-on-Main (Maboneng Precinct) and 44 Stanley (Milpark District), whilst also examining the impact of these spaces on Johannesburg as a whole. Walsh (2013) on the other hand, examined what happens when the 'Right to the City' is understood as the right to re-occupy the inner city by middle-class suburbanites.

However, despite the recognition of the different contextual realities in South Africa, gentrification debates in the country still mainly use the inner city in the Global North as a reference point (e.g. Kotzé, 2013; Visser & Kotzé, 2008). However, as far back as the 1990s, Garside (1993) recognised that although gentrification experiences in South Africa mimicked features of the Northern experience, the process was overlain by distinct characteristics of the South African situation. Furthermore, Visser & Kotzé (2008) concluded in their study that 'new' forms of gentrification, which had emerged in the Global North (such as new-build gentrification), were also relevant within contemporary South Africa. Moreover, Visser (2003) recognised, as Parnell (1997) had suggested, that experiences from South Africa could make important contributions to international urban debates. Indeed, although these 'new' forms of gentrification in South Africa may mirror Anglo-American experiences; Visser & Kotzé (2008)

note that in most cases they may, however, be 'more locally relevant and perhaps distinct versions of gentrification' (p. 2566).

Lemanski (2014) showed how experiences in urban areas in the Global South can enrich theories rooted in the Global North. State-subsidised housing re-sales in South Africa is conceptualised as a form of 'hybrid gentrification', whereby processes having similarities to both 'downward raiding' (a term usually reserved for the Southern 'slum') and gentrification (a term mainly used in inner cities in the North) theories and trends merge, to uncover a new urban concept. In essence, Lemanski's (2014) research highlights how 'hybrid gentrification' can be used as an analytical template 'that bridges the north/south theoretical divide, allowing 'northern' urban theories to be reshaped and refined by "southern" practices (and vice versa)' (p. 15).

The following section addresses the issue of displacement associated with gentrification in South African literature.

2.4.3 The question of displacement in South African literature

Although displacement is pivotal to an understanding of gentrification (Slater et al., 2004), there are few academic studies on displacement associated with gentrification in South Africa. Garside (1993), in a study of Woodstock in Cape Town, noted that working-class residents were evicted from their homes due to rising housing costs in the area as a result of gentrification. These residents were then forced to find housing in other more affordable parts of Woodstock or in the surrounding inner-city slum areas (Garside, 1993). As a result of increasing gentrification in the area in recent years, many residents have been displaced and forced to relocate to the outskirts of the city (Booysens, 2012; Hogg, 2016; Pather, 2016; Teppo & Millstein, 2015), others have been left homeless (Van der Fort, 2006).

In a study of new-build gentrification in Cape Town, Visser & Kotzé (2008) claim that displacement, which is integral to the 'classic' understanding of gentrification, was not evident. However, they do acknowledge that people are excluded from gentrifying inner-city areas due to poverty and that as gentrification intensifies in South Africa, many impoverished inner-city residents will be affected (Visser & Kotzé, 2008). Kotzé (2013) came to a similar conclusion, in a study of the historical development of the Bo-Kaap in Cape Town, and the impact of gentrification on the long-time residents of the area, stating that the 'storyline does not validate the displacement idea which has tended to dominate the standard understanding of gentrification' (p. 131). However, in a study by Donaldson et al. (2013) which focused on the impact that gentrification on conserving the living and the built environment heritage of the Bo-Kaap, long-time residents indicated that they feared that gentrification would ultimately force them out of the Bo-Kaap. These residents had lived through the apartheid era in South Africa, where communities were divided by politically motivated forced removals. During this time, they had lived in constant fear of being forcibly removed from the 'white' inner city, where they now lived in fear of being economically displaced (Donaldson et al., 2013).

More recently, however, Teppo and Millstein (2015) in a study of Woodstock in Cape Town found that gentrification processes resulted in the displacement of the most vulnerable people. Private-led developments have given rise to displacement struggles and evictions in the area (Pather, 2016; Teppo & Millstein, 2015). According to Teppo and Millstein (2015), the relocation of working-class residents from Woodstock had an effect on the community of Delft as well, to which many of the displacees were relocated. This and the consequent struggles of the displacees of identity and belonging demonstrate the complexity of the way in which gentrification impacts these communities (Teppo & Millstein, 2015).

In Johannesburg, several authors have also recognised that displacement has occurred in gentrifying inner-city areas (Bahmann & Frenkel, 2012; Bauer, 2013; Reid, 2014; Sujee & Thobakgale, 2014; Walsh, 2013). However, the issue of displacement associated with gentrification in Johannesburg has not been widely discussed in academic literature. Instead, the social costs of gentrification and in particular, the plight of displaced residents has mainly been highlighted in a number of newspaper articles (Bauer, 2013; Cotterill, 2017; McMichael, Rubin, & Charlton, 2015; Reid, 2014; Serino, 2015; Sujee & Thobakgale, 2014).

Where displacement has been mentioned in the literature on gentrification in South Africa, the focus has been on the more direct forms of this phenomenon. For example, Bahmann & Frenkel (2012), in a study on Milpark and the Maboneng Precinct in Johannesburg, contend that displacement was 'minimal' in these areas due to 'little existing residential usage' (p. 36). They do, however, acknowledge that 'the threat of social, cultural and residential displacement is a very real danger that cannot be ignored' (p. 37). However, concerns are now being raised about increasing indirect displacement (Booysens, 2012). The question Kotzé & Van der Merwe (2000) asked almost two decades ago, still remains: 'what happens to people...who are displaced by gentrification?' (p. 46). This study seeks to answer this question by exploring the experiences of people who have been displaced from a gentrifying area in the inner city of Johannesburg.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how definitions of gentrification have evolved in order to capture the changing nature of this process. However, due to the prolonged focus of researchers on how to define gentrification, attention has been shifted away from its negative consequences, such as the displacement of people. Furthermore, researchers have recently debated whether displacement is a necessary condition for gentrification (Weller & Van Hulten, 2012) and there

has been a repositioning of gentrification as a positive process and as a potential solution to urban decay (Davidson, 2007).

Consequently, working-class residents' experiences of displacement have been left out of the literature due to a lack of quantitative evidence. However, more recently there has been a resurgence of interest in investigating the experiences of long-time residents who manage to remain in gentrifying neighbourhoods. This has in part been steered by questions of whether contemporary forms of gentrification, such as new-build gentrification, results in the displacement of people.

Recent research has shown that new-build gentrification is indeed associated with the significant of displacement of people and several scholars have argued that displacement can take place without the physical relocation of people. These studies have uncovered that long-time residents endure several dimensions of displacement whilst living in a gentrifying neighbourhood such as a loss of place, community and home. These experiences engender feelings of anxiety, anger, alienation and 'out-of-placeness' and for those who live in a neighbourhood that is at an advanced stage of gentrification, intense feelings of grief is also experienced.

Due to the fact that much of the research on displacement associated with gentrification is focused on the Global North, this chapter also briefly outlined some of the studies that have been conducted in the Global South. Particular emphasis was placed on South Africa where gentrification processes have begun to emerge and where significant numbers of the urban poor are likely to be displaced, due to acute housing shortages in the inner city, such as that of Johannesburg.

This chapter also demonstrated that much of the research on gentrification tended to focus on the more direct forms of displacement, rather than on the other more subtle ways that displacement can take place while long-time residents are still living in gentrifying neighbourhoods. The following chapter therefore focuses on the way in which displacement was conceptualised in this study. The types of displacement that were touched upon briefly in this chapter will also be further elaborated upon in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUALISING DISPLACEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH GENTRIFICATION

3.1 Introduction

Displacement is important to an understanding of gentrification (Slater, 2009; Slater et al., 2004) and following the original conceptualisation of the term, it represents the core of gentrification. As Marcuse (1992) points out, it 'is the essence of gentrification, its goal, not an unwanted side-effect' (p. 80). However, a number of researchers have highlighted the limitations of quantitative approaches to the study of gentrification (Weller & Van Hulten, 2012) which have downplayed or denied the existence of displacement (such as Freeman & Braconi, 2004; McKinnish et al., 2008; Vigdor, 2002). Apart from being under-researched (Slater, 2006), Davidson (2008) has argued that a number of aspects of displacement have been under-conceptualised and under-theorised. Consequently calls have been made for a reconsideration of the concept of displacement.

In addition, Marcuse (1985b) emphasises the need for conceptual clarity regarding displacement before research on the subject begins and before any conclusions can be made (Slater, 2009). Therefore, the focus of this chapter is on the conceptual framework of the study which elucidates the concept of displacement associated with gentrification. Furthermore, in an attempt to understand displacement in all of its dimensions, researchers have identified various forms of displacement which may operate in a gentrifying area. These are discussed further in this chapter.

3.2 Conceptualising displacement associated with gentrification

Due to the way in which displacement has been conceptualised and theorised, disparate arguments concerning gentrification have emerged (Garcia-Herrera, Smith, & Mejias Vera, 2007; Newman & Wyly, 2006). On the one hand, research has highlighted the positive effects of gentrification and the middle class has been portrayed as the 'saviours' of decaying inner-city areas (Lees, 2009), while on the other hand there are arguments that are critical of the process, highlighting its negative effects and the accompanying displacement of working-class residents (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; N. Smith, 1996; Visser & Kotzé, 2008; Rérat et al., 2010). In the following section, the various ways in which displacement has been conceptualised in the literature on gentrification will be considered.

3.2.1 Displacement as out-migration

Despite recent qualitative accounts of traumatic experiences of displacement, Butler (2007) has argued that 'gentrification needs to decouple itself from its original associations…with working class displacement' (p. 162). From Butler's viewpoint therefore, displacement is not accepted as a defining part of gentrification. However, according to Davidson (2011), gentrification and displacement can only be disconnected if displacement is regarded mainly as a spatial process. In other words, in Butler's (2007) study, displacement is only concerned with the physical eviction of people from a certain space. This, Davidson (2009b) argues, is an inadequate conceptualisation of displacement, as it is based on a particular spatial and temporal understanding of displacement (Davidson, 2009b; Davidson & Lees, 2010).

There are other studies that have questioned the extent of displacement in gentrifying neighbourhoods and which have also claimed to have found little evidence of displacement. For example, Freeman and Braconi (2004) asserted that 'gentrification brings with it neighbourhood improvements that are valued by disadvantaged households, and they consequently make

greater efforts to remain in their dwelling units' (p. 225). Furthermore, McKinnish et al. (2010), using census data of gentrifying areas in North America, argued that rather than displacing people, gentrification results in desirable neighbourhoods for middle-class households. Hamnett and Whitelegg (2007) in a study of loft conversions in Clerkenwell, London came to a similar conclusion that gentrification occurred in the area without any displacement:

> Commercial gentrification...[has] significantly and probably irrevocably changed the social mix and ethos of the area which was dominated by social rented housing tenants. This has not, however, been accompanied by significant residential displacement as almost all the new housing units were in what were previously warehouses, industrial, or office buildings. As such, it is a clear example of gentrification without displacement although it may well be accompanied by growing feelings of relative deprivation on the part of existing residents who have seen traditional working men's cafes and pubs replaced by swish restaurants, wine bars, kitchen shops, and florists (p. 122).

Slater (2009), however, questioned how this could be regarded as an example of 'gentrification without displacement' if the social mix of the area had changed, the social rented housing tenants were no longer prominent in the area, and the working men's cafes and pubs had been supplanted by more upmarket businesses. Therefore, Slater (2009) reasons that what Hamnett and Whitelegg were actually describing was Marcuse's 'displacement pressure' and that they had in fact found 'a clear example of gentrification *with* displacement' (p. 305).

These studies in which displacement has been downplayed or denied, therefore all share a particular understanding of the process where displacement is only viewed in terms of forced evictions from a particular area. Where displacement is accepted as a defining part of gentrification, these studies too are often only concerned with the eviction of people (Davidson, 2011). Thus, the process is often reduced to the 'brief moment in time', where people are forced out of their homes or their neighbourhood (Davidson & Lees, 2010, p. 400). However, Newman

and Wyly (2006) have also questioned whether displacement can be understood if it is only measured 'as a snapshot in time' (p. 28).

This conceptualisation of displacement does not fully appreciate the broader transformations that exist which may also contribute to the displacement of people (Davidson, 2008). Davidson (2008) has cautioned that although some researchers such as Boddy (2007) and Butler (2007) have disregarded displacement as a matter of concern in the process of gentrification, the lack of evidence of direct displacement should not be understood as entirely an absence of displacement, as there are a number of other ways in which individuals experience loss as a result of gentrification, which cannot be overlooked:

> Whereas direct displacement (i.e. forced eviction) represents the literal tearing away of the subject from their lifeworld, we simply cannot dismiss the numerous other mechanisms by which individuals experience loss due to the projection of middle-class habitus (Davidson, 2011, p. 1991).

According to Rérat et al. (2010), 'displacement is much more than the "moment of spatial dislocation"; it is also the loss of place (loss of neighbourhood, community, family and home) in a phenomenological sense' (p. 339). Therefore, displacement also involves 'the disinvesting and loss of place' (Davidson & Lees, 2010, p. 398).

In addition, this focus on the extreme case of displacement, often acts to cause more 'moderate' forms of displacement (that is, indirect forms of displacement) to be viewed as acceptable (Davidson, 2011). Moreover, indirect displacement takes place more subtly than direct displacement (Marcuse, 1986). As such, it is more difficult to identify, conceptualise and measure these dimensions of displacement. According to Davidson (2008), it is the temporal aspect of indirect displacement specifically that gives rise to these difficulties.

Consequently, there has not been much consideration amongst researchers of how it may be differentiated between a forced eviction and the long term loss of a community (Davidson, 2011). Therefore, the indirect displacement pressures experienced by people living in gentrifying neighbourhoods are less examined in the literature (Davidson, 2007). However, it is critical to have the perspective of those who are living through the process of gentrification in their neighbourhoods (Doucet, 2014).

3.2.2 New-build gentrification and indirect displacement

There has, however, recently been a renewed interest in the concept of indirect displacement which was first expressed as 'social displacement' by Chernoff in 1980. This is due to some extent to the growing number of new-build developments and building conversions in inner-city neighbourhoods (Davidson, 2008; Twigge-Molecey, 2014). Although direct displacement appears to be much less of a concern in many of these cases, 'third wave'[3] forms of gentrification are, however, often not a benign process of urban densification and renewal (Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Fraser, 2004; Marcuse, 1986; Palen & London, 1984). Instead, it has been found that gentrification triggers a number of other processes that are slowly transforming surrounding areas, some of which are displacing. Therefore, the type of displacement arising from these developments is more nuanced than the simple 'eviction and rent hike' displacement that is common to the literature (Davidson, 2007), which forms part of Boddy's (2007) arguments (Davidson & Lees, 2010). Indeed, in one of the few studies on long-time residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods, Atkinson (2015) uncovered that feelings of displacement emerge prior to being forced to move.

[3] 'Third wave' gentrification refers to greater involvement by the state and large developers in the process, limited resistance and an extension into neighbourhoods further away from the inner city (Hackworth & Smith, 2001).

A more broadened view of gentrification-induced displacement is therefore required, that does not only conceptualise displacement as merely a physical move. Indeed, Marcuse (1985b) asserts that any discussion on gentrification and displacement cannot solely be restricted to the eviction of tenants by landlords, and a number of recent studies of cities around the world (such as that of Davidson, 2007; Larsen & Hansen, 2008; K. Shaw, 2008; Uitermark, 2009; Van Criekengen, 2008; Walks & August, 2008) have provided evidence in support of this. For example, Davidson (2007, 2008) and Davidson & Lees (2005, 2010) have focused on the indirect displacement experienced in neighbourhoods surrounding renovated former industrial, warehouse and office buildings which have raised housing prices in these neighbouring areas. Furthermore, Slater (2010) contends that Curran's (2004, 2007) research on 'industrial displacement' in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, demonstrated that it was pointless to perceive displacement as only having an impact on housing units which are occupied by people.

However, despite evidence of indirect displacement, Boddy (2007) in his critique of Davidson and Lees' (2005) new-build gentrification thesis, disavows the relationship between gentrification and displacement, due to a lack of evidence of spatial dislocation (Davidson, 2009b). While he asserts that development may lead to a number of changes related to gentrification (such as changes in the landscape, social upgrading and capital reinvestment), he however argues that it does not displace people, as most of the new-build developments in the U.K. are being constructed on brownfield sites:

> [G]entrification is almost too quaint and too small scale a process to capture the processes at work...In the absence of displacement and overt conflict over space, however, new residential development in the U.K. at least has not provided any real focus for politicisation (Boddy, 2007, pp. 103-104).

However, Davidson and Lees (2010) argue that 'displacement is both spatial and place-based' and that 'a purely spatial account of displacement is inadequate' (p. 408). Moreover, evidence

from a number of case studies in London that new-build gentrification is bringing about significant displacement; led Davidson & Lees (2010) to disavow Butler's (2007) call for research on gentrification 'to decouple itself…from its…associations with working-class displacement' (p. 162). Davidson and Lees (2010) further argue that:

> [t]hese displacements are multiple: they include both direct and/or indirect displacement, they are sometimes immediate, sometimes not, sometimes they impact physical space, sometimes not. But what they all share in common is the alteration of the class-based nature of the wider neighbourhoods of inner London, of place (p. 408).

Therefore, these residential developments which are regarded as lacking in any evidence of displacement (Butler, 2007; Boddy, 2007); are likely to face significant displacement concerns (Davidson, 2008).

3.2.3 Displacement and the lived experience of space

Davidson (2009b) called for a widening of the scope of the concept of displacement associated with displacement. Drawing on Heidegger's and Lefebvre's work, he argued 'for a more nuanced and a more phenomenological account of "being in place" and its disturbance by neighbourhood changes like gentrification' (Atkinson, 2015, p. 376). He therefore, suggested an understanding of displacement in terms of space/place dialectics, highlighting the notion of 'place' in displacement as the 'lived experience of space' (Davidson, 2009b).

He further contends that where displacement is viewed as having only to do with the spatial dislocation of people, a narrow understanding exists of the experience of place and home (Davidson, 2009b). From this perspective, displacement is solely recognised as:

> ...a spatialized migratory process, whereby the occurrence of displacement is constituted in the out-migration of individuals from a particular urban place [and]

> the "staying put" of incumbent residents within a prescribed space is found as evidence for the absence of displacement (p. 225).

Furthermore, Davidson (2009b) asserts that the emphasis on displacement as out-migration neglects to appreciate a fundamental feature of the process 'through a (growing) under-appreciation of place' (p. 226). An understanding of place, Davidson (2009b) argues, therefore needs to be included in a grasping of the phenomenon of displacement. On-going debates over measurements of the extent of displacement need to be viewed as functioning in a way that removes 'the essence of the process - place - of which they are meant to "measure"' (Davidson, 2009b, p. 226). Moreover, it dissociates the feelings of injustice that are associated with being 'supplanted and discarded' from the type of changes associated with gentrification (Atkinson, 2015, p. 376).

At the same time that displacement can take place with spatial dislocation, Davidson emphasises that the displacement of people can occur without spatial dislocation, whereby they are 'unable to (re)construct place' (Davidson, 2009b, p. 228). Therefore, the loss of place does not necessitate the physical displacement of people from their homes and/or their neighbourhood (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). As mentioned in Chapter 2, long-time residents can experience feelings of displacement if a place changes as a result of gentrification (Atkinson, 2015; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Valli, 2016). The difficulty however, is for researchers to steer away from reading place as a purely spatial account (Malpas, 2007).

In the following section, the various forms of displacement, which have been put forward by researchers, such as Marcuse (1985b) and Davidson (2008), who do not simply view displacement as only encompassing the physical dislocation of people, will be discussed.

3.3 Forms of displacement

As has been demonstrated in the previous section, much of the research on displacement associated with gentrification has tended to focus on more direct forms of displacement (Atkinson, 2002; Davidson, 2008). However, while this is the most obvious and discernible form of displacement, it is but only one aspect of a wider group of displacement processes associated with gentrification (Davidson, 2008), as 'displacement affects many more than those actually displaced at any given moment' (Marcuse, 1986, p. 157). This section sets out to elucidate both the direct and the indirect forms of displacement associated with gentrification. First, Marcuse's (1985b) conceptualisation of displacement will be discussed. Following this, Davidson's (2008) schema will be described, as well as some of the other indirect forms of displacement that have more recently been espoused by other researchers, such as Atkinson (2015), Stabrowski (2014) and Twigge-Molecey (2014), amongst others.

3.3.1 Marcuse's conceptualisation of displacement

Marcuse (1985b) argued for a wider view of displacement by stating that: '[t]he full impact of displacement must include a consideration of all four forms of displacement: …displacement from economic changes, physical changes, neighbourhood changes and individual unit changes' (p. 208). He extended the work of Grier and Grier (1978) and LeGates and Hartman (1981) and conceptualised four types of displacement associated with gentrification processes, namely 'direct last-resident displacement', 'direct chain displacement', 'exclusionary displacement' and 'displacement pressure' (see Table 3.1).

Direct displacement, which refers to 'the displacement of a household from a unit that it currently occupies' (Marcuse, 1986, p. 205), can be physical or economic (Marcuse, 1985b). An example of 'physical displacement' is when the electricity or the heat in a building is cut off or when it is set fire to or flooded by a landlord, thereby forcing the occupants to move (Davidson

& Lees, 2009; Marcuse, 1985b). 'Economic displacement' occurs when the rent is increased by a landlord to such an extent that the occupants of a building are no longer able to afford it (Marcuse, 1985b).

Table 3.1 Marcuse's (1985b) typology of displacement.

Type of Displacement	Description
Direct Last-Resident Displacement	Can be physical (e.g. 'winkling'[4]); or economic (e.g. when tenants are evicted as a result of rent increases)
Direct Chain Displacement	Includes previous residents who were forced to move at an earlier stage in the physical deterioration of the building or earlier rent increases
Exclusionary Displacement	When residents cannot obtain housing as the area has been gentrified or abandoned
Displacement Pressure	Refers to the dispossession that poor and working-class people suffer during the transformation of their neighbourhoods

Marcuse (1985b) further states that direct displacement may stem from changes that have an effect on only the individual housing unit or from neighbourhood changes. These two changes may occur at the same time. An important analytic distinction in this regard, is that on the one hand, a particular housing unit may be renovated without a broader process of neighbourhood change taking place, while on the other hand, neighbourhood change may come about without many individual units yet being upgraded (Marcuse, 1985b).

According to Marcuse (1985b) there are several methods of measuring displacement which differ conceptually. First, in the case of 'direct last-resident displacement', only the last resident of the unit is regarded as being displaced. 'Direct chain displacement' on the other hand, includes former households who may have earlier lived in the unit, but who may also have been

[4] Refers to the process when tenants are forced to move because of harassment and bribery (Lees, 1994)

forced to leave as a result of an earlier rent increase, or at an earlier physical decline of the building which they had occupied. This measure involves counting the number of people who have been displaced from a particular unit over a particular period of time. However, in this case, the number of households that were displaced may be higher than the number of housing units from which the displacement occurred (Marcuse, 1985b).

'Exclusionary displacement' refers to the process in which households are not able to obtain housing because the area has either been gentrified or abandoned (Slater, 2009). Marcuse (1985b) further described the process as follows:

> When one household vacates a housing unit voluntarily and that unit is then gentrified or abandoned so that another similar household is prevented from moving in, the number of units available to the second household in that housing market is reduced. The second household, therefore, is excluded from living where it would otherwise have lived (p. 206).

More formally, Marcuse (1985b) defined exclusionary displacement as:

> when any household is not permitted to move into a dwelling by a change in conditions that affects the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and that: 1) is beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occurs despite the household's being able to meet all previous imposed conditions of occupancy; 3) differs significantly and in a spatially concentrated fashion from changes in the housing market as a whole; and 4) makes occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous or unaffordable (p. 207).

Shaw and Hagemans (2015) add to this, by stating that low-income households may be directly excluded through the loss of affordable housing and the continuous reduction of available housing options, simply because of the middle class inhabiting their neighbourhood. In the case of new-build developments, Davidson and Lees (2005) claim that indirect forms of

displacement would be manifest as ‘exclusionary displacement’ or ‘price shadowing’, where low-income groups would also be unable to access housing.

‘Displacement pressure’ occurs when a household sees their neighbourhood change so much that they are forced out of the area. Marcuse (1985b) describes this type of displacement as follows:

> When a family sees the neighbourhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighbourhood, when the stores they patronise are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe (p. 207).

Marcuse (1985b) further states that families who find themselves in the above situation are likely to move as soon as they are able to, ‘rather than wait for the inevitable; nonetheless they are displaced’ (p. 207).

There has recently been a reinvigoration of Marcuse’s concepts of ‘exclusionary displacement’ and ‘displacement pressure’ in the literature (Twigge-Molecey, 2014). For example, Slater (2009) refers to the concept of ‘exclusionary displacement’ in a discussion on Freeman and Braconi’s (2002) study, which states that ‘only indirectly, by gradually shrinking the pool of low-rent housing, does the reurbanisation of the middle class appear to harm the interests of the poor’ (p. 4). Slater (2010) also highlights that the pricing out of low-income groups that Hamnett (2009) describes in the following excerpt from his study is another example of ‘exclusionary displacement’: ‘[W]hile there is no doubt that rapid house price inflation can and does effectively price out low income groups…this is not the same as direct or forced displacement as is often simplistically assumed’ (Hamnett, 2009, p. 477). Although Hamnett is accurate in stating that the rapid inflation of house prices is not the same as direct displacement, what he is in fact describing is indirect displacement, as low-income households are unable to

access housing, as it has been gentrified (Slater, 2010). Slater (2010) further argues that this is displacement because the right to place (Imbroscio, 2004) has been taken away and households have been 'excluded from living where' they 'would otherwise have lived' (Marcuse, 1985b, p. 206). Similarly, Slater (2009) argues that Hamnett and Whitelegg's (2007) study had in fact provided a description of Marcuse's (1985b) 'displacement pressure'. These studies by Freeman and Braconi (2002), Hamnett (2009) and Hamnett and Whitelegg (2007), amongst others, therefore do not recognise that their studies had uncovered what were in fact examples of indirect displacement.

Prompted by many of the findings described above, Davidson (2008) more recently, drew upon and extended Marcuse's (1985b) schema on displacement, in order to further examine the more indirect forms of displacement. This schema will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

3.3.2 Davidson's schema on indirect forms of displacement

More recently, Davidson (2008) has argued that the under-conceptualisation of displacement conceals the many ways that gentrification can induce 'the divesting of place' (p. 2389) through social, cultural and political neighbourhood changes, in addition to wider economic changes. Therefore, he states that there is a need to include these changes into our conceptualisation of displacement in order to understand the process more holistically (Davidson, 2008). Consequently, Davidson (2008, 2009a, 2009b) identified three general types of indirect displacement (see Table 3.2), namely 'indirect economic displacement', 'community displacement' and 'neighbourhood resource displacement'.

Table 3.2 Indirect forms of displacement (after Davidson, 2008).

Type of Displacement	Description
Indirect Economic Displacement	occurs as a result of inflated housing prices
Community Displacement	occurs because of changes in place identity and neighbourhood governance
Neighbourhood Resource Displacement	occurs via changing neighbourhood services and increasing 'out-of-placeness' of existing residents

These three types of indirect displacement will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

3.3.2.1 Indirect economic displacement

According to Davidson (2008), 'indirect economic displacement' refers to the increasing affordability pressures that long-time residents experience in gentrifying areas, as a result of inflated local housing costs. House prices may rapidly increase in a neighbourhood as new, upmarket developments and the gentrification of existing housing in the area create a property 'hotspot' (Davidson, 2008). For example, in a study of state-led regeneration in Spain; Vicario, and Manuel Martínez Monje (2003) demonstrate how residential and cultural developments in neighbourhoods that were previously regarded as 'unfashionable', led to neighbourhood change because the area became increasingly more attractive over time. Gentrification was further stimulated by these changes in the housing market, which in turn increased the cost of housing in the neighbourhood even further (Davidson, 2008).

Over time, reduced housing affordability associated with 'price shadowing' (Atkinson, 2002; Hall & Ogden, 1992; Vicario & Manuel Martínez Monje, 2003) and an increasing gentrification frontier, together with other neighbourhood changes (Davidson, 2008), will make it increasingly difficult for long-time residents to 'stay put' (Hartman et al., 1982) in their neighbourhoods. As

a consequence of this, residents who may have been welcoming of the changes in their neighbourhood in the past, may eventually be coerced to leave their homes and/or their family and friends may also no longer be able to reside in the area (Davidson, 2008).

In Figure 3.1 below, a schematic representation of the process of indirect economic displacement is presented.

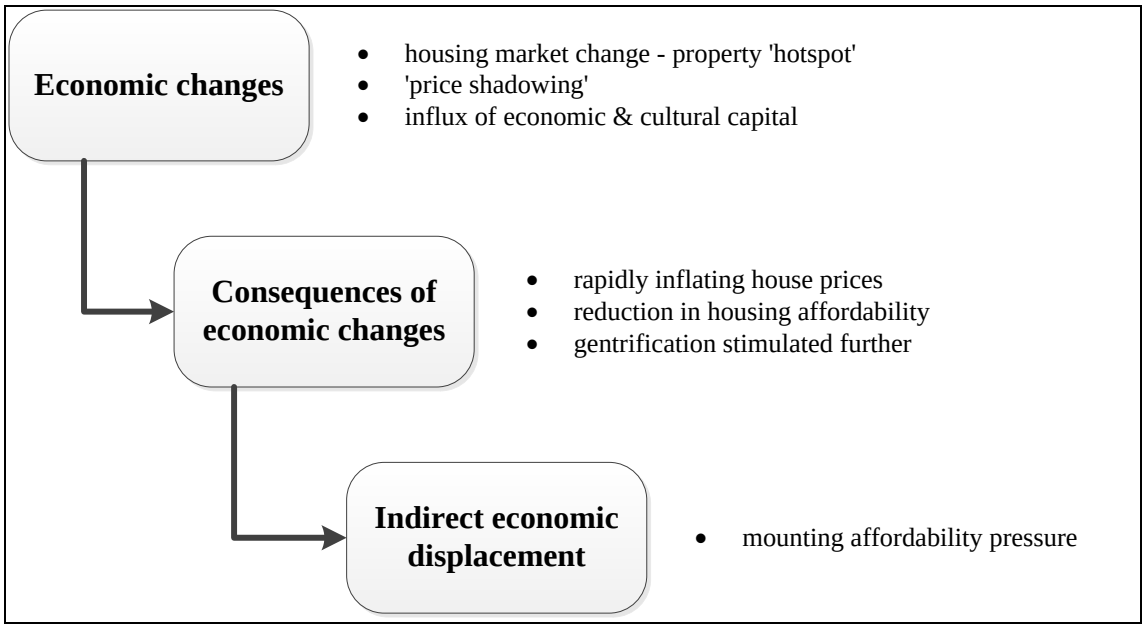

Figure 3.1. Schematic representation of the process of indirect economic displacement (after Davidson, 2008).

3.3.2.2 Community displacement

Besides social changes, gentrification also brings about wider changes of community and place (Fraser, 2004). Although a number of studies have acknowledged that gentrifiers change the governance of neighbourhoods and its place identity (Butler & Robson, 2003; Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Mele, 2000; Slater, 2002; Zukin, 1989), few studies have recognised how these changes may lead to displacement (Davidson, 2008).

Many long-time residents experience the loss of place as a result of social (Chernoff, 1980) and political (Betancur, 2002) changes related to gentrification. Furthermore, long-time residents may lose political power and a sense of belonging in their communities (Martin, 2007), as gentrifiers reimagine the place and reorganise the social welfare provisions of the neighbourhood (Fraser, 2004; Martin, 2007). This type of displacement Davidson (2008) terms 'community displacement'.

Furthermore, long-time residents and gentrifiers have different visions and expectations of their neighbourhoods (Davidson, 2008). Community displacement can therefore, lead to political conflicts over issues of planning and development in a neighbourhood, as long-time residents try 'to protect their place' against the gentrifiers who are trying 'to create place in their own image' (Davidson, 2008, p. 2391). In addition, the processes and the issues of community displacement are amplified, particularly in the context of neo-liberal governance, where local residents adopt the functions of the state to a greater extent, such as the renewal of urban areas, the provision of services and education (Peck & Tickell, 2002). As a result of these complex processes, some long-time residents may succeed in remaining in their neighbourhoods (Freeman, 2006); but for others, their home and their community may be lost (Davidson, 2008).

Figure 3.2 represents a schematic representation of the process of community displacement.

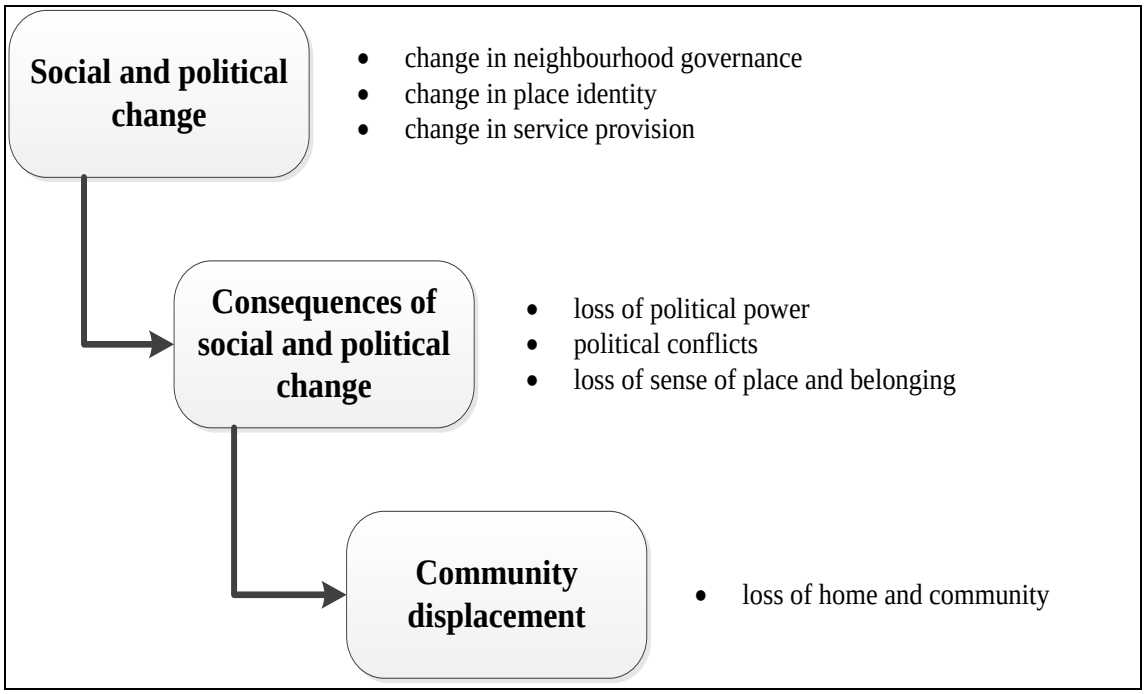

Figure 3.2 Schematic representation of the process of community displacement (after Davidson, 2008).

3.3.2.3 Neighbourhood resource displacement

As the social balance of a gentrifying neighbourhood changes, the local shops and the provision of services also change (Davidson, 2008). Local shopping centres, which often have numerous discount stores, may be supplanted by high-end supermarkets (Davidson, 2008). This transformation of commercial and community services in gentrifying areas into new services that cater for the middle class is what Davidson (2008) refers to as 'neighbourhood resource displacement'. It also includes the direct displacement of existing commercial tenants in a neighbourhood (Krase, 2005).

The displacement of local services in turn, can also stimulate other displacement processes, such as the loss of a sense of place (Davidson, 2008). In addition, existing residents may increasingly experience feelings of 'out-of-placeness', as meeting places where they had regularly gathered,

may disappear as the neighbourhood becomes more gentrified (Davidson, 2008, p. 2392). Furthermore, Davidson (2008) noted that displacement pressures intensified for many existing residents, when existing services were replaced by new commercial services.

In Figure 3.3 below, a schematic representation of the process of neighbourhood resource displacement is presented.

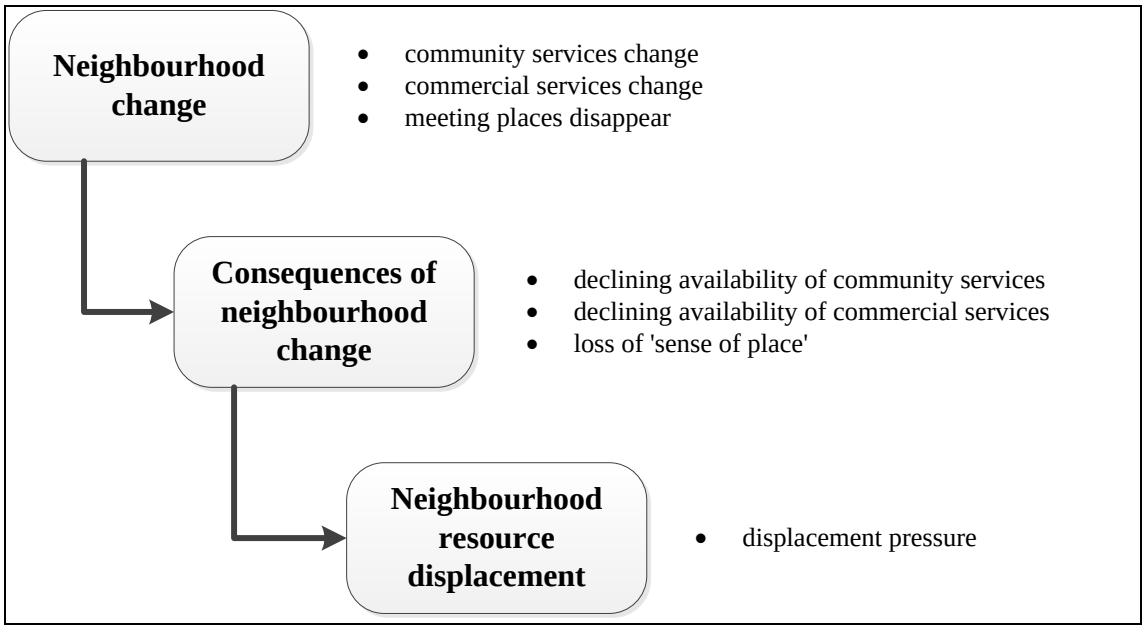

Figure 3.3 Schematic representation of the process of neighbourhood resource displacement (after Davidson, 2008).

Apart from Marcuse's (1985b) and Davidson's (2008) work on conceptualising displacement, a number of other forms of indirect displacement have been identified by researchers, which will briefly be discussed in the following section.

3.3.3 Other indirect forms of displacement

Earlier dimensions of indirect displacement that have been identified include 'social displacement' (Chernoff, 1980), 'political displacement' (Martin, 2007) and 'cultural displacement'. More recently, researchers have added to this body of work and further developed the concept of indirect displacement, by formulating other forms and typologies of displacement associated with gentrification, such as Twigge-Molecey's (2014) 'housing market displacement', Stabrowski's (2014) 'everyday displacement' and Atkinson's (2015) 'symbolic displacement'.

3.3.3.1 Social displacement

'Social displacement' was defined by Chernoff (1980) nearly four decades ago, as:

> …the replacement of one group by another, in some relatively bounded geographical area, in terms of prestige and power. This includes the ability to affect decisions and policies in the area, to set goals and priorities, and to be recognised by outsiders as the legitimate spokesperson for the area (p. 204).

More recently, Twigge-Molecey (2014) narrowed this definition by describing this form of displacement as 'the social relationships residents have in a particular place and the impact of gentrification upon those ties and networks' (p. 5). If these networks are broken, feelings of loneliness or grief amongst the residents of a particular neighbourhood may be experienced (Fried, 1966).

3.3.3.2 Political displacement

Martin (2007) argued that Chernoff's concept of 'social displacement' needed to be refined because the word 'social' could refer to a variety processes, such as changes in the habits and the lifestyles of residents and conflicts between new and long-time residents as a result of

cultural differences. He does so by focusing on 'political displacement' which deals with issues of political influence and power at the level of the neighbourhood (Martin, 2007). The process whereby political control (in terms of the leadership of neighbourhood organisations) in gentrifying communities transfers from long-time residents to new residents, Martin (2007) refers to as 'political displacement' (Chernoff, 1980; Fraser, 2004; Levy & Cybriwsky, 1980). He further argues that this form of displacement occurs when long-time residents 'become outvoted or outnumbered by new residents' (Martin, 2007, p. 605), thereby diminishing their decision-making powers (see Auger, 1979; Betancur, 2002; Cordova, 1991; Fraser, 2004; Levy & Cybriwsky, 1980). Therefore, 'political displacement' may occur when low-income households remain in gentrifying areas but become 'overpowered' by the incoming gentrifiers (Hyra, 2008, p. 1754).

Twigge-Molecey (2014) argues that Martin's (2007) 'political displacement' may result in 'political disempowerment' or alternatively it may lead to 'political empowerment' through gaining access to new social capital. While this concept of displacement is similar to Davidson's (2008) concept of 'community displacement', Twigge-Molecey (2014) explains that the emphasis, is however, restricted to 'shifting power dynamics in neighbourhood political apparatuses, and re-imaginings of place put forth through political appropriation (i.e. active mobilisation) by incoming gentrifiers' (p. 6).

3.3.3.3 Cultural displacement

Besides political displacement, Hyra (2015) points out that it is important that cultural displacement is also understood, so that both of their effects are reduced in order to ensure that inclusive, diverse and mixed-income communities are sustainable. However, Cahill (2007) notes that this dimension of displacement is often absent from the literature on gentrification.

According to Zukin (2010), 'cultural displacement' takes place when the values, norms, and behaviours of the gentrifiers prevail over the tastes and preferences of the long-time residents of a particular neighbourhood. Twigge-Molecey (2014) further states that cultural displacement is concerned with the two opposing cultures of the long-term residents on the one hand, and the gentrifiers on the other, who have a tendency towards recreating the neighbourhood in their image. Therefore, the neighbourhood becomes an area of opposing senses of place (Blomley 2004; Jess & Massey, 1995; Martin, 2005; Rose, 1995) due to this cultural appropriation by the middle class.

Apart from changes in the urban form and neighbourhood use and appropriation, cultural displacement may also be brought about through neighbourhood service provision (Cahill, 2007; Twigge-Molecey, 2014). This form of displacement may be experienced by long-time residents in a variety of ways, such as economic and cultural exclusion and the inconvenience that results from the displacement of commercial services. Twigge-Molecey (2014) further extends Davidson's (2008) concept of neighbourhood resource displacement through her definition of 'cultural displacement', in that it is not only concerned with changes in local neighbourhood services as a result of the in-migration of gentrifiers, but also changes in public spaces, such as parks.

For Cahill (2007), cultural displacement is experienced 'as a process of effacement at the neighbourhood scale, where the signs (of) personal and cultural heritages are erased' (p. 219). By drawing on theories of place attachment, Cahill (2007) demonstrated how a sense of cultural belonging and security are acquired in relation to the changes in the social and cultural context, which are brought about by processes of gentrification. Through this concept, Cahill (2007) further demonstrates that personal and cultural security is gradually worn away, which in turn results in a loss of self and a sense of identity.

3.3.3.4 Housing market displacement

Twigge-Molecey (2014) proposed the concept of 'housing market displacement' for what Marcuse (1985b) called 'exclusionary displacement'. This type of displacement takes place when gentrifying neighbourhoods become out of reach for low-income households because housing prices have increased substantially as a result of the competition from higher-income households (Marcuse, 1986; Millard-Ball, 2002). As a consequence of this, the residential mobility of low-income households declines and these households may find it increasingly difficult to access suitable housing, and/or they may experience great displeasure as a result of living in housing that is not suitable for them (Twigge-Molecey, 2014). According to Twigge-Molecey (2014), this concept has been validated by studies such as those of Millard-Ball (2002) and Texeira (2007), which have found that as the process of gentrification broadens and intensifies, it prevents former residents from going back to these gentrifying areas.

3.3.3.5 Everyday displacement

Following Davidson (2008), Stabrowski (2014) describes 'everyday displacement' as 'the lived experience of on-going loss of the security, agency, and freedom to "make place"' (p. 796). It is essentially a violent process, through which capitalist gentrification appropriates increasingly larger extents of the lifeworlds of the working class (Habermas, 1991). Similar to Marcuse's (1985b) 'displacement pressure', working-class residents experience 'everyday displacement' while they are still physically part of the neighbourhood, in spite of the gradual deterioration of their living conditions, access to local resources and sense of security (Stabrowski, 2014). This conceptualisation of displacement 'as ongoing and lived', according to Stabrowski (2014), 'highlights the temporally-extended and quotidian aspects of gentrification' (p. 808). Therefore, Stabrowski (2014) found gentrification to be a process of insecurity and dispossession and like a number of other researchers (such as Davidson, 2009b; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Marcuse, 1986;

Rérat et al., 2010) have argued, not purely a singular moment of being physical displaced from an area.

Drawing on the work of Blomley (2004) on the social relations of property and Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad, Stabrowski (2014) claims that working-class residents experience everyday displacement 'through the production of new spaces of *prohibition*, *appropriation* and *insecurity* that constitute a form of neighbourhood erasure' (p. 794). Consequently, Stabrowski (2014) found that working-class residents, who are able to remain in a neighbourhood undergoing gentrification, do so in spaces that are more and more constrained, vulnerable and impoverished. Furthermore, the experience of 'everyday displacement' associated with gentrification may continue and even strengthen, without direct physical displacement taking place (Stabrowski, 2014).

3.3.3.6 Symbolic displacement

Following Davidson (2009b), Atkinson (2015) termed the 'sense of subordination, discomfort and unease with trying to stay put while the visible and sensed changes of the physical and social fabric of the neighbourhood and its symbolic order shifted rapidly as gentrification took place' (p. 382), as 'symbolic displacement' (Bourdieu, 1998; Charlesworth, 2000). Furthermore, Atkinson states that this relates to Davidson's (2009) claims that displacement should also be understood 'as a form of symbolic dislocation and defamiliarisation' (Atkinson, 2015, p. 385). In other words, it refers to the loss of a sense of a place to dwell within a particular area, without having been physically moved from the area. Therefore, Atkinson (2015) contends that 'displacement is not simply eviction or market dislocation of the marginal, but it also encompasses a sense of neighbourhood change and shifting social networks that "un-home" or displace less well-off residents' (p. 386-387). By calling these additional dimensions of displacement associated with feelings of resentment and place mourning, 'un-homing',

Atkinson (2015) tries to capture more completely the emotional attachments to place and dwelling that Davidson (2009) argues for.

Atkinson (2015) further points out that feelings of displacement need to be considered 'as a deeper set of social and indeed psychological transformations that may be generated by localized examples of gentrification' (p. 377). Changes in identity, stress and well-being are seen to occur irrespective of the way in which people are actually forced to move. Therefore, he contends that these observations help us to understand that displacement is more than 'simple "boundary crossings"' by people moving out of gentrified areas and those moving between neighbourhoods (p. 377).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated, as Davidson (2009b) had contended, that all of the various facets of displacement are not fully appreciated and recognised. Studies that downplayed or denied displacement, only recognised the direct forms of displacement and therefore it was argued that displacement was absent due to a lack of evidence of physical displacement. Proponents of this view have claimed that gentrification can occur without displacement. Davidson (2008), however, disputed this, arguing that this was an under-conceptualisation of displacement. Indeed, several studies (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Marcuse, 1985b; Stabrowski, 2014; Twigge-Molecey, 2014) have shown that gentrification can result in displacement without the physical relocation of people. Therefore, differing conceptualisations of displacement have led to different assessments of this process.

In an attempt to refine the concept of displacement, various typologies have been developed which have mainly been built on the work of Marcuse (1985b). These conceptualisations of displacement do not view displacement only in terms of spatial dislocation, but also encompass

the various ways in which people may experience displacement whilst living in a gentrifying neighbourhood. This broadened view of displacement was adopted in the present study in order to provide a framework through which contemporary processes of gentrification were evaluated in the exploration of inner-city residents' experiences of the phenomenon of displacement in Johannesburg.

In arguing for a broader conceptualisation of displacement, various researchers have called for a more qualitative and phenomenological assessment of the experiences of gentrification, from the perspective of working-class residents (Lees, 2000; Cahill, 2006, 2007; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Therefore, a qualitative approach, using the methodology of transcendental phenomenology, was adopted for this study, in order to explore the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification. This methodology is the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY OF TRANSCENDENTAL PHENOMENOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

There are two general approaches to the study of gentrification, namely, qualitative approaches which attempt to understand the social and the economic effects of gentrification, and quantitative approaches, which focus on the magnitude and the geography of gentrification and displacement (Atkinson & Wulff, 2009). More recently, researchers such as Davidson (2008) and Murdie and Teixeira (2011) have started using mixed method approaches by combining quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate displacement associated with gentrification. These research methods have, however, produced different accounts of gentrification and displacement (Lees, 1998; 2003a). Studies of gentrification in which displacement has been downplayed or denied (Freeman & Braconi, 2004; McKinnish et al., 2008; Vigdor, 2002) have been quantitative in nature, while qualitative studies have revealed the trauma that people have experienced as a result of being displaced (Curran, 2004; Larsen & Hansen, 2008; Newman & Wyly 2006).

A qualitative approach therefore could 'usefully supplement' quantitative data on displacement associated with gentrification (Atkinson, 2000a, p. 163) by providing deeper insights into the phenomenon. Indeed, complex descriptions of people's personal experience of a particular phenomenon are often hidden by quantitative methods and sometimes even displaced (Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Slater, 2006; Watt, 2008). In the case of this study, a qualitative approach was chosen, to understand the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification in order to uncover what may have been overlooked in quantitative research conducted with predetermined assumptions (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). This approach involves studying 'things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of

the meanings people bring to them' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). Furthermore, the research is descriptive and the context and the setting is important in this approach, as well as the participants' subjective understandings of a particular phenomenon (Creswell, 2013).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study made use of a phenomenological approach to describe in depth and in context, the experience of displacement of inner-city residents in Johannesburg. In other words, phenomenology was used in an attempt to understand 'what' the displacees experienced and 'how' they experienced it. More specifically, this entailed understanding the situations, the pressures, the contexts and what happens to those who are displaced (Newman & Wyly, 2006). Indeed, phenomenology is described as 'a term that points to an interest in understanding social phenomena from the actor's own perspectives and describing the world as experienced by the subjects, with the assumption that the important reality is what people perceive it to be' (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 26).

However, there are a various approaches to phenomenology such as *transcendental* (Husserl, Giorgi, Moustakas), *existential* (Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Sartre, de Beauvoir), *hermeneutic* (Gadamer, Ricoeur, Van Manen), *linguistic* (Blanchot, Derrida) and *ethical* (Scelar, Levinas) phenomenology. Following Moustakas (1994), I decided to use the methodology of transcendental phenomenology in this study, as it focuses on the perceptions, feelings and lived experiences of individuals. Moustakas (1994) describes transcendental phenomenology as 'a scientific study of the appearance of things, of phenomena just as we see them and as they appear to us in consciousness' (p. 49). This approach focuses on a description of the meanings and the essences of particular experiences of the participants, rather than on the interpretations of the researcher (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, the experiencing person is brought to the fore in this methodology as the essential source for deriving knowledge about a particular experience (Moustakas, 1994).

While one of the key reasons why displacement got 'displaced' from the gentrification literature was methodological (Slater, 2006), the importance of methodology has however, not been emphasised often in studies of gentrification (Lees, 1998). Therefore, this chapter discusses the methodological approach of the study in more detail by firstly tracing the history of phenomenology and its value in geographical investigations. Thereafter, the key concepts of transcendental phenomenology and its philosophical underpinnings that informed the study are elucidated. In addition, the methodology of transcendental phenomenology is expounded upon and the rationale for using this particular approach for this study is discussed.

4.2 A brief history of the phenomenological approach to inquiry

Initially, phenomenology was the name for a significant development in philosophy and the humanities in Europe during the early twentieth century (Adams & Van Manen, 2008). It draws upon Edmund Husserl's (1859-1938) work and those who further developed his work, such as Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961) (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Spiegelberg, 1982). The focus of phenomenology was initially on consciousness and experience, and it was later expanded upon by Husserl and Heidegger to include the human life-world, where Sartre and Merleau-Ponty considered the body and human action in historical contexts (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the focus of philosophy had become narrowed to investigating the world by empirical methods, which was known as scientism (Stewart & Mickunas, 1990). At the time, however, Husserl became concerned that scientists had prematurely enforced their theories on a particular topic under investigation, in an effort to provide explanations. Instead, he argued that they needed to put their preconceptions aside and describe how particular phenomena appeared to consciousness. According to Husserl, it was

only through a thorough description, what he called ‘getting back to things themselves’, that scientists could construct a solid foundation for scientific investigation (Moustakas, 1994).

Through phenomenology, there was a reversion to the traditional work of philosophy that had been in existence before philosophy had become devoted to empirical science (Stewart & Mickunas, 1990). In other words, there was a return to the Greek understanding of philosophy as a search for wisdom (Stewart & Mickunas, 1990). Thus, phenomenology arose as a radical critique of positivism and scientism (Relph, 1981) and instead of being a method for explaining and analysing an objective and rational world by developing prior hypotheses and theories, it extends a method for describing the everyday world of people’s immediate experience, which includes their perceptions, actions, memories and fantasies (Relph, 1970).

According to Kockelmans (1967), the word ‘phenomenology’ was used as far back as 1765 in philosophy, and at times in the work of German philosopher, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). However, it was Georg Hegel (1770-1831) who first formulated a well-defined meaning of phenomenology as ‘knowledge as it appears to consciousness; the science of describing what one perceives, senses and knows in one’s immediate awareness and experience’ (Kockelmans, 1967, p. 24). However, as phenomenology progressed as a human science, it gained a broader meaning (Moustakas, 1994; Van Manen, 1990) where it essentially describes the shared meaning of the lived experiences of several individuals of a particular phenomenon (Creswell, 2013; Thomas & Pollio, 2002). In other words, the key purpose of phenomenology is to derive a description of the universal essences of the phenomenon, through a reduction of individual experiences with a particular phenomenon (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962; Tuan, 1971; Van Manen, 1990).

Over time, phenomenology has been utilised in qualitative studies in various disciplines such as psychology (Giorgi, 1985; Polkinghorne, 1989), sociology (Borgatta & Borgatta, 1992;

Swingewood, 1991), health science (Nieswiadomy, 1993; Oiler, 1986), and education (Tesch, 1988; Van Manen, 1990). However, it was only during the 1970s that phenomenology drew the attention of a number of geographers such as Buttimer (1974, 1976), Ley (1977, 1979), Relph (1970, 1976a, 1976b; 1977), Rowles (1978), Seamon (1977, 1979) and Tuan (1971, 1975, 1977), amongst others, although Carl Sauer had made a plea as early as 1925 for geography to embrace the 'phenomenology of the landscape' (Sauer, 1925/1967, p. 320).

During the 1970s, the dominance of positivism in geographical investigations, which had started with the quantitative revolution of the 1960s, was challenged (Ley & Samuels, 1978a, 1978b; Walmesley, 1974). Phenomenology (together with Marxism and existentialism) was viewed as an alternative to the positivist tendencies in the discipline at the time (Tuan, 1971), and it was seen as a way in which humanist geographers put people back into the centre of their research interests (Johnson, 1983). This 'humanistic response' to positivism (Ley & Samuels, 1978a, 1978b) was regarded as a new way of investigating the world of human experience (Relph, 1970) and understanding 'man-in-the-world' (Tuan, 1971). In addition, phenomenology was viewed as a means through which the 'ideas and languages to describe and explain the human experience of nature, space and time' could be developed (Buttimer, 1976, p. 278). Phenomenology was thus considered as aiding the description of 'man's geographical experiences as they are "actually" experienced – as meaningful, value-laden experience prior to the abstractions of science' (Entrikin, 1976, p. 629).

Humanistic geography was therefore the principal point of origin of various geographers' involvement in phenomenology (Ash & Simpson, 2014). This interest stemmed from the fact that geography is concerned with people and their experiences (Walmsey, 1974). Relph (1976a) also noted that geography has an experiential or phenomenological foundation, and that concepts of space, landscape, region and city have meaning because we have direct experiences

of these phenomena. However, Johnson (1983) noted the lack of philosophical rigour in some of the earlier engagements of geography with phenomenology.

There are a number of approaches to phenomenology in geography, because humanist geographers drew on the various types of phenomenology (Ash & Simpson, 2014). For example, Buttimer (1976) was influenced by the work of Husserl and Heidegger on 'life-world' and 'dwelling'; while Ley (1979) drew on the Schutz's work on social relations and shared structures of meaning. Other key areas of focus for geographers with an interest in phenomenology is the 'situatedness of the subject', which has become synonymous with studies on 'place' by researchers such as Casey (1993, 1997), Relph (1976a) and Trigg (2012). More recently, our 'being-in-the-world' (Simonsen, 2005) has been another key area of interest in phenomenology for geographers. In addition, geographers have shown a renewed interest in phenomenology through 'post-phenomenology' (Ash & Simpson, 2014; Rose & Wylie, 2006), where the emphasis has shifted away from a subject-centred approach to experience, to a concern with objects such as the body (Ash & Simpson, 2014; Rose & Wylie, 2006; Simonsen, 2013). Ash and Simpson (2014) state that post-phenomenology is concerned with 'refiguring and expanding phenomenology's analytic and conceptual boundaries' (p. 16), rather than discarding important insights of the approach.

However, Davidson (2009b) notes that there has been a relative 'absence of phenomenology and the associated critical understandings of place in contemporary debates on gentrification' (p. 220). Like many of the earlier geographers who had essentially been concerned with the essences of human experience in 'space' and 'place', Davidson (2009b) drew attention to the lived experience of space. He argued that the philosophy of space, underlying the debate of gentrification-related displacement, needed more deliberation. He wanted to steer away from the abstraction of displacement as out-migration (Davidson, 2009b). In so doing, he drew on the

philosophy of Heidegger's *Dasein* (being-in-the-world) and he tied this to Lefebvre's understanding of space, in order to better understand displacement.

In the following section, some of the key concepts and the philosophical assumptions of transcendental phenomenology will be expounded upon.

4.3 Key concepts in Transcendental Phenomenology

The concepts of the 'epoché', 'essence', 'intentionality' and 'life-world' in Husserl's transcendental phenomenology that informed the study will be discussed in this section. Important philosophical assumptions of phenomenology underlie these key concepts which in turn, guided the methodological decisions of the study and informed the type of data analysis that was carried out (Lopez & Willis, 2004; Moustakas, 1994).

4.3.1 Epoché

An important concept in Husserl's phenomenology is the 'epoché', which is a Greek word 'meaning to refrain from judgement, to abstain from or stay from the everyday, ordinary way of perceiving things' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 33). It is what Husserl called the 'freedom from suppositions'. Through the epoché, 'everyday understandings, judgements, and knowings are set aside, and phenomena are revisited, freshly, naively, in a wide open sense' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 33). In other words, the epoché is an attempt to see things, events and people afresh; 'as if for the first time', which involves temporarily setting aside whatever influences the experience or directs us, including anything in our minds that has been placed there by society, science or other people (Moustakas, 1994, p. 34). For this reason, phenomenology is described as a philosophy without presuppositions (Stewart & Mickunas, 1990).

The epoché is in contrast to what Husserl calls the 'natural attitude', which is the biases of everyday knowledge, where things are held judgementally and that what is perceived in nature is presupposed to be actually present and stays there as it is perceived (Moustakas, 1994). This natural attitude is also what Husserl described as the original, pre-reflective and pre-theoretical attitude (Van Manen, 1990).

4.3.2 Essence

Another key concept fundamental to Husserl's approach to the study of human consciousness is 'essence', referring to that which is common or universal (Husserl, 1913/1931). For Husserl, there are features universal to all persons who have experienced a particular phenomenon, which are also known as universal essences, eidetic structures or essential, invariant structures. It is a condition or quality without which a thing would not be what it is (Husserl, 1931/1982; Merleau-Ponty, 1962). The term 'essence' is derived from the Greek word *ousia*, which means the inner, essential nature of a phenomenon. In other words, it is the true being of a thing or the true nature of a particular phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990).

Furthermore, essences are the things that do not necessarily exist in time and space like facts do, but they can be known through essential or imaginative intuition involving an interaction between the researcher and the participants or between the researcher and texts (Grbich, 2007). Therefore, the essence of a phenomenon can be described through an investigation of the structure that is central to the occurrence of the essence of that phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990). In other words, it is what prevails when all preconceptions about a particular phenomenon are removed (King & Horrocks, 2010; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In addition, essences are absolute and unchanging over time (Jennings, 1986), remaining constant within different contexts (King & Horrocks, 2010; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). For example, Creswell (2013) asserts that the experience of grief is the same, irrespective of whether the loss is that of

a child or of a puppy. Phenomenology, therefore, is also described as the study of essences (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962; Tuan, 1971; Van Manen, 1990).

4.3.3 Intentionality

The concept of 'intentionality' is also important in Husserl's transcendental phenomenology, particularly in understanding the nature of human consciousness (Moran, 2000; Stewart & Mickunas, 1990). It is a term that Husserl acquired from his tutor, Franz Brentano (1838-1917), who had reinvigorated the medieval doctrine of intentionality (Drummond, 2015). The term 'intention', in Aristotelian philosophy, denotes 'the orientation of the mind to its object' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 28). In other words, 'the object exists in the mind in an intentional way' (Kocklemans, 1967, p. 32). According to Moustakas (1994), '[i]ntentionality refers to consciousness, to the internal experience of being conscious of something; thus the act of consciousness and the object of consciousness, are intentionally related' (p. 28). Through the knowledge of intentionality, we need to be present to the things in the world and to ourselves. It also requires that we are aware of the world and self as inseparable constituents of meaning (Moustakas, 1994). Thus, the person and the world co-construct one another (Thomas & Pollio, 2002). However, Thomas and Pollio (2002) note that Husserl's concept of intentionality should not be confused with the English word 'intention', which means to plan. For phenomenologists, intentionality refers to a 'general patterning of human experience' and not to plans and planning, which implies that experiences can only be understood as always being within some context (as 'being-in-the-world') (Thomas & Pollio, 2002, p. 15).

Every intentional experience consists of a 'noesis' and a 'noema' (Moustakas, 1994). Noesis refers to the act of perceiving, thinking, feeling, remembering or judging, which are encapsulated with meanings that are concealed from consciousness (Moustakas, 1994). Noema corresponds at all points to the noesis. For example, the noema in perception is its perceptual

meaning or the perceived as such (Husserl, 1913/1931). Thus, noema ascribes meaning to what one sees, touches, thinks and feels (Moustakas, 1994). Furthermore, Ihde (1977) distinguishes between the noema as *that* which is experienced, the 'what' of the experience (the object-correlate); and noesis as the 'way' in which the 'what' is experienced, the experiencing or the act of experiencing (the subject-correlate). For phenomenologists, there is always a noematic and a noetic aspect to any phenomenon (King & Horrocks, 2010). Therefore, phenomenologists following Husserl's concept of intentionality, have argued that we need to focus on two aspects of our experience of any phenomenon: 'what' is experienced and 'how' it is experienced (King & Horrocks, 2010). We can never only focus on what is present or how it is present for us. However, Ihde (1986) noted that in different situations, one aspect of intentionality may be more pronounced in our consciousness than the other.

For Husserl, the study of intentionality was therefore the analysis of the noesis-noema correlation. Thus, in order to arrive at the meanings and the essences of the experience of a phenomenon, the noema (the textural dimensions of phenomena) and the noesis (the structural dimensions of phenomena) must be integrated, which then forms an important understanding of the essence of a particular phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). Therefore, the refusal of the subject-object dichotomy is an important philosophical perspective of phenomenology (Stewart & Mickunas, 1990).

4.3.4 Life-world

In Husserl's later work, he made use of the term 'life-world' (*Lebenswelt*), which is the lived everyday world of direct or immediate experience and is independent of and prior to explanations (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Langdridge, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). In other words, it is the world of the natural attitude of everyday life. Schutz (1975) defined 'life-world' as 'the whole sphere of everyday experiences, orientations, and actions through which individuals

pursue their interests and affairs by manipulating objects, dealing with people, conceiving plans and carrying them out' (p. 15).

According to Van Manen (1990), phenomenological research always originates in the life-world. Thus, a study of a person's life-world involves investigating the way a person lives, creates, and relates in the world (Moustakas, 1994). It is the actual world lived and experienced by a person and which relates to that person's intentional awareness (Valle & Halling, 1989; Willis 2001, p. 4). It is also the 'concrete fullness from which abstractions are derived' (Carr, 1977, p. 206). Therefore, phenomenology is focused upon the life-world, rather than on theories and abstractions about the nature of the world.

In the following section, the methodology of transcendental phenomenology is elaborated upon.

4.4 Methodology of Transcendental Phenomenology

Transcendental phenomenology is commonly also referred to as 'descriptive' or 'eidetic' phenomenology (cf. Drew, 1999; Porter, 1998) which draws on the *Duquesne Studies in Phenomenological Psychology* (e.g. Giorgi, 1985) and the data analysis procedures of Van Kaam (1966) and Colaizzi (1978) (Cohen & Omery, 1994). Subjectivity and the uncovering of the essence of a particular experience is highlighted in this approach. Furthermore, this form of phenomenology provides a systematic methodology for deriving new knowledge and consists of the following essential processes (Moustakas, 1994):

- epoché
- transcendental-phenomenological reduction
- imaginative variation
- synthesis

It is important to understand the afore-mentioned processes when conducting a phenomenological study (Moustakas, 1994). Therefore, in this section, the nature and the meaning of these processes will be discussed, while the steps involved in carrying out each of these processes are considered in more detail in Chapter 5. Refer to Figure 4.1 below, which represents a summary of the processes of transcendental phenomenology.

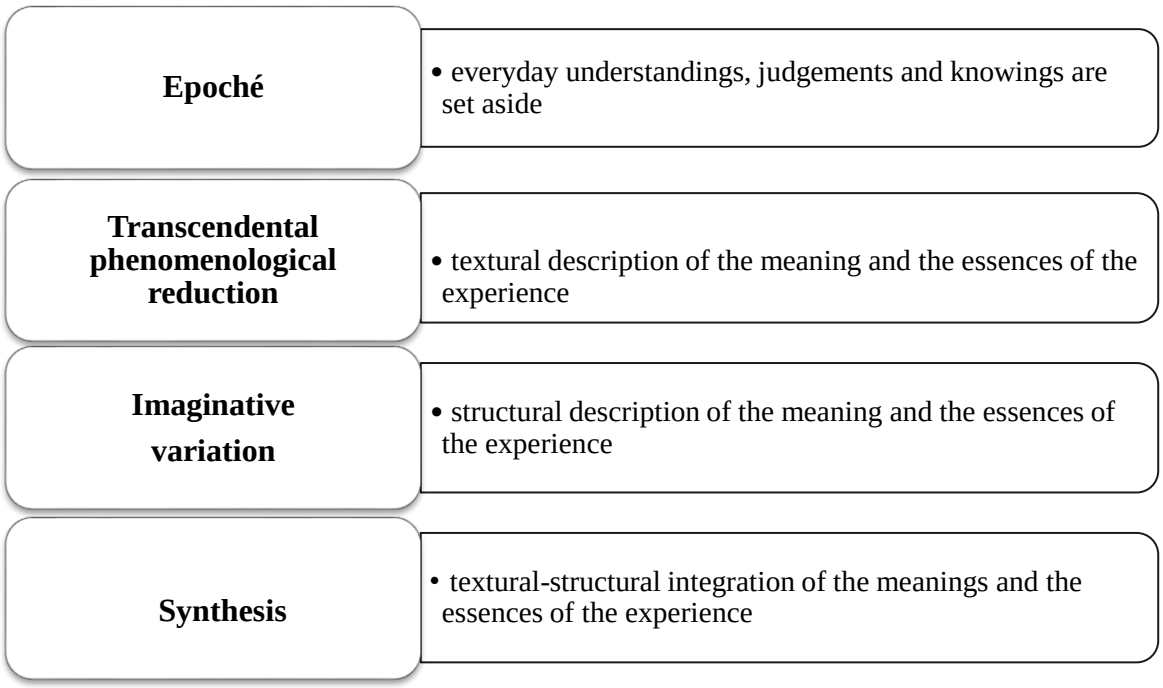

Figure 4.1 A summary of the essential processes of transcendental phenomenology (after Moustakas, 1994).

4.4.1 Epoché

First, Moustakas (1994) makes use of the concepts of the 'epoché'. In this process, the researcher starts the interview with an 'unbiased, receptive presence', without having any prejudgement on what is thought, felt or imagined (Moustakas, 1994, p. 180). It is, however, important to note that within this 'freedom from suppositions'; the experiencing person, the 'I', remains present and is not set aside (Moustakas, 1994).

However, several scholars have highlighted the difficulty of achieving the epoché (King & Horrocks, 2010; LeVasseur, 2003; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Moerer-Urdahl & Creswell, 2004; Moustakas, 1994; Van Manen, 1990). Indeed, Moustakas (1994) has acknowledged that the process of the epoché is a difficult task and that this pure state of mind of perceiving and experiencing things afresh is rarely perfectly accomplished. Furthermore, he noted that it is difficult to suppress internal and external voices and sounds and to be only aware of just what appears to you (Moustakas, 1994). Even through practice, he states that some things are not 'bracketable' (able to be set aside), such as severe and intense life experiences; deeply ingrained things; and 'people so attached to or against each other or themselves that clear openness or pure consciousness is virtually an impossibility' (p. 90). Moreover, Gadamer (1960/1965) and Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962) have indicated that it is not fitting or possible even for a researcher to be totally free of presuppositions.

Researchers such as Boyd (1989), Moustakas (1994) and Thomas (2000) have, however, pointed out that the 'bracketed' information is only temporarily suspended and not permanently expelled, such that questions and other perspectives can arise. In other words, it is not an eradication of preconceived ideas (Boyd, 1989). Moreover, Giorgi (2009) clarifies the epoché process further by stating that it is not about forgetting what has been experienced, instead it is about not allowing past knowledge and experiences to enter into the process of uncovering experiences. Therefore, the epoché is a dynamic, continuous and cyclical process of reflection, bracketing and intuiting (Ahern, 1999; Porter, 1998). Despite its difficulty, a number of researchers have acknowledged the value of the epoché (Buttimer, 1974; Creswell, 2013; Johnson, 1983; King & Horrocks, 2010; Moustakas, 1994; Thomas & Pollio, 2002). For instance, following Buttimer (1974), Johnson (1983) described it as 'an important and insightful exercise for any geographer' (p. 104).

However, interpretive phenomenologists would suggest that this it is not possible for a researcher to become detached from a text (Van Manen, 1990). As a result of this, Creswell (2013) proposed that perhaps a new definition of the epoché is needed such as LeVasseur's (2003) notion of momentarily suspended our understandings, so that a new perception of a particular phenomenon may occur through what she calls 'persistent curiosity' (p. 419). Therefore, Creswell (2013) suggests that researchers need to determine how and in which manner their own perspectives, bias and prejudice will be incorporated into the study.

4.4.2 Transcendental-phenomenological reduction

Following the epoché, is the process of transcendental-phenomenological reduction. This process starts with 'bracketing' the phenomenon (Husserl, 1913/1931). In other words, all the knowledge, theories and assumptions that the researcher holds about a particular phenomenon, what remains of the natural world (Moustakas, 1994), are set aside and put in 'parentheses' (Johnson, 1983; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Thomas & Pollio, 2002). Therefore, everything is bracketed out by the researcher except the current experience so as to participate in a presuppositionless investigation (Johnson, 1983). This allows the researcher to derive an unprejudiced description of the essence of the phenomenon (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

The phenomenon (that which is within brackets) is then '...texturally described from many sides, angles and views, until a sense of fulfilment is achieved' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 78). Therefore, the aim of the process of phenomenological reduction is to describe in textural language only that which one perceives (Moustakas, 1994). The focus is on the textural qualities of the experience, such as rough or smooth; quiet or noisy; angry or calm. According to Moustakas (1994, p. 34), '[a] complete description is given of all the constituents, variations of perceptions, thoughts, feelings, sounds, colours and shapes'. Each experience is studied in its singularity and the phenomenon or experience is seen and described in its entirety in a new and

open way. In this process, certain questions arise such as 'What is the nature of the phenomenon? What are the qualities of the phenomenon? What appears at different times and at varying conditions?' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 78).

Each angle of perception adds something to what one knows of the horizons (the textural meanings and the invariant constituents) of the phenomenon. Therefore, according to Moustakas (1994), '[t]he process involves a pre-reflective description of things just as they appear and a reduction to what is horizonal and thematic' (p. 91). In other words, through transcendental-phenomenological reduction, a textural description of the meanings and the essences of the phenomenon are obtained which is the 'what' of the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994).

4.4.3 Imaginative variation

The process of imaginative variation follows that of transcendental-phenomenological reduction. It aims to understand and describe the structural essences of the experience. In this process, structural themes are obtained from the textural descriptions that were derived from the process of phenomenological reduction, with the aim of uncovering the factors that underlie the 'what' of that which is being experienced (Moustakas, 1994). In other words, imaginative variation involves trying to discover '[h]ow did the experience of the phenomenon come to be what it is?' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 98). Thus, from a comprehensive description of the textures of an experience, a description of 'how' the phenomenon is experienced can be derived (Moustakas, 1994).

Through imaginative variation, possible meanings are explored through the use of the imagination and by approaching the phenomenon from various perspectives and frames of reference in order to achieve a structural description of the experience (Moustakas, 1994). Keen (1975) describes structures as '...that order embedded in everyday experience which can be

grasped only through reflection' (p. 46). Therefore, included in the process of imaginative variation is a reflective stage in which many possibilities to truth ('free play of fancy') are examined and explained reflectively.

According to Casey (1977), as many as possible imagined objects or events are considered in this process. For instance, possibilities of the structures of time, space, causality, materiality, as well as the relationship to others and self are imagined (Moustakas, 1994). Through imaginative variation, the researcher is thus made aware of these numerous possibilities that may emerge`, which are closely connected to the essences and the meanings of an experience. Therefore, the focus is on meanings and essences, rather than on facts and measurable things (Kockelmans, 1967; Moustakas, 1994).

4.4.4 Synthesis

In the phenomenological model that Moustakas (1994) employs, the structural essences of the imaginative variation are then integrated with the textural essences of the transcendental-phenomenological reduction. This is done in order to obtain a textural-structural synthesis of the meanings and the essences of the phenomenon under investigation, which is 'a unified statement of the essences of the experience of the phenomenon as a whole' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 100). However, Moustakas (1994) notes that the essences of any experience are not ever entirely depleted, as the textural-structural synthesis is representative of the essences of a particular phenomenon at a particular time and place, from the perspective of a particular researcher.

In the following section, the rationale for using the methodology of transcendental phenomenology in the present study will be discussed.

4.5 Rationale for using a phenomenological approach

There are a number of reasons why the question as to 'what' the experience of displacement associated with gentrification may be, is best examined using a phenomenological approach. First, as previously stated, there is a lack of phenomenology in contemporary debates on gentrification (Davidson, 2009b). Davidson and Lees (2010) have argued that evidence for displacement associated with gentrification is shown best through the use of phenomenology. Therefore, there is a need for more phenomenological approaches to displacement in order to come to a better understanding of this phenomenon.

Secondly, geographers such as Relph (1970) have noted the importance of phenomenological concepts, not only in understanding the relationships between people and the environment, but also in showing some of the shortcomings of applying quantitative and positivist approaches to a number of geographical investigations. Indeed, Davidson and Lees (2010) pointed to the usefulness of a phenomenological reading of displacement in critiquing the positivist inclinations of theses on replacement in gentrification research, such as those by Hamnett (1994) in which it was argued that population change in a gentrifying neighbourhood resulted from replacement rather than displacement. Therefore, what has perhaps been overlooked or under-conceptualised in quantitative studies may be revealed through a phenomenological approach.

Thirdly, phenomenology is important in understanding phenomena of the geographical life-world (Relph, 1981). Moreover, according to Van Manen (1990), '[f]rom a phenomenological point of view, to do research is always to question the way we experience the world, to want to know the world in which we live as human beings' (p. 5). Therefore, a phenomenological approach would be particularly useful for understanding the everyday life-world of inner-city

residents in Johannesburg, who all share the experience of being displaced as a result of gentrification.

Fourthly, the methodology of phenomenology was used as there is little data on the views and the experiences of people who have been displaced from areas that are undergoing gentrification. As previously mentioned, it is vital to have the perspectives of the displacees when trying to fully understand the process of gentrification (Murdie & Texeira, 2011; Slater, 2006; 2012; Slater et al., 2004). In this regard, a phenomenological approach is adopted here to be able to contribute to a deeper understanding of displacement associated with gentrification, as it enables a researcher to explore, describe and analyse the meaning and the essence of people's lived experiences of a particular phenomenon in rich detail (Grbrich, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

Lastly, the methodology of transcendental phenomenology offers a systematic approach for obtaining new knowledge (Moustakas, 1994). It also presents a logical and coherent design for analysing and synthesising the data (Moerer-Urdahl & Creswell, 2004), in order to derive the essence of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that phenomenology provides a valuable methodology for discovering the meaning and the essences of human experience. This is particularly so in the case of transcendental phenomenology, which is argued here to be apt to gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification from the perspective of inner-city residents in Johannesburg, where it is important to understand several individual's shared experiences of a particular phenomenon (Creswell, 2013).

In this chapter, the methodology of transcendental phenomenology was described by referring to the history of this approach and its usefulness in geographical investigations. In addition, the key concepts and the philosophical assumptions that underpin this approach were delineated. The nature and the meanings of the transcendental phenomenological processes of the epoché, phenomenological reduction, imaginative variation and synthesis were also elucidated in this chapter. An understanding of these key concepts, philosophical assumptions and essential process are required in order to undertake a phenomenological study (Moustakas, 1994).

The specific methods and procedures employed for conducting a transcendental phenomenological study will be discussed in the following chapter. This includes a consideration of the methods that were used to prepare to collect the data and the data collection techniques that were used. Chapter 5 also includes a discussion on how the data was organised, analysed and synthesised.

CHAPTER 5

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

5.1 Introduction

Slater (2008) emphasised that it is important to not only question how many people were displaced in a particular gentrifying area, as has been the case in a number of quantitative studies, but it is also imperative that people are asked about their experience of displacement. Building on the need for more qualitative studies on displacement associated with gentrification and the need to gain the perspectives of the displaced, the present study explored the experiences of individuals who had worked and/or lived in an area undergoing gentrification in the inner-city of Johannesburg, using a phenomenological approach. Furthermore, the value of phenomenological research is that it elicits subjective understandings and interpretations, rather than measurements and explanations as in quantitative research (Moustakas, 1994). Therefore, it is forwarded that the qualitative data derived in this study is able to usefully add to quantitative insights on displacement already in the literature.

The methods and procedures that were used in this study will be discussed in this chapter by first explaining the procedures that were used to prepare for the collection of the data. This is then followed by a discussion on the process of data collection and the techniques that were used in this process. In addition, this chapter explains how the findings of the study were organised and how this data was analysed and synthesised, using the methodology of transcendental phenomenology. The procedures that were followed to ensure that the research was conducted in an ethical manner are also discussed. Finally, the strategies that were used in order to maintain the methodological rigour of the findings of the study are described.

5.2 Methods of preparation for collecting the data

Several procedures had to be followed in preparation for the data collection process. First, ethics approval for the collection of the data required for the study was obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics (HREC Non-Medical) Committee (Refer to Section 5.6). Once permission had been granted to conduct the study, the potential participants in the study had to be located, and once access had been granted to the research site and/or the participants, they were invited to participate in the study during a pre-interview meeting. In this section, these methods of preparation for collecting the data will be explained in more detail.

5.2.1 Sampling strategy in selecting and locating the research participants

Participants in a phenomenological study have to be carefully selected (Creswell, 2013; Englander, 2012; Moustakas, 1994), and an essential criterion in selecting people to participate in such a study is that the participants had to have had a specific experience or experiences of the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2013; Englander, 2012; Moustakas, 1994). Therefore, criterion sampling was used in this case, as participants had to have experienced some form of displacement as a result of gentrification in the inner city of Johannesburg. Participants were also required to have lived and/or worked in an area undergoing gentrification in the inner city of Johannesburg and to have been over 18 years of age in order to participate in the study.

However, locating potential research participants who have experienced a particular phenomenon has proven to be methodologically difficult in a number of studies (Atkinson, 2000a; Englander, 2012; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Slater, 2006; Thomas & Pollio, 2002). In particular, estimating the scope and the scale of displacement and exploring what happens to people who have been physically displaced or who are living under the risk of eviction has proved to be difficult for a number of researchers (Atkinson, 2000a; Atkinson & Wulff, 2009; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Slater et al., 2004), as displaced residents are no longer living in the

neighbourhoods where researchers go to look for them (Newman & Wyly, 2006). Indeed, Atkinson (2000a) likened this to 'measuring the invisible' (p. 163).

Snowball sampling was used in this study to locate and identify those residents who had been displaced to other parts of the city of Johannesburg, as this technique is useful when trying to reach populations that are difficult to find (Patton, 2015). Contact was made with existing residents, community organisers and any other contacts that emerged during the course of the study, in order to trace displaced residents. Newspaper articles citing instances where people had been displaced as a result of gentrification in the inner city of Johannesburg were also used to try and locate potential research participants for the study. Regarding existing inner-city residents and people who worked in gentrifying areas, informal conversations took place in order to establish whether they had experienced any form of displacement.

5.2.2 Access to the research site and the potential research participants

In the case of displaced people who resided in shelters for the homeless that were administered by private organisations, access to the research site and to the potential participants in the study had to be established via a gatekeeper (Creswell, 2013; Seidman, 2013). Once permission had been granted to conduct the research at the particular site, access also had to be obtained from an informal gatekeeper, who acted as a spokesperson for the group of men and women who resided at the shelter. This initial contact with the gatekeepers also helped me to make contact with other potential participants in the study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

Although I had anticipated that entry into the field to gain access to potential participants in the study may prove to be difficult as I was an outsider to the community, access to the people at the shelter was made a bit easier by the fact that I was initially accompanied by someone whom

they knew and trusted. This also helped to lessen some of the suspicions that they may have harboured. More importantly, it allowed me to gain their trust more easily.

5.2.3 Sample size

Determining the size of the sample in a qualitative study is different to that of a quantitative study as it hinges on a different epistemological purpose and theory of science (Englander, 2012). In this section, sample sizes in qualitative studies will be discussed, as well as the factors that need to be considered in determining the size of a sample in these studies. Following this, the method that was used to determine to the size of present study's sample is discussed.

5.2.3.1 Sample sizes in qualitative studies

Sample sizes in qualitative research is not intended to be representative of the population, but rather the analysis of meanings within specific contexts is emphasised (Robinson, 1996). For this reason, collecting enough qualitative information so that meaningful themes can be developed is what is considered important in this type of research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Therefore, the purpose of qualitative research is not to make generalisations regarding the information (Creswell, 2013; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006; King & Horrocks, 2010; Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003; Seidman, 2013) but rather to shed light on the particular, the specific (Greene & Caracelli, 1997; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). In a phenomenological study, the intention of interviewing more than one person is to 'produce variations' (Thomas & Pollio, 2002, p. 42). In other words, by obtaining different accounts of a particular experience, it facilitates uncovering the essential structure of a phenomenon more easily (Thomas & Pollio, 2002).

Sample sizes in qualitative studies are usually considerably smaller than those found in quantitative studies (Mason, 2010; Ritchie et al., 2003). In phenomenological studies, the size of

the sample can range from only one participant (Dukes, 1984) to 325 participants as in the case of Polkinghorne's (1989) study, while Riemen's study (1986) had 10 participants. Several researchers have made recommendations regarding an appropriate sample size in phenomenological research. For example, Dukes (1984) recommended studying three to 10 people, while Polkinghorne (1989) suggested five to 25 participants, while Morse (1994) recommended at least six. More recently, Creswell (2016) suggested that the size of the group of participants in a phenomenological study may range from three to 15 participants.

There are a number of reasons why sample sizes are small in qualitative studies (Ritchie et al., 2003). First, collecting more data beyond a particular point in a qualitative study will yield less and less new information. In other words, including more participants will result in diminishing returns (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2003). The reason for this is that a single incidence of a particular piece of data or a code is all that is required for it to become part of the analysis framework (Mason, 2010). Secondly, in qualitative research, frequencies are seldom of importance, as a single incidence of the data has possibly as much use as many pieces of data in grasping the process under investigation (Mason, 2010). This is because in this type of research the focus is on meaning and not on making generalisations (Creswell, 2013; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006; King & Horrocks, 2010; Ritchie et al., 2003; Seidman, 2013). Finally, qualitative research is highly labour intensive (Mason, 2010). Therefore, analysing a large sample of data can be tedious, and is frequently not practical to undertake (Ritchie et al., 2003).

5.2.3.2 Determining the size of the sample

According to Thomas & Pollio (2002), redundancies start to become evident after relatively few in-depth interviews. For example, Pollio, Henley and Thompson (1997) noted, after having analysed the transcripts of about 25 to 30 studies, that: 'With this number of interviews (3-5), give or take a few, the interpreter develops a sense of descriptive patterns and relations

characterising the various interviews' (p. 51-52). Once it is difficult to ignore repeated patterns and themes, in other words the point of saturation is reached; Thomas & Pollio (2002) state that the general rule of thumb is that two more participants are interviewed. If at this point new themes or patterns do not come to light, then it is not necessary to find more participants or exemplars as the phenomenon is then believed to be 'well-described' (Thomas & Pollio, 2002, p. 42). Similarly, Seidman (2013), drawing on Bertaux (1981), states that if the researcher finds that 'he or she is not learning anything decidedly new' and the interview process is turning out to be 'laborious rather than pleasurable', then 'it is the time to say "enough"' (p. 59). In other words, it is at this point at which no further interviews would be conducted.

However, Morse (2000) asserted that there are a number of factors that should be considered before a researcher assumes that a point of saturation of information has been reached. In other words, the number of participants required to reach saturation is dependent upon the following factors: the scope of the study; the qualitative method and design used; the nature of the topic; the quality of the data; the amount of information obtained from each participant; the number of interviews conducted per participant; and the use of shadowed data (Morse, 2000). The point of saturation, therefore, is different for each researcher and for each study (Seidman, 2013).

5.2.3.3 Size of the study's sample

In the present study, the sample size was not determined prior to conducting the interviews with the research participants as in quantitative studies, particularly since people who have been physically displaced are not easy to trace and locate (Atkinson, 2000b; Cohen et al., 1993; Hamnett & Williams, 1979; LeGates & Hartman, 1986; K. Shaw, 2005). The concept of saturation of information (Lincoln & Guba, 1995; Mason, 2010; Richards & Morse, 2013; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Saumure & Given, 2008; Seidman, 2013) was employed to determine the

size of the sample. This meant that in-depth interviews with the participants continued to be conducted in this study until no new information or insights were gained.

There were two groups of participants in the study. Firstly, to identify the different forms of displacement that inner-city residents had experienced, 15 people who had lived and/or worked in the Maboneng Precinct volunteered to participate in the study. Recurring patterns and themes started to emerge after only three interviews but I continued to conduct interviews until I could no longer find further volunteers to participate in the study.

Secondly, in the case of the participants who were physically displaced from their homes, the point of saturation was reached at seven participants. I continued, however, to interview two more people, after which there were no further people who volunteered to participate in the study. Therefore, nine people who had been evicted from their homes in the Maboneng Precinct were interviewed, in order to uncover their experiences of direct, physical displacement. Compared to the women, the men were particularly reluctant to participate in the study. They appeared to be more suspicious of my motives and they felt that they had nothing new to add to what the others had already described about the experience of being displaced.

The following section outlines the initial meeting that took place with the potential research participants before the actual interviews were conducted.

5.2.4 Pre-interview meeting with the potential research participants

Prior to conducting the actual interviews, the researcher made contact with potential research participants in person. This pre-interview meeting usually lasted between 10 and 15 minutes. There were a number of reasons for initiating this meeting. First, it was used to determine whether potential participants were interested in participating in the study. In other words, the

meeting was a way for individuals, who had experienced displacement as a result of gentrification processes in the inner city of Johannesburg, to be recruited. This was done after I had introduced myself and the research assistant to the potential participants of the study and I had briefly explained the purpose of the study and the role of the researcher and the participants.

Secondly, it was important to explain the nature and the purpose of the study (Englander, 2012; Moustakas, 1994; Seidman, 2013) so that potential participants understood exactly what it meant to participate in the study (Refer to Appendix A, the Participant Information Sheet). Following Englander (2012), I also explained the research question to the potential participants, which enabled them to have some time to contemplate on their experience of displacement before the actual interviews took place. It was hoped that by doing this, it would help to obtain a richer description of the experience during the actual interview, without posing too many questions.

Thirdly, the purpose of the pre-interview meeting was also to obtain the participants' informed consent to participate in the study and to ensure them that their identity would remain confidential. The actual informed consent form (see Appendix B) was given to the participants at the beginning of the first interview and they were then also asked to sign the form. This was done to ensure that the participants understood what was involved in accepting to participate in the study (Corbin & Morse, 2003; Seidman, 2013). Permission was also obtained from the participants to audio-record the interviews and to publish and disseminate the data once the study had been completed.

Fourthly, once it had been established that the potential participants were willing to participate in the study; the date, the time and the place of the interviews were agreed upon by the researcher and the participants (Moustakas, 1994; Seidman, 2013). This was important as the place of the interview should be convenient for the participants and it should also be in a private

space. In addition, it had to be a place where the participants felt safe and secure (Seidman, 2013). In some instances, a number of the participants wanted to proceed with the interview, immediately following the pre-interview meeting.

A final, but very important purpose of the pre-interview meeting, was to begin to establish a rapport and a position of credibility with the potential participants in order to gain their trust (Englander, 2012; Moustakas, 1994; Seidman, 2013), particularly since I was an outsider to the community. This was important so as to reduce any fear and suspicion that the potential participants may have had, as 'informant accuracy' can vary greatly depending on how the intentions of the researcher are viewed (Neuman, 2003). Furthermore, as the interview is an interpersonal interaction (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), it was important for the participants to feel comfortable during the interview process so that they would be more inclined to divulge their experiences fully (Englander, 2012 Moustakas, 1994). This in turn was important for laying the foundation for mutual respect that was needed for the interview process and for the integrity of the data to be collected (Seidman, 2013).

There were a number of other benefits to the pre-interview meeting. For example, it was an opportunity for me to become acquainted with the setting in which the potential research participants lived and to review the ethical considerations of the study before the interviews commenced (Seidman, 2013).

In the following section, the techniques that were used to collect the data will be discussed, in particular the phenomenological approach to interviewing.

5.3 Data collection techniques

The primary method of data collection chosen for this study was face-to-face, in-depth interviews, as there is a need for a perspective of displacement associated with gentrification 'from below' (in terms of the people who experienced it) as opposed to 'from above' (using descriptive statistics) (Wacquant, 2008b). Furthermore, what communities '..."know" about gentrification on the ground' (and by implication displacement as well) 'is not amenable to research from a distance' (Lees, 2012, p. 12). In addition, in-depth interviews were the most appropriate method of inquiry for the study, as evidence from phenomenological research is obtained from first-person accounts of life experiences (Moustakas, 1994; Schutz, 1967; Seidman, 2013). Secondary sources such as academic literature, census data, municipal reports, planning policies, and newspaper articles were also consulted in order to understand the context within which gentrification and displacement takes place in South Africa and in particular within the inner city of Johannesburg. In this section, the phenomenological approach to interviewing will be discussed in more detail.

Phenomenological interviews focus on the participants' subjective experiences of a particular phenomenon and the meaning that they hold about that experience, and not the meanings of the researcher or what is conveyed in the literature (Seidman, 2013). The purpose of these interviews is to obtain as full a description as possible of the experience (Giorgi, 2009). Open-ended questions and comments are used (Moustakas, 1994), as this enables participants to describe their experience in their own words, without being limited by standardised, fixed response questions that are usually found in quantitative studies (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013). Furthermore, unlike structured interviews, the flow of the interview in phenomenology is set by the participant and not the researcher (Thomas & Pollio, 2002).

However, the phenomenological interview is not to be understood as 'non-directive' (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) or lacking a plan or a purpose to guide the process (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) because the researcher does not direct the flow of the interview nor does he or she decide on its content through standardised questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Thomas & Pollio, 2002). A general interview guide may be developed in phenomenological research, as was the case in this study (see Appendix C), so that it could be used in cases where the participants had not described the experience in enough depth and with sufficient meaning.

Furthermore, the researcher's task is to assist the participants to focus on particular themes and ideas related to the phenomenon under investigation during the interview (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Thomas & Pollio, 2002). Therefore, the words of the participants have to be followed closely by the researcher, and any statement that is not understood has to be clarified, so that each experience of displacement is discussed in as much detail as possible. Besides listening closely to the words of the participants, the researcher's role is also to observe the participants' facial expressions and body language (King & Horrocks, 2010). These non-verbal cues are important, as participants may express their emotions and feelings through their facial expressions and body language. It is also important for the researcher to be mindful of the language used and the timing of the questions posed, so that the experience can be described as fully as possible (Moustakas, 1994).

In addition, in phenomenological interviewing, the researcher recognises his or her role and involvement in 'co-constituting the dialogue', instead of being removed from the process and its outcome (Thomas & Pollio, 2002, p. 26). Therefore in this type of research, the researcher is the instrument or tool in the process of data collection (Creswell, 2013; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014); Richards & Morse, 2013; Thomas & Pollio, 2002).

In the following section, the process of data collection will be discussed in more detail.

5.4 Data collection process

Before conducting the interviews with the research participants, I engaged in the epoché process. Thereafter, the interviews were conducted during which field notes were taken. Following the interviews, more detailed notes were written down. In this section, the methods that were used to carry out these three processes are described in more detail.

5.4.1 Engaging in the epoché

Reflexivity is a principal characteristic of qualitative research (Creswell, 2013) and in descriptive phenomenology, it is embraced in the concept of the epoché (Dowling, 2008). O'Dwyer and Bernauer (2014) describe reflexivity as the researcher's 'conscious awareness of...cognitive and emotional filters comprising their experiences, worldviews, and biases that may influence their interpretation of participants' perceptions' (p. 11). By engaging in the epoché process prior to the interviews, I reflected upon my own experiences, judgements and presuppositions about the experience of displacement. This included thoughts and feelings of my family's, my parents and my grandparents, own experiences of being forcibly removed from their homes during the apartheid era in South Africa. I also wrote down my thoughts, beliefs, biases and pre-understandings about the phenomenon in order to try and write down as full a description of displacement as possible prior to conducting the interviews (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). This required a number of sessions of attempting 'to clear the mind so that to a significant degree, past associations, understandings, "facts", biases are set aside and do not colour or direct the interview' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 89). It was also necessary at times to engage in the process during the interviews as well (Moustakas, 1994).

These personal experiences and insights are then 'bracketed' (set aside) from the collection of the data (Moustakas, 1994). The purpose of bracketing is to draw attention to the pre-

understandings and the preconceptions that a researcher may hold about a particular phenomenon, so that researchers can keep an open and non-judgemental attitude, while conducting and analysing the interviews (Thomas & Pollio, 2000). In other words, it was important to engage in the epoché process so that the information can be 'perceived freshly as if it were for the first time' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 34).

However, it is difficult to fully bracket one's experiences (Creswell, 2013; King & Horrocks, 2010; LeVasseur, 2003; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Moustakas, 1994; Van Manen, 1990) and despite engaging in the epoché, I acknowledge, like Creswell (2013), LeVasseur (2003), Van Manen (1990) and others, that it is not possible to remove yourself and your interpretation entirely from the situation. It does, however, reduce the influence of bias and prejudice considerably (Moustakas, 1994), and it allows a greater openness to the topic under investigation (Thomas & Pollio, 2000).

5.4.2 In-depth interview process

Before the interviews commenced, informed consent to participate in the study was obtained by the participants signing the informed consent form (see Appendix B). The participants were also reminded of the principal purpose of the interviews (Fraelich, 1989). The interviews began as an informal, social conversation in order to create an atmosphere of trust where the participants felt comfortable and at ease to share their experiences (Moustakas, 1994). Furthermore, a rapport needed to be established with the participants, so that they could respond honestly and in as much detail as possible to the questions posed during the interviews (Moustakas, 1994; Thomas & Pollio, 2002).

During this stage, permission was also sought from the participants to audio-record the interviews, as the main strategy of the study was to capture the meaning of the experience of

displacement in the words of the participants'. This was important as, according to Vygotsky, (1962/1986), the actual words used by a participant are a reflection of his or her consciousness. Furthermore, Seidman (2013) believes that by replacing what the participants say with the researcher's paraphrasing or summaries, 'is to substitute the researcher's consciousness for that of the participant' (p. 117). Therefore, the audio-recording of the interviews, allows the words spoken by the participants to be reliably changed into written text to analyse (Seidman, 2013). In turn, this also enhances the reliability of the research (Creswell, 2013).

Although I initially thought that audio-recording the interviews might possibly restrain the participants from fully describing their experiences; however like Seidman (2013) found, most of the participants in the current study appeared not to be conscious of the fact that the interview was being recorded, as the interview progressed. Only one participant did not feel comfortable with the interview being audio-recorded. I then attempted to write down the participant's experience in his own words as comprehensively as possible. The fact that the participant spoke English fluently (although it was not his mother tongue); greatly assisted me in taking comprehensive notes based on the conversation.

Following this, I asked the participants to focus on their experience of displacement for a few moments and then to describe their experience in as much detail as possible. Essentially two broad questions were asked which related to the experience of displacement, namely, 'what' was experienced and 'how' was it experienced (Moustakas, 1994). According to Moustakas (1994), these broad questions may 'facilitate the obtaining of rich, vital, substantive descriptions' (p. 116) of the participant's experience of the phenomenon. In cases where the participants did not describe the experience in sufficient depth and detail, open-ended questions (such as those from the General Interview Guide) and comments were used to try and elicit a more comprehensive response. Information was also collected on the gender, age, marital status,

family size and structure, educational level, occupation, and sources of income of the participants.

Only two of the participants spoke English fluently and they chose to converse in English during the interviews. Most of the participants felt more comfortable to share their experiences of being displaced in their mother tongue. The research assistant, therefore, was required to translate the conversations that took place during the interviews into English. Consecutive oral translation was used, where after short segments of speech were completed, the research assistant translated what the participants had just shared into English. This method was used so as to closely follow the original words of the participants. However, in order not to break the spontaneity of the conversation, there were instances where the participants spoke for a longer period of time, before their speech was translated. Therefore, the research assistant had to exercise judgement as to what to convey as important in the conversation.

5.4.3 Field notes

As far as possible, field notes were written down or typed immediately after each interview, in which I reflected on what had been learnt (King & Horrocks, 2010; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Thomas & Pollio, 2002). In addition, a description of the physical setting of each of the interviews was recorded as part of the field notes (Thomas & Pollio, 2002), as well as important aspects of the verbal and the non-verbal communication, that were noted during the interviews, particularly the participant's facial expressions and body language (King & Horrocks, 2010; Thomas & Pollio, 2002). This was done because important emotions and feelings are often conveyed through non-verbal communication which would not have been captured in the audio-recordings of the interviews. It was also noted if participants had difficulties in disclosing their feelings and emotions. These descriptive notes also helped to articulate the mood of the interview situation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Self-reflective notes were also written in which my personal reactions to what was disclosed during the interviews were noted down. Any thoughts or ideas that came to mind following the interviews were captured as well. In addition, what worked and what did not work during the interview process was reflected upon and any questions or concerns that I had, were also noted (Creswell, 2013).

Apart from reflecting on the interview process, reflections on what went as planned or not in gaining and maintaining access and ethics were recorded. In addition, how my position as an outsider to the study area influenced the research process was noted. These field notes were stored as memos in the *ATLAS.ti* software package and this provided useful information that was used later during the analysis of the interview transcripts (King & Horrocks, 2010; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

In the following section, a description is given of how the data was organised, analysed and synthesised.

5.5 Data organisation, analysis and synthesis

The data that was collected during the course of this study was stored and managed in a CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis) software programme, *ATLAS.ti*. This software programme was also used to organise and easily retrieve the research data, as well as for electronically labelling and coding the qualitative interview data. In addition, *ATLAS.ti* was also used for the development of themes during the data analysis phase of the study (Friese, 2014).

In this section, the way in which the data was prepared for analysis is described, by referring to the transcription and the translation of the audio-recorded interviews. In addition, the methodology of phenomenological analysis is explained, as well as the way in which the interview data was coded.

5.5.1 Transcription and translation of the interview data

Before analysing the interview data, the audio-recorded interviews of the participants were transcribed as soon as possible into written text (Bailey, 2008; Thomas & Pollio, 2002). As transcribing is a time-consuming process (Seidman, 2013), the transcription of the audio-recorded interviews was done by a professional transcriptionist. Both verbal and non-verbal material of each of the interviews was transcribed in full. Prior to the analysis of the data, the written transcripts were compared to the audio-recorded interviews; in order to check the accuracy of the transcriptions, and also to establish whether the meaning of each interview was carried across correctly in the transcriptions (Easton, McCornish, & Greenberg, 2000; Polkinghorne, 1989).

The transcripts of the interviews that were conducted in *isiZulu* and *isiXhosa* were translated into English by professional translators, who were fluent in both the language spoken by the participants, as well as English. The written translations were then compared to the translations that were done orally (in situ) by the research assistant, so as to ensure their accuracy.

Once the interview data was transcribed and translated, it could then be analysed. In the section that follows, the method of phenomenological analysis that was used in this study will be described.

5.5.2 Phenomenological analysis

A simplified version of the Stevick (1978) - Colaizzi (1973) - Keen (1975) method of phenomenological analysis, as discussed by Moustakas (1994), was used in analysing each of the participants' verbatim transcripts. It was decided to use Moustakas's (1994) method as it presents a structured approach to the data analysis procedure and it also provides a guide for compiling the textural and the structural descriptions of the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2013). The following is a description of the steps that were used in the data analysis process of the study:

- First, the research question is placed in 'brackets' (Moustakas, 1994). This means that all preconceived ideas and personal knowledge and understandings were temporarily suspended whilst analysing and reflecting upon the lived experiences of the participants (Drew, 1999) of the phenomenon of displacement. The transcripts were therefore approached with 'an open attitude' in an attempt to find what is important and of interest from the transcripts (Seidman, 2013, p. 120).

- The transcripts of the interviews were then read several times so that an overall sense of the interview could be obtained (Creswell, 2013). Memos were written in the margins of the transcripts to capture any reflection, questions or insights about the interview data (Creswell, 2013; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014; Seidman, 2013).

- As vast amounts of text were produced from the in-depth interviews, this had to be condensed to what emerged as important and relevant to the phenomenon under investigation (McCracken, 1988; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Seidman, 2013; Wolcott, 1990). However, from each interview transcript, every statement was initially regarded as having equal value (Moustakas, 1994). Following this, significant statements or phrases that related directly to the lived experience of displacement associated with

gentrification were highlighted. This meant that judgement had to be applied about what was significant in the transcripts (Seidman, 2013). In other words, this reduction of the data was done inductively, as in qualitative research the data is not tested with a set of hypotheses or with a theory that was developed in another context (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Seidman, 2013). The significant statements were then stored in the *ATLAS.ti* software package as *in vivo* codes, which were the actual words that were used by the participants themselves during the interviews.

- Overlapping and repetitive statements were then removed which left only the horizons (the textural meanings and the invariant constituents of the phenomenon). This step is known as 'horizonalization' (Moustakas, 1994). The non-overlapping and non-repetitive statements were then recorded and coded in *ATLAS.ti*, using the label 'significant statements'.

- 'Clusters of meaning' or 'meaning units' were then developed from these significant statements or phrases, whereby the horizons were recorded into common categories or 'themes' that emerged through the process of transcendental phenomenological reduction (Moustakas, 1994). The themes were stored as codes in *ATLAS.ti* and linked to the significant statements (horizons).

- A textural description of the experience of displacement for each of the participants was then written ('what' happened) from the horizons and the themes, using verbatim examples from the transcripts. These individual textural descriptions were stored as individual memos in *ATLAS.ti* and linked to the interviews from which they were derived.

- This was followed by a structural description ('how' the experience happened) by which the significant statements and themes were also used to write a description of the context or setting, which affected how the participants experienced the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013) of displacement. The individual structural descriptions of each of the participants were stored as individual memos in *ATLAS.ti* and linked to the interviews from which they were derived.

- From the individual textural description of each of the interviews, a composite textural description was written. The same applied to the individual structural descriptions, which were also written into a composite textural description. These composite descriptions were also stored as memos in *ATLAS.ti*.

- Finally, a composite description (textural-structural description) was written of the meanings and the essences of the experience of displacement which was produced from the individual textural-structural descriptions of all of the participant's experiences (Moustakas, 1994). The final code, the 'essence of the phenomenon' was also written as a memo in *ATLAS.ti*.

Figure 5.1 represents a summary of the above-mentioned steps in the process of phenomenological analysis.

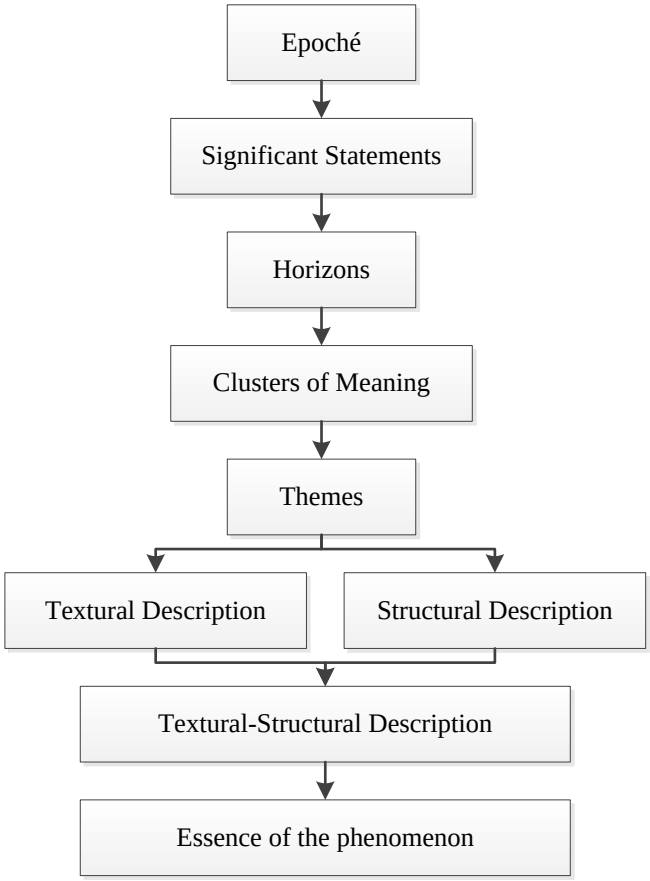

Figure 5.1 Summary of the steps in the process of phenomenological analysis (after Moustakas, 1994).

Moustakas (1994) added another step to the process of phenomenological analysis, in which the researcher reflects upon and documents his or her description of their own personal experience of the phenomenon under study, as well as the context and the situations that may have influenced this experience (Creswell, 2013). However, some researchers such as Creswell (2013) have condensed Moustakas's (1994) procedures and have included these personal reflections at the start of the phenomenology or it can be incorporated into the methods section of a study, detailing the role of the researcher (Marshall & Rossman, 2016), as was the case in this study.

In the following section, an explanation of how the interview data was coded will be provided, as it is important to ensuring the reliability of the findings of the study (Creswell, 2013).

5.5.3 Coding the data

Although coding data is one way to carefully analyse data in qualitative studies, phenomenology tends to look at data thematically (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Indeed, Saldaña (2015) contends that 'phenomenological analysis is better served through the consideration of themes – statements and theoretical constructs that provide a more narrative grounding to the study of lived experience' (p. 74). This is because a single word or short phrase may not articulate meanings as effectively as themes would (Saldaña, 2015).

Bearing the above in mind, the steps of transcendental phenomenological analysis (see Figure 5.2) were used as a template for 'coding' the interview data, as suggested by Creswell (2013). This process involved the steps in the process of phenomenological analysis that have been described in Section 5.5.2.

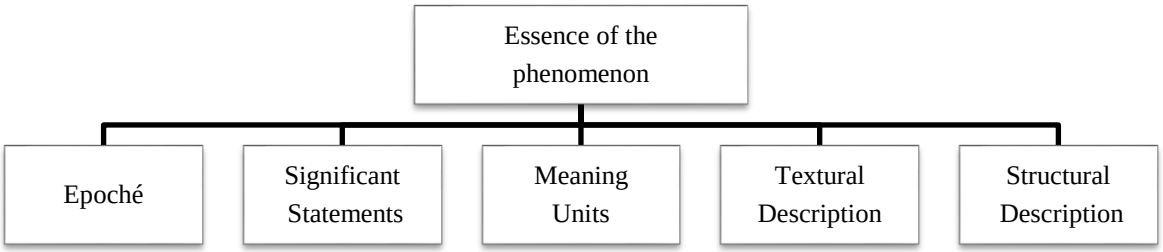

Figure 5.2 Template for coding a phenomenological study. Source: Creswell (2013).

In the following section, the ethical considerations that were important throughout this study will be expounded upon.

5.6 Ethical considerations

It is important for researchers to be sensitive towards ethical considerations throughout all the phases of the research process (Creswell, 2013; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). A number of ethical issues may arise during the data collection and the analysis stage of the study, as well as in the dissemination of the findings of the study (Creswell, 2013; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Furthermore, in order to ensure the validity and the accuracy of the study, it is important to be conscious of the ethical implications of the research (Miles et al., 2014). In order to ensure that the present study was conducted in an ethical manner, a number of steps were followed.

First, the participants were informed that they were being invited to take part in a study based on their experience of displacement associated with gentrification (see Appendix A, Participant Information Sheet). The nature and the purpose of the study was then briefly explained, along with the reason why I was studying this particular topic. The participants were also informed that I intended to use the research for my doctoral thesis.

The full identity of researcher was also made known to the participants. In other words, they were informed that I was a lecturer in Geography at the North-West University in Vanderbiljpark and a doctoral candidate at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. In addition, it was indicated to the participants that my research assistant, who acted as an interpreter, was also a postgraduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand.

It was explained that the process of participating in the study involved an interview and perhaps follow-up interviews at a later stage. Participants were also informed that the interviews would last between approximately 45 minutes to an hour. Permission was also sought to audio-record the interviews, as it was important to capture the experience of displacement in the participants' own words.

It was important that participants took part in the study voluntarily. Therefore, they were informed that participation in the study was completely voluntary and that they may withdraw from participating at any stage of the research process. Refusal to participate in the study would carry no penalty, and their decision would not be prejudicial to them in any way (Seidman, 2013).

Steps were also taken to try and protect the identity of the participants, as there were concerns that they would be vulnerable if they were identified. The potential research participants were informed that their names would not be recorded and instead they would be assigned pseudonyms or numbers (Seidman, 2013). Furthermore, the name of the site at which the interviews were conducted and the participants' previous place of residence would not be recorded, so as to avoid the participants being traced and identified, once the study had been completed. However, confidentiality of identity cannot always be completely guaranteed, as the description of the participant's experience is within the context of their everyday lives (Seidman, 2013). Therefore, the possibility does exist that a reader who knows a participant may recognise him or her, as a substantial part of the participant's life experience may be shared in the study (Seidman, 2013). However, every effort was made to not have any identifiers in the study that would point to any individuals or organisations that may have provided the data.

With regards to the well-being of the participants, there was a certain amount of risk involved in participating in the study. Recalling the experience of displacement may be traumatic for the participants, and may have potential psychological effects on them. Therefore, the participants were informed that they may withdraw at any stage from the interviews if they felt uncomfortable. This was done in order to protect their psychological well-being. They were also informed that counselling services and therapeutic support was available at the *Emthonjeni* Psychology Clinic at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Participants were informed that there would be no direct benefit to them for participating in the study, and that they would not receive any monetary payment for their participation. They were also told that their participation would, however, help researchers to gain a better understanding of the experience of being displaced in a gentrifying area, such as that of the inner city of Johannesburg.

The transcriptionist/translator and the research assistant signed a confidentiality pledge. They were also informed that they were bound by the ethics protocol of the study. The participants were informed that the transcriptionist/translator and the researcher were the only people who would have access to the audio-recordings of the interviews. Once the transcription/translation of the interviews were completed and sent to the researcher, the transcriptionist/translator would destroy his or her copies of the audio-recordings and transcriptions. The transcripts and the audio-recordings of the interviews would remain in the researcher's possession, on a password-protected computer. To protect the anonymity of the participants, the participants were informed that all hard copies of the interviews, the signed informed consent forms, field notes and analyses would be securely stored in a locked cupboard.

As lengthy verbatim excerpts of the interview transcripts would be used in the dissemination of the findings of the study, the researcher also had to obtain the permission of the participants to use these verbatim examples of their description of displacement in the thesis, journal articles, a book or conference presentations (Seidman, 2013).

Ethical considerations are however, only part of attaining methodological rigour in a study. In the following section, the methods and procedures that were used to ensure rigour in the study will be discussed by referring to the concepts of validity, reliability and generalisability in phenomenological research.

5.7 Validity, reliability and generalisability

There are a number of different views on qualitative validation with regards to the way in which it is defined and described in the literature, its importance in qualitative research, and the procedures that are used for establishing validity (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, concepts of validity and reliability are considered by some qualitative researchers as being encumbered with positivist understandings (Kvale, 2009). The work of Lincoln & Guba (1985) is regarded as of the most significant amongst works concerning the formulation of alternative criteria to that of quantitative research (Creswell, 2013; Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). In establishing methodological rigour in a qualitative study or what Guba and Lincoln (1981) describe as the 'trustworthiness' of a study, they proposed the following four alternative criteria (Lincoln & Guba, 1985):

- ***Credibility*** instead of validity. This is described as the extent to which the researcher's interpretation is endorsed by those with whom the research was conducted.
- ***Transferability*** instead of generalisability. This is based on the ability of the researcher to provide sufficient rich detail that a reader can assess the extent to which the conclusions in one setting can be transferred to another.
- ***Dependability*** instead of reliability. This involves demonstrating that the findings of a study are consistent and could be repeated.
- ***Confirmability*** instead of objectivity. Researchers should present sufficient detail of the process of data collection and analysis so that a reader can see how they may have reasonably have reached the conclusions that they did.

There are, however, many criticisms levelled at this formulation (King & Horrocks, 2010; Morse et al., 2002). For the purpose of this study, the terms validity and reliability will be retained as advocated by researchers such as Morse et al. (2002), who argue that 'concepts of reliability and validity…can be appropriately used in all scientific paradigms' (p. 19) because according to Kvale (1989), to validate is to question, to investigate, to check and to theorise.

According to Morse et al. (2002), these activities are all important in ensuring rigour in qualitative research. In other words, the aim of both quantitative and qualitative research methods is rigour, although each paradigm has different verification strategies (Morse et al., 2002).

In this section, the concepts of validity, reliability and generalisability in qualitative research will be discussed and the strategies that were used in this study to maintain methodological rigour.

5.7.1 Validity

In qualitative research, the validity of the findings of a particular study is dependent upon establishing whether it is accurate from the researcher's, the participant's, or the reader of the study's perspective (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Miller, 2000). According to Creswell & Miller (2000), this is one of the strengths of qualitative research. There are various other terms in qualitative literature which also refer to validity, such as 'trustworthiness', 'authenticity' and 'credibility' (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Assessing the validity of the findings of a study in phenomenological research is therefore different from that of quantitative research (Polkinghorne, 1989). According to Polkinghorne (1989):

> Phenomenological research approaches validity from a more general perspective – as a conclusion that inspires confidence because the argument in support of it has been persuasive…The degree of validity of the findings of a phenomenological research project, then depends on the power of its presentation to convince the reader that the findings are accurate…(p. 57).

In order to maintain methodological rigour, the accuracy of the findings of the study were validated by employing the following strategies:

- ***Clarifying researcher bias.*** An important strategy for validating the findings of a study is for the researcher to explain his or her bias at the beginning of the study (Creswell, 2009, 2013; Creswell & Miller, 2000). This involves researchers documenting how their interpretations of the findings of a study are influenced by their background (gender, culture, history and socio-economic origin); prejudices; orientations and past experiences (Creswell, 2009, 2013), so that the reader of the study gains an understanding of the researcher's position and any biases and assumptions that may have influenced the study (Merriam, 1998). In this study, the researcher's positionality was identified and recognised during the epoché process of the study (see Section 5.4.1) and detailed self-reflective memos were kept throughout the study (see Section 5.4.3).

- ***Rich, 'thick description'.*** By providing rich, 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973), the researcher adds to the validity of the findings of the study (Creswell, 2013; King & Horrocks, 2010; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Through detailed descriptions, readers can transfer information to other contexts and settings and make decisions about whether the findings of a particular study can be transferred (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) 'because of shared characteristics' (Erlandson et al., 1993, p. 32). In this study, the participants and the setting of the study (the context) were described in detail. To further enhance this, detailed notes about the analytic process itself were kept (see Section 5.5.2). Comments on the way in which the coding structure was developed over the course of the study were also kept (see Section 5.5.3). According to King & Horrocks (2010), such details constitute an 'audit trail' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) that documents the researcher's thinking as the analysis progressed. In addition, 'thick descriptions' ideally help the reader to understand how researchers reached their conclusions from the data available (King & Horrocks, 2010).

- ***Member checks***. Follow-up interviews in which participants are provided with an opportunity to comment and provide feedback on the findings of the study (Creswell, 2009) are known as member checking, or member validation (Creswell, 2013; King & Horrocks, 2010; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Participants are therefore given an important opportunity to participate in assessing the credibility of an account (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake, 1995), by providing feedback as to whether it is accurately reflects what they had said (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, this validation strategy is described by Maxwell (1996) as the most effective method to reduce the likelihood of misrepresenting and misinterpreting the 'voice' of the participants. Similarly, King & Horrocks (2010) contend that member checking is as much an ethical and/or political requirement as it is an issue of quality, as participants are given a stronger voice in how they are portrayed in an account.

  Following Humphery (1991) and Trumbull (1993), copies of the synthesis of the textural-structural description of their experience of displacement were given to a sample of the participants. Each of the participants were then asked to carefully check the accuracy of the description and to make any changes (additions and corrections) to the description, so that it could more fully and more clearly describe their experience of displacement associated with gentrification. Of the five participants who provided feedback, four indicated that the synthesis was accurate and that no changes were required. Only one of the participants indicated that a minor change needed to be made. The synthesis statement was therefore revised and in turn, the qualities and the meaning of the description was expanded (Moustakas, 1994). Therefore, the purpose of member checking is not only to share the research data and the descriptions with the participants (King & Horrocks, 2010), but also to try and 'have our account resonate with participants' (Creswell, 2013, p. 53).

- ***Prolonged engagement.*** By spending a prolonged time in the field (Creswell, 2013; Erlandson et al., 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007), researchers gain more experience with the participants in their natural setting. This in turn enhances the accuracy or the validity of the findings of an account (Creswell, 2009, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 2016). This study took place over a period of time that involved more than one interview with most of the participants. Some of the participants were interviewed four times – at the pre-interview meeting, the interview, the follow-up interview and at the member validation interview. Follow-up interviews were conducted with six of the nine participants who were physically displaced from their homes. Only a sample of the participants (five) participated in the member validation interviews. This enabled more detail to be captured about the site, the people and their lived experiences, which in turn led to a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2009) of the displacement associated with gentrification.

- ***Peer debriefing.*** In order to obtain an external check to the research process (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Erlandson et al., 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998), peer review or debriefing was used in this study, instead of external audits (Creswell, 2013; Erlandson et al., 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998), which are expensive and time-consuming to undertake (Creswell, 2013). Peer debriefing involved discussing emergent findings of the study with my research supervisor and some of my peers. These peer debriefers also reviewed and asked questions about the study, which helped to increase the accuracy of the findings. It was important for the findings of the study to resonate with people other than the researcher. This in turn added to the validity to the account (Creswell, 2009).

5.7.2 Reliability

The reliability of the findings of a study means that the same results would be achieved if the research was reproduced by other researchers at different times (Kvale, 2009; Richards & Morse, 2013). However, Thomas & Pollio (2002) caution that 'identical replication, the hallmark of laboratory and survey research, is not possible or desirable in dialogic research' (p. 39). It is not likely for two interviews ever to be alike, even if it were conducted with the same participant (Thomas & Pollio, 2002). Furthermore, Thomas & Pollio (2002) contend that the notion of a test-retest approach to reliability will not succeed in qualitative research because human description and meanings change over time due to new insights and changing experiences.

Qualitative reliability, which is also known as 'dependability' in other qualitative literature (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), shows consistency in the approach of the researcher across different researchers and across different projects (Gibbs, 2007). Moreover, Wertz (1983) describes reliability in phenomenological research as an understanding of the point of view of the researcher. Similarly, Giorgi (1975) believes that research findings are reliable 'if a reader, adopting the same point of view as articulated by the researcher, can also see what the researcher saw, whether or not he agrees with it' (p. 93).

There are several procedures for making sure that the findings of a study are reliable in qualitative research (Creswell, 2009, 2013; Gibbs, 2007; Silverman, 2005). In this study, detailed field notes were kept, and memos recorded insights as they emerged during the data analysis phase of the study (Creswell, 2013). This enabled every decision of the researcher to be traced, thereby allowing more transparency during the research process.

In addition, the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed in order to ensure the reliability of the data (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, the transcripts were checked for accuracy prior to the data analysis process, in order to ascertain whether there were any errors that may have occurred during the transcription process (Easton et al., 2000; Gibbs, 2007). If any errors or omissions were found, these were corrected so that the transcripts would more accurately reflect the actual interviews.

It also had to be ensured that the meaning of the codes did not change during the coding process. This was accomplished by repeatedly comparing the interview data with the codes and by writing memos about the codes and their definitions (Gibbs, 2007; Richards & Morse, 2013). Moreover, reliability in qualitative research often relates to 'the stability of the responses to multiple coders of datasets' (Creswell, 2013, p. 253). Therefore, to further ensure that the coding process was reliable, the codes of a sample of the interview transcripts were cross-checked by another researcher in order to ascertain whether the data would be independently coded with the same, or a similar code (Creswell, 2009). This is known as 'intercoder agreement' (Creswell, 2009, 2013; Silverman, 2005) and it provides an external check on the coding process which is highly interpretive (Creswell, 2013).

5.7.3 Generalisibility

Generalisability refers to the degree to which the findings in one particular study can be transferred to other studies (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). However, the term generalisation is used to a limited extent in qualitative research (Creswell, 2009), except in instances where case study research is used (Yin, 2009); since the purpose of this type of inquiry is not to generalise the findings to people or places outside of those that are under investigation (Creswell, 2009; Gibbs 2007). The value of qualitative research lies in the particular description and the themes

developed in the context of a specific site. Therefore, particularity, instead of generalisability (Greene & Caracelli, 1997), is a distinguishing feature of qualitative research.

In the case of phenomenology, the purpose of the 'research is to describe the structure of an experience, not to describe the characteristics of a group who have had the experience' (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 48). In contrast to quantitative research where the researcher determines the generalisability of the findings of a study based on statistical and experimental procedures, in phenomenological research it is the readers who 'validate' the account (Thomas & Pollio, 2002, p. 42).

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methods and the procedures that were employed in the present study, in order to derive a description of the essence of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification. The highly structured approached of Moustakas (1994) to analysis was described in this chapter, by referring to the various steps involved in this process. The importance of having a code of ethics to guide all phases of the study was also highlighted, as well as the methods and the procedures that were used to ensure methodological rigour in a qualitative study.

Although the process of tracing displaced people as a result of gentrification was challenging and time-consuming in the beginning, individuals who had experienced displacement in the inner city of Johannesburg, were eventually located. It is their experiences of displacement that is the focus of this study and in the following chapter, the various forms of displacement that they experienced will be described.

However, the main focus of Chapter 6 is to describe the context within which gentrification has taken place in the inner city of Johannesburg, with particular emphasis on the Maboneng Precinct.

CHAPTER 6

GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF JOHANNESBURG'S INNER CITY

6.1 Introduction

The physical decline of inner cities in South Africa and their subsequent renewal is not unique to this country, as it has been observed in various cities across the world (Visser & Kotzé, 2008). However, the context within which these changes in the urban environment have taken place varies. For example, Johannesburg's inner city is not simply a post-industrial city in transition, but instead it has its own history of urban transformation (Garner, 2011). Indeed, the changes in the inner city took place within the context of the transformation of the entire South African society when discriminatory apartheid policies were being replaced by a new, democratic dispensation (Garner, 2011).

Within this context, gentrification processes have emerged in South Africa (Donaldson et al., 2013; Kotzé, 1998; Visser & Kotzé, 2008), but contrary to experiences in the Global North, decades of capital disinvestment and 'white flight' had not resulted in the depopulation of the inner city of Johannesburg (Winkler, 2009b). Instead, following the dismantling of apartheid, it resulted in an influx of people who had previously been denied access to housing in the inner city (Beavon, 2005; Winkler, 2009b). Therefore, what was once a white, segregated space under apartheid; the inner city today is essentially a black, Pan-African space, with gentrifying areas fragmented across the landscape. Consequently, there are unique manifestations of gentrification in the inner city of Johannesburg, due to the unique history and the context within which the process takes place.

It is therefore, important to understand how gentrification occurs in specific contexts (Betancur, 2014; Lees, 2014; Lemanski, 2014; K. Shaw, 2005; Simone, 2008). Furthermore, it is essential to 'understand displacement as operating uniquely across neighbourhoods, according to particular contexts and positionalities' (Davidson & Lees, 2010, p. 408). For this reason, this chapter firstly outlines the changes that have taken place in the urban landscape of Johannesburg's inner city, particularly from the 1970s onwards, in order to provide the context within which gentrification has taken place in the area. Secondly, the process of regeneration of the inner city of Johannesburg, which began to emerge during the late 1990s will be discussed. Thirdly, a brief history of the Maboneng Precinct will be provided and how the process of gentrification has begun to manifest itself in the area. Finally, this chapter discusses how despite attempts to integrate with the local community, Maboneng is a contested space where both direct and indirect forms of displacement have arisen.

6.2 Johannesburg's inner city: a brief history of ruin and regeneration

South African cities essentially still reflect the spatial planning of the apartheid government and are characterised by racial separation (Murray, 2011). During the apartheid era, the central and northern parts of Johannesburg was occupied by mostly white and middle-class people, while the southern parts of the city had mostly black and working-class residents (Crankshaw, 2008). Following the gradual exodus of white people from the inner city in the 1960s and the 1970s (Beavon, 2005), young, white families bought homes in the suburbs in the 1980s, rather than living in apartments in the inner city due in large part to government subsidies that had been made available to first-time home owners (Parnell, 1992). Consequently, what was once a segregated space designated for white people; the inner city of Johannesburg became as it is today, predominantly inhabited by black people.

Furthermore, industries in Johannesburg were offered incentives to move to the borders of the homelands[5]. This was in contrast to inner cities in other parts of the world; where light, industrial buildings were vacated as a result of the need for technologically advanced infrastructure. New office developments in Braamfontein and later in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, also added to the numerous vacant and dilapidated buildings in the inner city (Garner, 2011).

The exodus from the inner city of Johannesburg increased during the 1980s. This was due in part to the development of new information technology which necessitated the need for more efficient buildings with modern IT infrastructure. Instead of refurbishing and redeveloping existing buildings in the inner city, property developers chose to pursue developments on 'greenfield'[6] sites in the northern suburbs where these new buildings could easily be constructed. Furthermore, these developments were easily accessible and had adequate parking, which was in contrast to the lack of parking and congestion experienced in the CBD at the time (Garner, 2011).

In addition to this, a large number of multinational company workers, who were mainly residents of Hillbrow in the inner city, decided to leave South Africa as a result of the economic sanctions which were instituted against the apartheid government. This led to many unoccupied apartments in the inner city, where landlords were left with very little possibility of finding new tenants. However, acute housing shortages in segregated black, coloured and Indian group areas resulted in a demand for accommodation that was close to work opportunities and transportation facilities in the inner city (Garner, 2011)

[5] Homelands were 'independent' territories that the South African apartheid government had set aside for black people.

[6] An undeveloped tract of land where there are no existing building structures.

In the 1990s, Johannesburg's inner city experienced a period of rapid physical and social transformation. Buildings that were unable to be sold at an acceptable price were either abandoned or mothballed by their owners (Garner, 2011). However, apartment buildings were not left empty. Instead, with the repeal of the Group Areas Act[7] in 1991, they were inhabited by people who had in the past been deprived of living in the inner city due to the government's apartheid policies (Beavon, 2005; Garner, 2011; Winkler, 2009b). By 1993, 85 per cent of the residents of the inner city were black (Morris, 1999). Urban decay, crime, fear and informal economic activities resulted in white, middle-class people leaving the inner city of Johannesburg (Crankshaw & White, 1995) and by 1996, only five per cent of its residents were white (Crankshaw, 1997).

At the same time, service delivery collapsed and infrastructural neglect became prevalent, as the municipality became ineffective in managing the inner city. Little was done to enforce the payment of services, and in some cases, landlords collected water and sewage levies, but these were never paid to the municipality. In addition, landlords and their managing agents collected rental income but often no money was invested in the maintenance of the buildings. Landlords also started to allow overcrowding as they were either unable to sell their properties or to rent them at a price that would cover their bond costs (Garner, 2011).

As the inner city further deteriorated and crime became more prevalent, it became a no-go area for many people. This eventually resulted in the everyday lives of the middle class being almost entirely spent in the suburbs of Johannesburg. Furthermore, the retail shops that continued to operate in the inner city adjusted their target market so as to reflect the demographic changes of the area and many smaller shops and informal street traders started operating in the inner city (Beavon, 2005; Bremner, 2000).

[7] This act enforced the spatial segregation of different race groups within urban areas in South Africa.

During the second half of the 1990s, further demographic changes took place in the inner city as people from further north on the African continent migrated to Johannesburg. These foreign nationals were often targeted in xenophobic attacks and they were accused of being responsible for the physical decline of the environment; the overcrowded informal sector; and the growth of the trade in narcotics in the inner city. This in turn further tarnished the reputation of the inner city (Bremner, 2000, Garner, 2011).

In 1992, within this period of urban decline, the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) was founded by various inner city organisations, the private sector and the Johannesburg municipality, to explore local and international trends in urban renewal (Garner, 2011). The partnership utilised the North American 'Business Improvement District' (BID) concept, and in the mid-1990s, the first BID in South Africa, under the name of the City Improvement District (CID), was established in the inner city of Johannesburg, in order to uplift and manage public spaces in the area (Peyroux, 2008). Levies were collected from property owners within the CIDs and were used to provide services, such as security, cleaning, landscaping, marketing and park management (Bethlehem, 2013). Together with the Inner City Spatial Framework and the Inner City Development Economic Development Strategy, this signalled the start of urban regeneration programmes in the city of Johannesburg (Garner, 2011). The following section briefly outlines the regeneration initiatives that have taken place in the inner city of Johannesburg.

6.3 Regeneration initiatives in Johannesburg's inner city

In 2001, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) was established in order to implement capital projects aimed at regenerating deteriorating parts of the city. A City Centre Development Framework put forward the concept of 'activity precincts' as the driver for development in the

city (Garner, 2011), whereby the inner city would be regenerated one precinct at a time. In 2002, the municipality's Inner City Office established the Inner City Task Team to handle the day-to-day management of the inner city. It focused on reducing crime, managing taxis and the informal trade, enforcing by-laws, coordinating service delivery, and collecting revenues. To further encourage private property investment within Johannesburg, a property tax incentive was signed into law at the end of 2003, with respect to the erection, addition, extension or upgrading of buildings within a demarcated Urban Development Zone (UDZ) (City of Johannesburg [CoJ], 2004). This tax incentive has resulted in a number of private property developers investing in areas on the fringe of the inner city, such as in Braamfontein and in the Maboneng Precinct.

Furthermore, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) hoped to further encourage the regeneration of the inner city through the Better Buildings Programme (BBP), whereby municipal arrears were written off on identified 'bad buildings' and ownership of these buildings were then transferred to the private sector for restoration (Winkler, 2009b). However, although restoration of the buildings was meant to take place 'in the interests of the whole community' (CoJ, 2007, p. 49), the focus has been on the buildings rather than on the residents of those buildings (Murray, 2008). As a result of the BBP, inner-city residents of whom some are of the 'poorest and most vulnerable' in the city (Wilson & Du Plessis, 2005, p. 3), were displaced from buildings that were deemed to be 'bad' as a result of health and safety risks (Winkler, 2009b).

The Inner City Regeneration Charter was formulated in 2007, which emphasised the importance of private property investment and private urban management in the regeneration of the inner city. According to the charter, the inner city was envisioned 'as a key residential node where a diverse range of people from different income groups and backgrounds can have their residential needs met...not a dormitory for the poor, nor an exclusive enclave of loft apartments, galleries and coffee shops' (CoJ, 2007). As a result of the charter, the City of Johannesburg

made available a capital budget of R2-billion over a five year period and a R100-million operating budget for urban management purposes (Garner, 2011).

Despite the vast amounts of money that has been invested in urban renewal in Johannesburg and regeneration efforts that have spanned more than two decades; the process has occurred sporadically in the inner city. Much of the inner city still remains in a state of decay with a few, isolated areas of regeneration (Winkler, 2013). Many inner-city residents live in dire circumstances, but instead of moving to the periphery of the city, they opt rather to endure these harsh living conditions in the inner city. Without formal employment, many of them regard the inner city as a less difficult place to survive (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions [COHRE], 2005).

However, there has been a shift in people's perceptions of the inner city, and the middle class has been encouraged to return to the centre of the city. Newspaper headlines such as *'Joburg's inner city revival gains momentum'* (Hedley, 2013); *'How the inner city got its groove back'* (Taitz, 2012); and *'Johannesburg crafts an artsy comeback'* (Maylie, 2012) attest to the perceived turnaround of the inner city of Johannesburg. Winkler (2009b, p. 377), however, cautions that efforts by the City of Johannesburg to repopulate the inner-city with the 'right kind' of people will have a harmful effect on existing residents who are poor and destitute. Indeed, urban policies and practices that favour middle-class settlement at the expense of housing affordability has the potential to create an environment that is inhospitable to those who cannot afford to live there and according to Winkler (2009b) 'stand to benefit only the new urban elite, while prolonging the global age of gentrification' (p. 377). Therefore, while trying to recreate the image of Johannesburg as a 'World-class African city', municipal officials and urban planners have had to grapple at the same time, with trying to meet the basic needs of the poor (Murray, 2008) who want to be centrally situated (COHRE, 2005; Winkler, 2009b).

The process of urban renewal in the inner city cannot be attributed to a single source (Bremner, 2000), as there are various actors such as property developers, real-estate entrepreneurs, architects, designers, heritage advocates, journalists and city officials who are involved in 'reshaping and reconfiguring the urban landscape' of Johannesburg 'in the spatial imaginary of a world class city' (Murray, 2008, p. 194). However, the inner city's poor are the 'forgotten protagonists' in the story of the city's transformation, as they are often 'invisible to discourses around what is happening in their neighbourhood' (Walsh 2013, p. 405).

Although the process of regeneration is encouraged by government policy, and the state has provided substantial tax incentives and the start-up capital for various projects in the inner city, it is today mainly driven by private capital (Murray, 2008). This is particularly so in the Maboneng Precinct on the eastern edge of the inner city of Johannesburg, where the development has mainly been spearheaded by a single development company, Propertuity. In the following section, the way in which the process of gentrification is unfolding in the Maboneng Precinct will be described in more detail.

6.4 The process of gentrification in the Maboneng Precinct

The regeneration of part of the old, dilapidated industrial quarter of City and Suburban and Jeppestown in the inner city of Johannesburg, into what the developer envisioned as an 'integrated, mixed-use community' with 'mixed-income residential' spaces (Rees 2013, n.p.) began in 2008 when a 1930s art deco warehouse building (Figure 6.1) was bought and converted into an arts-orientated complex, *Arts-on-Main* (Figure 6.2). The development opened in 2009, comprising of art galleries, artist studios, creative venues, offices, a restaurant and retail shops (Propertuity, 2013). The precinct was named Maboneng, which means 'place of light' in one of the local languages of the region, *SeSotho;* because the developer wanted to create an 'enlightened community' (Propertuity, 2016, p. 60) of 'people who define themselves

as being alternative...or not fitting squarely into the mainstream' (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2012, n.p.).

In addition, *Market-on-Main*, a food and design market, was launched in 2011, with the aim of encouraging inner-city living where residents and visitors can spend their leisure time, while also providing a platform for emerging, creative businesses (Bahmann & Frenkel, 2012). The market has over 100 independent traders offering locally designed furniture, clothing, accessories and crafts, as well as foods from various parts of the world and it attracts hundreds of visitors and tourists to the precinct every Sunday. Many of these visitors are from middle-class suburbs in the north of Johannesburg, who in the past would never have come to the inner city because of its squalid conditions and its reputation for being crime-ridden.

Unlike what has been observed in a number of cities in the Global North, the development of Maboneng was not driven by the spontaneous attempts of a few middle-class 'pioneers' to transform a working-class neighbourhood with affordable accommodation (N. Smith, 1979). Instead, the development has been mainly driven by a single, private development company's efforts at attracting artists and other creative people to the area, with the support of government policy. Therefore, Maboneng is a 'conscious creation of a new neighbourhood over an existing one' (Walsh, 2013, p. 203).



Figure 6.1 The D.F. Corlett Building.



Figure 6.2 The courtyard at the Arts-on-Main complex.

Initially, the developer's strategy was to buy up industrial, office and soft manufacturing buildings incrementally in the City and Suburban and Jeppestown areas (Propertuity, 2016). During the first five years of development, 37 buildings were purchased by Propertuity within the area (Propertuity, 2013) and this helped to establish the boundaries of the development of the precinct (Propertuity, 2016). Murray (2008) describes this as 'colonising the urban space piece by piece' (p. 196). By 2016, the Maboneng Precinct covered an area of approximately 1 km^2. However, the developer's focus has now shifted from the acquisition of additional buildings towards the densification of the neighbourhood, whereby the construction of additional levels on existing buildings would take place (Propertuity, 2016).

The use of public art is a principal driver for place making in the Maboneng Precinct (Propertuity, 2013), as in other parts of the inner city of Johannesburg (Bethlehem, 2013; Garner, 2011). The developers of Maboneng commissioned local and international artists to create large scale art murals on some of the buildings in the precinct, such as the 40m high painting of Nelson Mandela. This was done in order to 'beautify' and to transform the built environment, so as to engender a positive image of the inner city and to create a sense of place for its residents. These visual indications of 'regeneration in progress' were also meant for people to identify with these images, as they differed from the city's existing buildings and public spaces which embodied Johannesburg's colonial and apartheid past (Garner 2011, p. 57). Interestingly, a giant mural of Dutch colonialist, Jan Van Riebeeck (Figure 6.3), wearing a dashiki (a traditional West African shirt) also adorns the walls of one of the buildings in the precinct.



Figure 6.3 Art mural of Jan van Riebeeck.

The use of art also contributes to the unique identity and aesthetic of Maboneng (Propertuity, 2013), which sets it apart from the surrounding Jeppestown and City and Surburban areas. The multi-million rand precinct with its colourful buildings, clean pavements and tree-lined streets is surrounded by buildings lying in ruin and neglect (Figure 6.4). Buildings that are used for repairing cars, panel-beating, welding and storage, as well as other light industrial buildings are also interspersed with the newer developments in the area (Figure 6.5). Maboneng therefore, represents what Berry (1985) so aptly described as an 'island' in 'seas of decay' (Berry, 1985).



Figure 6.4 Ruin and neglect opposite the Maboneng Precinct.



Figure 6.5 Car repair shops and light industrial buildings in the Maboneng Precinct.

In the following section, the various new developments which have been constructed in the Maboneng Precinct will be described in more detail.

6.5 A brief description of the developments in the Maboneng Precinct

The developers of the Maboneng Precinct have transformed a number of buildings, that date back to the 1930s, which had previously been used for a variety of purposes, such as a construction warehouse (*Arts-on-Main*), a material shop (*Revolution House*), a hat making shop that later housed an aerial manufacturer (*Aerial Empire*); and a factory where it is speculated that rocket parts were once manufactured (*Rocket Factory*). These previous office, industrial and soft manufacturing spaces have been converted into a number of residential, office, commercial and other spaces.

6.5.1 Residential spaces

The first residential development in the precinct, *Main Street Life*, was completed in 2010, which offered 'affordable loft living', which is reminiscent of the post-industrial spaces in New York, London and Amsterdam, as described by Zukin (1989). The development comprised of 194 apartments, and in 2017, a 33m^2 apartment in the development was on sale for R430 000 (Propertuity, n.d.). In addition, an art hotel, retail shops, a rooftop boxing gym, restaurants, event spaces, and the only independent cinema in South Africa are included in the development.

A second residential building was completed in early 2012, called *Revolution House,* which was previously a 1930s material shop. Apart from 33 loft apartments and retail shops, the development also had film and recording studios. Other residential properties have since been developed in the precinct such as *Fox Street Studios,* which is described as a 'live-and-work concept'. It is marketed as an exclusive development, comprising of only four units, which

includes a penthouse with wraparound balconies (Maboneng website). More recently, a residential component was added to the *Arts-on-Main* complex, in the form of loft living spaces.

In 2014, the first student accommodation, *Remed's View*, was launched. The development was named after a renowned Spanish street artist, Remed, who created the giant art mural on the building (Fig. 6.6). More recently, attempts have been made to provide accommodation for low-income groups which resulted in the development of *Commonality*. The building comprised of 15 to 20m^2 rooms with shared living spaces. In 2017, the rental for a room in *Commonality* started from R1650 per month (Propertuity, n.d.). Through developments such as these, the developer of Maboneng hopes to contribute towards creating an integrated society of mixed income groups and to combat gentrification (Propertuity, n.d.).

By 2015, there were 588 new residential units developed by Propertuity in the Maboneng Precinct which housed 939 people (Propertuity, 2016). The residential building typology in the precinct ranged from studio apartments and lofts to luxury penthouses. The developers have attempted to cater for a range of income groups with rentals starting from R3 500[8] for a studio apartment to R22 000 for a 185m^2 penthouse in the recently completed *Hallmark House* (PrivateProperty website). Property prices have increased in the precinct and according to Parker (2015), have doubled since the inception of the development.

[8] The numbers reflect rental prices in 2017.



Figure 6.6 Remed's View building.

6.5.2 Office spaces

Maboneng's first building that was devoted to offices, *The Main Change*, was completed in early 2012. It comprised of 45 office spaces, fashion retailers and furniture shops. These office spaces are described as 'collaborative city work spaces' which are aimed towards accommodating entrepreneurs and innovators (Maboneng Precinct website). A number of other office developments have since been developed in the precinct which includes corporate offices, exhibition spaces, and film and photography studios (Maboneng website).

6.5.3 Commercial spaces and other developments

Commercial spaces in the Maboneng Precinct include various trendy restaurants, coffee shops, a roof-top bar and boutiques selling clothes designed by local designers. A number of other developments have been completed in the precinct, such as *Curiocity*, a backpackers' hostel; *Maverick's Corner*, a retail space; and the first design museum in Africa, the *Museum of African Design* (MOAD), which is a multi-disciplinary exhibition and performance space (Maboneng Precinct website).

6.5.4 Public spaces

The Maboneng Precinct is one of three voluntary CIDs in Johannesburg's inner city. CIDs are involved in place making and through these improvement districts people can, according to Cabaret, Krzyzanowski and Lange (2016), 'collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of every community' (p. 46). In Maboneng, significant investment has been made in the upliftment and the creation of public spaces within the precinct. The developers of Maboneng together with the JDA, has to date invested R 7 million in upgrading the pavements in the precinct. Attention has also been paid to the landscaping of the physical environment and hundreds of trees have been planted along the sidewalks in the precinct. Additional lighting has also been installed in order to make the area more attractive and to improve people's perceptions of the neighbourhood (Propertuity, 2016).

The developers of Maboneng have also created new public spaces in the precinct. In 2015, Maboneng's first park, *Common Ground Urban Park*, was opened which was also the developer's first urban greening project (Propertuity, n.d.). Sports and cultural facilities, a venue for open air concerts and events, restaurants, and craft stalls are also found within the development. The park offers safe and clean recreational areas for children from the neighbouring *Spark Maboneng* private school, as well as for the children from the surrounding

Jeppestown. Furthermore, a community training facility, *Trim Park*, has been developed in the precinct, where permanent fixed gym equipment and a running track was installed in order to promote a healthier and more active lifestyle amongst the residents (Propertuity, 2016).

6.6 Integration with the local community

Several efforts have been made by the developers and the residents of the Maboneng Precinct to create an integrated community and a mixed-income neighbourhood. One such effort was *Community Saturdays*, which was started in 2011 by Zean Ferreira, a resident of Maboneng during which skateboarding events were organised for the local schoolchildren from Jeppestown and were supervised by volunteers from Maboneng. In less than a year, the number of participants grew from seven children to over 120 children. Later on, this initiative also operated through the week and the children participated in other activities as well, such as basketball, soccer, reading, art, and dancing; instead of congregating on the streets after school with no adult supervision, as they previously had done. This initiative brought people together from different cultural, economic and social groupings (Bahmann & Frenkel, 2012).

Another initiative, called *One Crèche at a Time*, which was also founded by a Maboneng resident, Shruti Nair, focused on upgrading the physical environment of pre-schools in the surrounding area. Once this was completed, the focus shifted to the school curriculum. Workshops for the children were also arranged with local artists (Rowlston, 2012). This initiative was supported by The Charities Aid Foundation Southern Africa (CAF) which is an 'independent non-profit organisation that promotes and facilitates effective giving, volunteering and social investment' (Charities Aid Foundation Southern Africa [CAF], n.d.). Apart from projects at the local pre-schools, CAF, together with the Maboneng Precinct Management, has also been involved with other community upliftment programmes such as *A Curious Cave*, was

Maboneng's first community centre, aimed at supporting local schools by offering skills and language classes (Rowlston, 2012).

In an attempt to further encourage engagement with the existing community, developments in Maboneng are not turned inward, but rather, they face the street. Retail shops and restaurants are located on the ground floor of every development. The precinct is thus in contrast to some of the highly fortified areas surrounding it, where shops are protected by burglar bars and security gates. Indeed, the precinct appears to be unlike the fortified enclaves, described by Caldeira (2005).

However, invisible boundaries divide Maboneng from the surrounding area of Jeppestown. Security guards monitor the area 24 hours a day and act as a 'living border' (Nevin, 2014, p. 197) to delineate the area that belongs to Maboneng (Figure 6.7). In trying to prevent crime in the area, the developers have however, also deterred some people from entering the precinct. In so doing, Nevin (2014) argues that Maboneng resembles the affluent gated communities of northern Johannesburg more than it does the 'African' inner-city spaces that it surrounds. This stands in contrast to the developer's vision of wanting to create an alternative living space to the gated communities in the northern parts of Johannesburg (Maylie, 2012).

Apart from being architecturally distinct, Maboneng also differentiates itself socially and economically from the nearby Jeppestown area (Nevin, 2014), where mainly poor working-class people live. As such, the area is a contested space, where on the one hand, the development is cast in a positive light, while on the other hand the negative effects of gentrification are highlighted. The following section discusses some of the reasons why there are contestations surrounding the development of the Maboneng Precinct.



Figure 6.7 A security guard in the Maboneng Precinct.

6.7 The Maboneng Precinct: a contested space

The developments of Maboneng have been hailed by local and international media. Newspaper headlines such as '*Maboneng Precinct turns heads internationally'* (JDA, 2015) and the fact that the precinct won two global accolades in the period of one week in January 2015 attest to the positive perception of the precinct. In addition, Maboneng was voted one of the world's 'coolest' new tourist attractions to visit in 2015 by *Travel + Leisure*, a New York based travel and tourism magazine, where the precinct was listed amongst the Eiffel Tower in France, Shanghai Tower in China and London's Tower Bridge in the United Kingdom, amongst others. The precinct was also hailed as one of the most successful urban renewal projects in the world (Khan, 2015).

Furthermore, there was a perception amongst some of the participants of the study, who had also worked in the area prior to the development of the precinct, that the developers of Maboneng had changed the area for the better and many of them viewed the precinct in a positive light. As one of the study's participants put it:

> *Maboneng…it's a good change. It's a good cause. They renovated 'dark' buildimgs*[9]*…The area is better now.*

Another participant of the study, who was an assistant at a corner shop, which was not part of Propertuity's developments in the precinct, commented on the changes that he had observed in the area:

> *When I started working here, there were mostly firms and there was one building where people stayed at that was dark and dodgy. Crime was worse...but now there's lots of security.*

Other participants of the study also believed that crime levels had decreased since the development of Maboneng. A resident from Jeppestown, who had been living in the area since before the development of Maboneng, noted:

> *Before Maboneng, crime was bad ...It was very dangerous here. They used to rob people every day...Now there's a lot of security in the area.*

These participants therefore ascribed the decreased levels of crime to the improved security of the area.

Since the development of the precinct, some of the existing shopkeepers in the surrounding area reported that their businesses had grown as a result of the increased number of people living in and visiting the area:

[9] Dilapidated buildings where the electricity had been disconnected.

> *Maboneng is good. We have lots of customers on the weekend. The shop is growing. The shops in Maboneng also buy things from us...Like cigarettes for the white people…like Marlboro.*

Similarly, a bartender at a local sports bar also noted that sales at the bar had been boosted as a result of the development of Maboneng. According to him, the reason for this was people who came to visit the precinct at the weekend also sometimes supported the bar, as their drinks were much cheaper than that of the newer establishments in the precinct:

> *We are ordering more stock now than what we did in 2010...business has grown a lot since Maboneng. It is busy here especially at the weekends...People from different places come to see the area...mixed groups of people from different places.*

However, the development of the Maboneng Precinct has not been without controversy despite efforts by the developer to counter the negative perceptions of the effects of gentrification, by attempting to integrate with the local community; and the developments of the Maboneng Precinct being hailed by local and international media. Newspaper headlines such as *'Not everyone sees the light'* (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2012)*; 'Gentrification in Johannesburg isn't good news for everyone'* (Serino, 2015); *'Johannesburg: Where criminals don't discriminate,* and *property developers do'* (Engel, 2013); *'During violent protests, Maboneng is a symbol and a scapegoat'* (Nicolson, 2015) attest to the contestations surrounding the development.

Furthermore, not all of the people who were interviewed were positive about the developments in the area. One resident highlighted the eviction of a group of people who were displaced to Soweto, a township initiated during apartheid for black settlement on the periphery of Johannesburg:

> *Many people are not happy here. They are poor and have no money. Many people complain about the developments in the area. People are told to move... They are given notice... like the empty building down the road in Main Street.*

Indeed, the displacement of the poor due to gentrification is one of the main criticisms directed at the precinct. However, despite these criticisms, the developer of the precinct believes that the impact of the expansion of Maboneng will be minimal and that displacement will be less of a concern in Johannesburg than elsewhere, as the spaces earmarked for development were mostly vacant or had been previously used for industrial purposes (Bahmann & Frenkel, 2012). However, concerns have been raised about the surrounding Jeppestown community and particularly those working in the informal sector, who cannot access suitable formal accommodation (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2013) in the inner city.

Apart from the physical displacement of people in the Maboneng Precinct, the pre-existing Jeppestown community has been 'alienated rather than integrated' (Rees, 2013, n.p.). This is in contrast to the developer's image of Maboneng as an 'integrated neighbourhood'. Indeed, it appears as though the Jeppestown residents are physically, socially and economically excluded from the area. In the following section, the various ways in which displacement has been experienced in the Maboneng Precinct as a result of the transformation of the area, will be discussed.

6.8 Forms of displacement in the Maboneng Precinct

The policy of the developer of the Maboneng Precinct was not to evict people from their homes or to buy existing residential space (Reid, 2014). However, despite these efforts to counter the negative effects of gentrification, using mainly Marcuse's (1985b) and Davidson's (2008) typology on displacement, both direct and indirect forms of displacement were found to be in evidence in the precinct. Some of the information presented in this section was derived from

interviews conducted with people who had lived and/or worked in the Maboneng Precinct, while others are from secondary sources such as newspaper articles and reports.

6.8.1 Direct, physical displacement

The direct physical displacement of residents from buildings in the area has taken place, without the evictees having access to alternative accommodation (Bauer, 2013; CALS, 2013; Sujee & Thobakgale, 2014; Walsh, 2013). For example, on 21 December 2012, 230 people were unlawfully evicted from their homes in the disused 'Radiator Centre' warehouse building in Main Street, Jeppestown (Figure 6.8) by the Red Ants (Bauer, 2013; CALS, 2013), a private security company which executes eviction notices on behalf of the owners of a building. Some of the residents had been living in the building for as long as 13 years (CALS, 2013).



Figure 6.8 The 'Radiator Centre' Building. Source: Mafadi Property Sales (n.d.).



Figure 6.9 The M2 freeway on-ramp, under which displaced people sought shelter.

6.8.2 Exclusionary displacement

The 'Radiator Centre' building has recently been renovated and rebranded as *The Mainframe* (Figure 6.10), offering 'stylish' loft apartments (Mafadi Property Sales, 2014). The rent has since increased more than 10-fold. Whereas residents had previously paid between R400 and R600 per month for a room in the building, the rental in 2017 was between R4100 to R6500 per month (Mafadi Property Sales, 2014). One of the participants of the study, who was a previous resident of the building and who was now living in another part of the city, commented when asked if he would like to return to Main Street:

> *If possible, I would go back. It is very difficult for me here…It is too dirty here...Main Street was safe…you could walk around at night time.*

However, despite some of the other participants also expressing a desire to return to the building where they had lived, it is probably not likely that they would be able to afford the increased rent, nor would many of the people from the surrounding Jeppestown community. This is, therefore, an example of what Marcuse (1985) calls ‘exclusionary displacement’ as these households are unable to access affordable housing, because the area is gentrifying.



Figure 6.10 The Mainframe Building (the renovated ‘Radiator Centre’ Building).

6.8.3 Economic displacement

As Maboneng expands and the area is further transformed to cater for the needs of the middle class, other indirect forms of displacement have and may become more evident in the future, as a result of the dispossession that working-class residents may suffer. The high cost of the commodities at the new coffee shops, restaurants, bars and boutiques have prevented the

residents from the surrounding Jeppestown from enjoying what was on offer in the precinct. Indeed, several participants in this study stated that they did not frequent the shops and restaurants in Maboneng as it was 'too expensive'. One of the participants stated that:

> *Maboneng...excludes me and most other people. It only accommodates a minority...people who have money*.

Therefore, people from the surrounding community are economically excluded from Maboneng as it caters more for a middle-class clientele who can afford the expensive goods. Rees (2013, n.p.), a former resident of the precinct, refers to this as 'economic apartheid' as people are excluded because of their socio-economic status.

6.8.4 Social and cultural displacement

Despite deliberate efforts by the developers to create an 'integrated community' (Propertuity, 2013), many of the participants of this study felt that they did not belong in the Maboneng Precinct, and thus they felt socially and culturally excluded from the space. One of the participants of the study mentioned that:

> *It was not for me...There were a lot of white people there.*

This is in contrast to the claims made by visitors and residents in Maboneng in a study by Nevin (2014), who believed that all races socialised together in the precinct.

Furthermore, another participant noted that the new developments in Maboneng were distinct from the places that she was used to going to:

> *I was not interested in going there. I only walked past there on my way to church. It is designed differently*.

Indeed, Maboneng is recreated in the way in which the developer imagined the space and not that of the surrounding community's. Therefore, the participants expressed a sense of alienation and disconnection as a result of the transformation of the built environment in Maboneng, and also because the people who frequented the area were perceived to be different to them. Consequently, questions have been raised about the developer's claim that Maboneng is a place where people from different socio-economic backgrounds could live, work and play (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2012).

6.8.5 Neighbourhood resource displacement

As gentrification further expands in the area, and businesses start to cater more and more for middle-class people, shops and meeting places that working-class residents usually support are at risk of being closed in the future. One of the participants of the study, an assistant at a corner shop that sells local traditional food within the upgraded part of the Maboneng Precinct, reported that sales had decreased over the years at the shop and that it was mainly people who worked at the light industries in the area who supported the business. This was noted to be because:

> *…people from Maboneng prefer expensive tastes...not local tastes like the food sold in this shop.*

In addition, one of the participants indicated that the building that he worked at was in the process of being sold and he was at risk of losing his job, as the shop that he worked at would have to close down. He expressed a fear about the future:

> *Jews want to buy the building...My life...I don't know what is going on...I will lose my job and I will be stranded. There will be no money for food or rent. I feel worried about the future.*

The building also houses a bar, hair salons and a general dealer, which is mostly frequented by working-class people from the Jeppestown community. Davidson (2008) refers to the direct displacement of existing commercial tenants (Krase, 2005) as 'neighbourhood resource displacement'.

6.8.6 Displacement pressure

The 'pressure of displacement' (Marcuse, 1985b) has manifested itself in a number of other ways in Maboneng. Residents in the inner city of Johannesburg have recently started resisting gentrification in their neighbourhoods. For example, in 2015, hundreds of people were left homeless following evictions in Jeppestown (Nicolson, 2015; Parker, 2015). Residents marched through the streets in protest against the evictions, the lack of affordable housing in the area and the recent changes in the area due to gentrification (The Economist, 2015). Amidst burning tyres and hurling stones, protesters chanted the words: 'We want to eat sushi in Maboneng' (Lupindo, 2015). This was the protestors' response to their growing feelings of alienation and exclusion from the residential and the commercial spaces of the precinct. Furthermore, according to Nicolson (2015), the residents viewed the developer of Maboneng as somehow to blame for their predicament, although they were not directly responsible for the evictions. Community protests such as these are perhaps an indication of what is to come in the future if gentrification continues in the inner city without deeper regard for the housing needs of the poor in Johannesburg.

Indeed, concerns are now being raised more and more about the social costs of these new developments for the urban poor (Burke, 2016; Cotterill, 2017; Ho, 2017; Parker, 2017; South African Cities Network [SACN], 2016; Tissington, 2014), particularly those who cannot afford decent housing in the private residential market, and those who are unable to access housing in social housing projects (Murray, 2008). This is in contrast to the developer of Maboneng's view

that '[d]isplacement is less an issue in Johannesburg, because ample affordable housing is available to those who are displaced' (cited in Reid, 2014, n.p.). The opposite actually holds true in Johannesburg as there is a serious shortage of low-cost rental accommodation and other forms of cheap accommodation in and around the inner city (Murray, 2008).

6.9 Conclusion

The process of gentrification is still in its early stages in the Maboneng Precinct, where ruin and renewal exist side by side. Although the transformation of this area has all the characteristics of 'classic' gentrification such as capital reinvestment in inner cities, building upgrades, social transformation, changes in the landscape, and direct and indirect displacement (see Lees et al., 2008), this chapter has demonstrated that it also has some unique manifestations of gentrification, due to the history and the context that the process plays itself out in the inner city of Johannesburg.

This chapter further showed that the transformation of the inner city of Johannesburg has been driven by a number of complex and interlinking factors. Underlying the forms of gentrification emerging in this area are government policies and initiatives aimed at inner-city regeneration, with private capital increasingly driving changes in the inner city. This is especially so in the Maboneng Precinct, where residential and office buildings have been developed, as well as new spaces of consumption for the middle class. The gentrification of these previous warehouse and industrial spaces has, however, engendered different perceptions of the process amongst the participants of the study.

Furthermore, the participants of this study felt socially and economically excluded from of the developments of the Maboneng Precinct, despite various attempts by the developer to integrate socially with the existing community. Consequently, both direct and indirect forms of

displacement are being experienced in the inner city of Johannesburg and as gentrification processes further transform this area and the desirability of the Maboneng Precinct increases; property prices will increase and more people will face the prospect of being displaced. However, inner-city residents, many of whom are poor, may not necessarily gain access to housing in other parts of the city due to the lack of suitable, affordable accommodation.

More attention therefore needs to be given to what Lefebvre (1991) refers to as 'lived space' (p. 39); in other words how gentrifying spaces are experienced and imagined by long-time residents. It is here that the experiences of those who are most affected by gentrification will be uncovered. Indeed, recently attention has been drawn in the media to the experiences of those most deeply affected by the process, whereas previously urban renewal strategies in the inner city of Johannesburg had been celebrated in the media.

The following chapter focuses on the findings of the study, in which the lived experiences of displacement of a group of people who were evicted from a disused light industrial building that had been converted into a residential space in the Maboneng Precinct will be described.

CHAPTER 7

THE EXPERIENCE OF DISPLACEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH GENTRIFICATION

7.1 Introduction

The experience of the phenomenon of displacement, from the perspective of people who have lived or are living in neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification is under-researched. As previously mentioned, this is in part due to the difficulty of tracing people who have been physically displaced from these neighbourhoods (Atkinson, 2000b; Cohen et al., 1993; Hamnett & Williams, 1979; LeGates & Hartman, 1986; K. Shaw, 2005). Furthermore, researchers such as Atkinson (2000a) and Newman and Wyly (2006) have noted that there has been a lack of information in displacement research about where displaced people indeed go to, as a substantial number of displacees are rendered homeless. The present study was able to trace where some of the people who were displaced from the Maboneng Precinct in the inner city of Johannesburg, end up.

In the previous chapter, several dimensions of displacement were identified as being experienced by people who had worked and/or lived in the Maboneng Precinct. This chapter, however, focuses on the research data that was derived from interviews that were conducted with a group of people who were physically displaced from their homes in a previously disused, light industrial building in Maboneng. This chapter presents the findings of the study by detailing the participants' accounts of their experience of the phenomenon of displacement. First, the demographic information of the participants of the study is provided. Thereafter, the setting in which this phase of research was conducted is described. Finally, the data derived from a phenomenological analysis of the in-depth interviews with the research participants is described.

7.2 Demographic information of the research participants

Out of a total of 16 adults who lived at a shelter for homeless people, nine volunteered to participate in the study and to share their experiences of being physically displaced from their homes in the Maboneng Precinct. In this section, the demographic characteristics of the participants will be presented by referring to their age, gender, home language spoken, marital status, family size and structure, income and level of education.

7.2.1 Age, gender, nationality and home language

Three of the participants were male, while six were female. The age of the participants ranged from 27 to 62 years of age (see Table 7.1). All of the research participants were black South Africans. However, they were not born in Johannesburg. They had come to the city in search of a better future for themselves and their families, migrating from other parts of South Africa in the hope of improving their economic prospects. Most of the participants came from the province of Kwazulu-Natal on the east coast of South Africa. Therefore, many of them were *isiZulu* mother tongue speakers, while two of the participants were originally from the Eastern Cape and they spoke *isiXhosa*.

7.2.2 Marital status and family size and structure

Four of the participants were married, and one was a widower (see Table 7.1). All of the married participants had children. The other four participants were unmarried and two of these individuals had children, although they did not live at the shelter. There were no families at the shelter who did not have any children. Family households were relatively small and the average size of the participants' families was five people. However, many of them had sent their

children to live with other family members. Two of the family households were headed by females.

Table 7.1 Demographic information of the participants who were physically displaced.

Participant	Gender	Age	Marital status	Educational level	Occupation	Number of years at previous residence
1	Male	27	Unmarried	Diploma in Logistics	Unemployed	4
2	Female	34	Unmarried	Grade 10	Unemployed	1
3	Female	38	Married	Grade 11	Unemployed	6
4	Female	66	Married	Unknown	Unemployed	7
5	Female	45	Widower	Grade 11	Part-time domestic work	4
6	Female	27	Unmarried	Grade 12	Part-time domestic work	3
7	Female	42	Married	Grade 9	Laundry Inn	4
8	Male	27	Unmarried	Matric & a paramedic qualification	Student	3
9	Male	48	Married	Unknown	Unemployed	8

7.2.3 Income

Most of the participants were unemployed (see Table 7.1) and dependant on government social grants as a source of income, such as child support grants, disability grants and grants for older persons. Two of the female participants were employed as part-time domestic workers and they attended sewing classes twice a week that were offered by the organisation that managed the shelter. This was done in order to improve their skills and to increase their chances of getting a better job in the formal sector of the economy in the near future. One of the participants, who

was a full-time student, received financial support from his parents each month. Two of the participants had been formerly employed before they were evicted, one as a security guard and the other had worked at a local restaurant. However, at the time of the study, both of these participants were unemployed. The income levels of the participants were therefore low, with some participants reporting that they had no source of income. The highest income disclosed by the participants was approximately R2000 per month. The participants of the study therefore represented some of the most vulnerable in society as some of them were elderly and unemployed, with low-paying jobs.

7.2.4 Level of education

The level of education of the participants ranged from primary school education to post-Matric qualifications (see Table 7.1). One of the male participants, who was a qualified paramedic, was studying Public Management at a nearby college in order to improve his employment prospects. The other male participant, who had previously worked as a security guard, had also improved his qualifications whilst living at the shelter. He had obtained a Diploma in Logistics from the University of Johannesburg. Most of the participants had at least a high school education, while two of the participants did not disclose their educational qualifications.

7.3 Description of previous place of residence

The property from which the participants had been evicted was in close proximity to the new developments in the Maboneng Precinct. At the time of the eviction, more than 200 people had lived in the building and considered it to be ‘home’. Some of them had lived at the property for a significant time amount of time, where the longest period was 13 years. However, the people who had volunteered to participate in the study had lived there for time periods ranging from one year to seven years (see Table 7.1).

This former industrial building was old and dilapidated and in need of renovation. It had three floors and a basement which was converted into a residential space by subdividing it into approximately 45 rooms; some of which were further subdivided by means of dry walling. The residents of the building had been provided with access to water, sanitation and electricity.

7.3.1 Rental costs

The participants of the study were private renters and they paid a rental of between R400 to R600 a month. They regarded this amount to be fair and affordable. One of the participants who had lived in the building for seven years, noted that the rental that she had paid each month had not increased much during this period: *'I remember first getting there and the rent was R250 and then it went up to R300 and then it went to R400...And then it never increased again.'* As a result of this incremental increase in their rent, the participants did not experience acute economic pressure due to large-scale rental increases, during their tenancy.

7.3.2 Security of tenure

Occupation of the building was, however, precarious as the residents had no security of tenure. Instead of a formal, written lease, there was only an informal, verbal agreement between them and the person who had managed the building and collected the monthly rental. Because they paid rent regularly and they had the permission of this person, whom they thought was the owner, to live in the building; the participants thought that they were legally occupying their apartments. Subsequent to the eviction, however, they learnt that the building had been 'highjacked' and that the rent had been collected illegally from them.

7.3.3 Conversion into loft apartments

The building where the participants previously lived, has since been renovated and redeveloped into loft apartments, offering spectacular views of the city of Johannesburg. Its new industrial aesthetic and signage is very similar to that of other new developments in Maboneng Precinct. With rentals of up to R6500 per month, the building now caters for a clientele who are more affluent than the ones who previously had lived there.

7.4 The process of eviction

The participants of the study were evicted from their homes in order to take possession of the property, so that it could be renovated and later sold and re-let. From the owner's perspective, the eviction was legal as they had a court order to evict the occupants of the building and they had served the occupiers with a notice of eviction. However, the participants of the study indicated that they had no knowledge of the impending eviction. The court order was executed on behalf of the owners of the building by the notorious Red Ants security company.

After the participants had been evicted from their homes, they were forced to live on the street. They sought refuge under a freeway on-ramp in the Maboneng Precinct, for approximately two months, as a significant number of them had been rendered homeless and there was no alternative accommodation available to them. Although South African municipalities are legally bound to provide temporary accommodation to people in cases where an eviction will lead to homelessness, through the Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act (no. 19 of 1998) (known as the PIE Act), the participants of the study were not aware of this at the time of their eviction.

However, their plight was brought to the attention of a civic organisation in Johannesburg and they were subsequently relocated to a shelter for homeless people in another neighbourhood in

the inner city of Johannesburg; approximately three kilometres away from their previous residence. The shelter was owned by the City of Johannesburg and managed on its behalf by a private non-profit organisation.

The participants of the study, along with other previous occupants of the building, later tried to resist what they regarded as an unlawful eviction. With the help of a civic organisation, they went to court to try and rescind the eviction order. Although they desperately wanted to return to their previous homes, it was not possible for them to return to the building and live there, as it had already been partially demolished.

Over a period of time, the majority of the people who were evicted from the building and who had lived at the shelter have according to the participants of the study, found alternative accommodation in the city, although their exact whereabouts were not known to the participants. However, during the time that the study was conducted, more than 20 of the original displacees were still living at the shelter, after being there for approximately four years.

The interviews with this group of participants, who were physically displaced from their homes, took place at the shelter. In the following section, this research site will be described in more detail, in order to provide the context within which the participants lived.

7.5 Description of the research site

The shelter is located in one of the busiest and most dense neighbourhoods of the inner city of Johannesburg. From the outside, it does not appear as though this is a residential space, as a huge black metal door, usually associated with industrial buildings, presents the entrance to the building. This door faced directly onto a very busy street and it was left unlocked throughout day to allow residents easy access to the building. A number of shops were located on either

side of the building such as a supermarket, butchery, hair salon and small electronic goods stores.

What struck me immediately upon entering the shelter, was the darkness and the stifling smell of gas coming from the stoves. It was difficult to breathe this in, particularly since there were no windows nearby and a lack of ventilation in the building. A long and dark passageway led up to the two dormitory-style rooms where the participants lived. One of the rooms was for the males, while the other was for the females and the children.

As a result of this gender segregation, families lived separately from one another at the shelter, as husbands and wives and their children lived in separate rooms. The women and the children lived in a windowless room without any natural light, while the men's room had two tiny windows close to the ceiling. The open space available to the women and the children was particularly limited as the room was filled with rows of triple bunk beds, where the participants slept and kept their belongings. In addition, the room had two refrigerators and a few lockers where they could store some of their precious belongings. The men's room, on the other hand, had more space available as there was less furniture in the room.

There was no kitchen in the part of the shelter where the participants lived. They had to cook their food on two-plate stoves in the passageway and, at times, the men prepared their meals in their room. There was no separate area for eating or relaxation. Apart from two chairs, the participants mostly ate and watched television from their beds. There were separate communal bathrooms for men and women which they had to share with the other residents at the shelter, who lived upstairs.

Although the people, who lived upstairs at the shelter, paid R10 per day to live there, the participants did not pay any rent because of an agreement that had been made between the CoJ

and the organisation that managed the shelter. According to the participants, the CoJ also paid R600 towards their monthly electricity consumption. However, when the electricity ran out, which often happened towards the end of the month, the participants had to pay for the additional electricity themselves. They usually shared this cost amongst themselves.

From the above, it can be seen that the accommodation provided at the shelter for the participants of the study was not designed for people to live in, nor was it intended as a form of housing. As such, accommodating the displacees there was meant to only be a temporary, emergency arrangement which was supposed to last for 72 hours, until a more suitable form of accommodation could be found for them.

In the following section, the findings of the study which relate to the participants' experience of being physically displaced is described.

7.6 Findings of the study

The findings of the study will be presented in this chapter in the following way:

- First, examples of the significant statements (horizons) which relate to the experience of displacement will be provided.
- The themes that emerged from the clustering of the significant statements into meaning units are then described.
- Thereafter, examples of the participants' individual textural and structural descriptions of the experience of being displaced are presented, as well as the composite textural and the structural description of this experience.
- Finally, a composite description is provided which represents the essence of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification.

7.6.1 Significant statements

Through the process of horizonalization, a number of non-repetitive and non-overlapping statements were derived from the interviewed transcripts (see Appendix D). Provided in Table 7.2 are selected examples of significant statements and their formulated meanings.

Table 7.2 Selected examples of significant statements and related formulated meanings.

Significant Statements	Formulated Meaning
'It was a very difficult day...The Red Ants treated us very harshly. They gave us no reason for why we were being evicted. They did not care about us or our belongings...so much of our stuff was damaged.'	Being displaced is a traumatic experience.
'Everything changed then. I sent the children back home to KZN. I had to take them there...I couldn't manage. It was also difficult to cope with my health. I couldn't take it anymore. I have three children...The girl is the last born...My heart pains when I think about her…I cry every time I think about her. It's not easy being without her.'	Displacement led to a loss of family and this had an impact on the participants' physical and emotional well-being.
'When I was at Main, I made beads and looked after children...whereas over here, you can't do any of that…I can't look after those kids nor make beads…'	Livelihood strategies were destroyed as a result of being relocated.
'It was embarrassing...Everyone was standing outside... laughing at us. Living there every day…it was not easy…I don't have confidence on the street…because I didn't have a place to stay…I was homeless.'	Being displaced and rendered homeless was a humiliating experience.

In the following section, the common categories or themes that emerged from the clustering of meaning units, which were developed from the significant statements (horizons), are discussed in more detail.

7.6.2 Themes

Through the process of phenomenological reflection and imaginative variation, nine themes emerged that relate to the participants' descriptions of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification, namely: 1) *a difficult and emotional experience*; 2) *a sense of loss*; 3) *effects on physical well-being*; 4) *feelings of injustice*; 5) *vulnerability*; 6) *loss of self-esteem*; 7) *living conditions worse than before*; 8) *impact on relationships* and 9) *thoughts and feelings about the future.* Several subthemes were derived from within these themes (see Table 7.3).

The participants tended to present their experience of being displaced as three distinct periods in their lives, namely, the past (which mainly reflected the day they were evicted and the period immediately following this, when they were rendered homeless); the present (which focused on their experience of living in a shelter for homeless people); and the future (which focused mainly on their thoughts, hopes and desires about the future). However, there was some overlap between these periods of time as the participants still had thoughts and emotions that were experienced in the present, that were connected to their past experiences.

In this section, the nine themes that emerged were clustered according to these three time periods. Each theme is presented with their associated clusters of meaning units. In addition, the themes are illustrated with descriptive verbatim quotations (significant statements) which were derived from the transcripts of the interviews.

Table 7.3 Themes and subthemes that relate to the experience of being displaced.

Time period	Theme	Subtheme
PAST	**1. A difficult and emotional experience**	• Painful experience • Harsh treatment
	2. Sense of loss	• Loss of home • Material loss • Loss of income • Loss of family and friends
	3. Effects on physical well-being	• Stress • Disturbed sleeping patterns
	4. Feelings of injustice	• No warning • Unfair treatment
	5. Vulnerability	• Without shelter, without possessions • Exposed to crime • Exposed to adverse weather conditions • Lack of access to basic services • Dependant on others for survival
	6. Loss of self-esteem	• Lack of confidence • Unwanted
PRESENT	**7. Living conditions worse than before**	• Lack of private space • Unsuitable environment for children • Unhealthy living conditions • Unsafe neighbourhood • Increased distance from work, school and shops
	8. Impact on relationships	• Family life disrupted • Effect on children • Difficult to spend time with family and friends
FUTURE	**9. Thoughts and feelings about the future**	• Sense of hopelessness and helplessness • Acceptance of their fate • Fear and anxiety • Hope for the future • Sense of nostalgia • Desire to return

Themes in Period 1: The past

In describing their experience of displacement, the participants of the study reflected on the past and recollected the day that they were evicted from their homes and the period that immediately followed this, when they were rendered homeless and lived on the street in the Maboneng Precinct. This section focuses on the themes that emerged which relate specifically to these past experiences, namely, *a difficult and emotional experience; a sense of loss; effects on physical well-being; feelings of injustice; vulnerability* and *loss of self-esteem.*

7.6.2.1 A difficult and emotional experience

In the first theme, the participants described the experience of being physically displaced as *a difficult and emotional experience*. Two sub-themes were identified in this theme, namely, *painful experience* and *harsh treatment*. Table 7.4 shows selected significant statements that relate to this theme.

Table 7.4 Theme 1: A difficult and emotional experience.

Significant statements	
A.	'emotionally stressful'
B.	'very painful'
C.	'It was a terrible day for me. I was pregnant and about to give birth.'
D.	'Everything was shattered.'
E.	'I had feelings that my life was at risk.'

Painful experience

As the participants reflected on the day that they were evicted from their homes, it evoked strong emotions and feelings of great pain. Words such as *'emotionally stressful', 'a terrible experience', 'very painful', 'hectic', 'a very horrible time'* and *'a very bad day'* were used by the participants to describe the distress and the anguish that they had experienced as a result of being displaced.

The experience of being displaced was also described as *'traumatic'*. This was especially so for one of the participants who was preparing to go to the clinic for her antenatal check-up, when the Red Ants arrived at her home to evict her and her family. The situation in which she found herself on the day was particularly difficult, as she was in the last trimester of her pregnancy. She described the experience as follows:

> *It was a terrible day for me. On that day, I was at the flat preparing to go to the clinic. I was pregnant with my last child. I felt like I was risking my newborn's life. It was a very horrible time. I did not know what to do.*

She also mentioned that *'I wasn't in a good space because that was the month for me to deliver...and I had no place to stay. I was worried about my baby.'* The prospect of not having a home for her newborn infant was particularly daunting for her and it felt as though *'[e]verything was shattered'* because of the experience. It also felt as though the world as she had known, had come to an end for her.

Harsh treatment

The experience of being evicted was particularly traumatic because of the callous manner in which the participants were forcibly evicted from their homes. As one of the participants said, '*The Red Ants treated us very harshly. They gave us no reason for why we were being evicted. They did not care about us or our belongings...so much of our stuff was damaged.'* For some of the participants, they were forced to leave their homes in a violent and an aggressive way. This harsh treatment added to the pain and suffering that they experienced on the day.

Another participant recalled that during the process of eviction, she had thoughts and feelings that her life was in danger, due to the way in which they were removed from the building:

There was no time to be scared...your life was at risk. We had to fight back…We were pepper-sprayed. Our eyes hurt and we coughed but we didn't back down. We weren't prepared to leave…though eventually we left…

She feared for her future and for that of her neighbours as many of them had no other place to go. As a result of this belief and the treatment that they had received from the Red Ants, she resisted the eviction, together with some of the other displacees. They physically fought with the Red Ants for their right to stay in the building and not to be evicted. However, despite the resistance that they had put up, they were eventually forced to give up and leave the building. As one of the participants explained: *'We refused to leave because they hadn't given us notice. But we had to eventually go because we had to follow our furniture out of the house.'*

7.6.2.2 A sense of loss

In the second theme, all the participants shared that they had experienced a great *sense of loss* as a result of being displaced, which included the sub-themes of *loss of home*, *material loss*, *loss of income* and *loss of family and friends*. Table 7.5 indicates selected significant statements that relate to this theme.

Table 7.5 Theme 2: A sense of loss.

	Significant statements
A.	'I didn't have a place to stay. I was homeless.'
B.	'We lost everything.'
C.	'What saddens me here is there's no work.'
D.	'I sent the children back to KZN.'

Loss of home

The participants experienced a loss of their physical place of residence which, although it had been in a state of disrepair, they had called 'home'. It was a loss of one of the few places that they were familiar with in the city. For many of the participants, this building was the only

home that they had known since moving to Johannesburg. One of the participants expressed this loss by stating: '*The memory of having a home was taken away from us. It is very difficult. We stayed there for six years...since 2012...'* After losing their home, all of the residents of the building were forced onto the streets. Many of the evictees went to stay with family or friends in the townships on the periphery of the city. However, for approximately 30 of the original displacees, losing a home and being displaced meant that they were now homeless, as one of the participants stated: *'I didn't know what to do... I didn't have a place to stay. I was homeless.'*

Material loss

The participants also suffered great material loss. Of the few material belongings that they possessed, much was damaged by the Red Ants in the process of removal. Some of their belongings that they had to leave behind in the building, such as stoves and refrigerators, were stolen. One of the participants recalled that it was most distressing to lose so many of her possessions which she and her husband had worked so hard to accumulate over the years: '*It was very painful. We lost things that took a lifetime to get.'* Another participant expressed that it was going to be hard to start all over again if she found another place to stay as she would have *'to start from scratch.'* Indeed, some of the participants had lost all of their possessions and were left with only the clothes that they were wearing on the day of the eviction. For one of the expectant mothers, this was particularly painful as she had lost all of her unborn baby's clothes.

Loss of income

Furthermore, the livelihoods of the participants were put at risk as a result of the eviction. Indeed, the livelihood strategies of some of the participants were destroyed, resulting in a severe loss of income. For example, one of the women who had operated a Daycare Centre at her previous residence, and had sold traditional African necklaces and other adornments for special occasions, described her situation as follows:

When I was at Main, I made beads and looked after children...whereas over here, I can't look after those kids nor make beads. I would do them for people.

Like several of the other participants, she had used multiple strategies for eking out a living in the inner city. However, she was no longer able to operate the Daycare business, as she was homeless, which in turn meant that she could not sell the jewellery that she made either, as she had no source of income to buy the beads out of which to fashion the necklaces and other adornments. The prospect of opening another Daycare Centre in the near future is slim, as she no longer had a living space that she could call her own from which to operate the business.

Her situation was further exacerbated by the fact she was now unemployed along with her husband: '*So what saddens me here is there's no work because I'm not looking after children. I'm not doing anything. The husband is not working.'* Consequently, she and her husband had to rely on government social grants in order to survive.

Loss of family and friends

One of the most painful aspects of being displaced was the loss of family and friends. Following the eviction, some of the displacees decided to remain in the inner city and live on the street, as they had no other place to go to. This forced some of the participants to send their children to go and live with other family members in the city. Three of the participants sent their children to as far away as Kwazulu-Natal to live with their grandparents. As a result of this, nuclear families were separated.

Being physically displaced therefore had a severe impact on the family life of many of the participants. For one of the female participants, with two young children, aged 12 and 17, and a 25 year old son; this was a particularly difficult time, as her husband had also died within a few days of the eviction. She described this period in her life as follows:

> *Everything changed then. I sent the children back home to KZN. I had to take them there...I couldn't manage. It was also difficult to cope with my health. I couldn't take it anymore. I have three children...two boys and one girl. The girl is the last born...My heart pains when I think about her…I cry every time I think about her. It's not easy being without her.*

Heartbreak and sadness characterised this participant's description of her experience of letting her children go, so that they could instead live with their grandparents. She also expressed a deep sense of longing for her family, particularly since she was living on her own in Johannesburg. A lack of money, however, prevented her from seeing her children as often as she would have liked.

Not only were family bonds disrupted as a consequence of the eviction, but so too were social networks, as some of the displacees went to live with their extended families in other parts of the city, following the eviction. Some participants recalled the sense of community that they had felt living with their neighbours at their previous residence. One of the participants noted:

> *We lived quite nicely. We were at the second floor. We were a unit over there in a sense that if one of us was away at our jobs, those that stayed behind could look out for our things and you were even able to trust them to look after any of the children.*

However, these social ties and connections with their friends and their neighbours were broken when many of them went to live elsewhere in the city. The exact whereabouts of most of them were unknown and therefore they had lost contact with one another. Consequently, the participants were unable to maintain the friendships and the bonds that they had formed with their previous neighbours.

7.6.2.3 Effects on physical well-being

Although all the participants had focused on the emotional toll that the eviction had on their lives and the deep sense of loss that they had experienced, some of them commented on the effects of this experience on their physical well-being. The third theme, *effects on physical well-being*, focused on these effects and two sub-themes, *stress* and *disturbed sleeping patterns* were identified. In Table 7.6, selected significant statements that relate to this theme are shown.

Table 7.6 Theme 3: Effects on physical well-being.

Significant statements	
A.	'I feel stressed...'
B.	'I actually got sick...'
C.	'...the BP was quite high and they were unable to bring it down.'
D.	'I don't sleep peacefully at night.'

Stress

When speaking about the day that they were evicted, almost all of the participants commented on the *'stress'* that they experienced. *'I feel stressed'*, *'It was emotionally stressing'* and *'It was very stressful'* were some of the words that the participants used to describe the experience. Some of the participants mentioned the way in which their bodies had responded physically to the stressful experience of being physically displaced. One of them indicated that she had become ill following the eviction, and that she was hospitalised for two days as a result of all the stress that she had experienced on the day: *'I was very stressed…I actually got sick and I ended up at General Hospital....So from General, they said I should go to Johannesburg as the BP was quite high and they weren't able to bring it down.'* At the hospital, she was informed that she was suffering from acute hypertension. Despite the fact that the eviction took place a few years prior to the interview, she continues to suffer from high blood pressure, as her worries and her concerns about her children, who now live with relatives, continue to negatively affect

her health. The participants also mentioned that they felt stressed because they did not have a home.

Disturbed sleeping patterns

The experience of being displaced also had an effect on the sleeping patterns of some of the participants. One of the participants explained that in the past, she had had no problems with sleeping at night, but that following the eviction, she was unable to sleep peacefully at night: *'I slept peacefully before without any problems. I didn't have stress. But here...there's no peace here. I don't sleep peacefully at night.'* In addition, she felt that the uncertainty about her future and those of the people with whom she lived, along with the anxiety of not finding another place to stay, contributed to the difficulty that she had in trying to fall asleep at night.

7.6.2.4 Feelings of injustice

The fourth theme, *feelings of injustice,* was a common theme that ran through all of the accounts of the participants about the experience of being physically displaced. *No warning* and *unfair treatment* were two sub-themes that were identified in this theme. In Table 7.7, selected significant statements for this theme are presented.

Table 7.7 Theme 4: Feelings of injustice.

	Significant statements
A.	'Our eviction was painful as we were not notified.'
B.	'There was no warning at all...we did not expect it.'
C.	'We paid rent...but they never returned our money back.'
D.	'I rushed to the place but it was too late. Most of our stuff was moved out.'
E.	'It was mid-month. We were not going to find another place to stay.'
F.	'We did not get a chance to go back home to get all of our things.'

No warning

None of the participants were aware of the fact that they were going to be evicted and several of them expressed a deep sense of injustice at being physically displaced without receiving prior notification and without being offered alternative accommodation. One of the participants stated: *'We did not get notice…We did not know about it…that was not right.'* In addition, the evictees were also not given any reason or an explanation for why they were being forced to leave the building on the day of the eviction. One of the participants mentioned that: *'They just came in with no questions asked and no explanation…They just told us to take our IDs and to take the things that were important and nothing else.'* They later learnt that the building had been 'highjacked' and that they had been misled into paying the rental to someone who had falsely purported to be the owner of the building.

According to the participants, they were caught off-guard, as many of them were at work or asleep at the time of the eviction: *'There was no warning at all...we did not expect it.'* One of the participants described it as being particularly *'painful'* as she was out of town when the eviction took place, and she had not been informed by the owners of the building. Upon her return to Johannesburg, she discovered that she and her husband had *'lost everything.'* She felt that her neighbours, who were at home at the time of the eviction, were more fortunate than they had been: *'Those who were lucky were those who were at home when we got evicted. They were able to get most of their stuff but those who were at work were not so lucky.'* Indeed, the participants who were at work at the time of the eviction had, in their absence, all of their possessions removed from the building. One of the participants explained that as soon as he had been informed that they were being evicted, he left work immediately: *'I rushed to the place but it was too late. Most of our stuff was moved out onto the street.'* He expressed great dissatisfaction and unhappiness at the fact that his belongings were removed from his apartment without his permission and strewn across the pavement. The participants also lamented the fact

that they were not given the opportunity to go back to the building to collect the rest of their belongings.

Unfair treatment

The fact that the displacees were not notified of their impending eviction meant that they were unable to prevent themselves from being rendered homeless. The *'unexpected'* eviction meant that they were not able to make arrangements for alternative accommodation at such short notice. Furthermore, the timing of the eviction was also not conducive to them finding alternative accommodation as one of the participants highlighted: '*It was mid-month. We were not going to find other space to live.'* Another participant felt that they had been treated unfairly, because they had paid rent for the whole of the month, but they were evicted in the middle of the month, instead of being allowed to stay at the apartment until the end of the month. She further expressed her disappointment and unhappiness about the fact that their money had not reimbursed for those days that they had not lived at the building: *'I was quite hurt because it was quite problematic. We had just finished paying, before we got evicted...but they didn't return our money back.'*

Another participant described the experience as '*very difficult'*, as their plans to spend Christmas with their families, who lived in other provinces in the country, were disrupted. He explained that *'It was December time. We had to cancel our trip home. I was going to the Western Cape for the December holiday.'* Most of the participants, who had planned to spend Christmas with their families in Kwazulu-Natal, had to also call off their trips, as they did not want to leave the few possessions that they still had unattended. For another participant, the money that she had planned to use for the trip was stolen during the eviction. She stated: *'It was very frustrating. I did not get to see my family in KZN over the Christmas period.'*

7.6.2.5 Vulnerability

The fifth theme, *vulnerability*, highlights the participants' experience of being homeless and living on the street in the inner city of Johannesburg. Five sub-themes emerged within this theme, namely, *without possessions, without shelter; exposed to crime; exposed to adverse weather conditions; lack of access of basic services* and *dependant on others for survival*. Table 7.8 shows selected significant statements that relate to this theme.

Table 7.8 Theme 5: Vulnerability.

	Significant statements
A.	'We were without a roof over our heads. We were homeless.'
B.	'…for safety reasons…we felt very vulnerable.'
C.	'We faced terrible weather…floods.'
D.	'We had to ask for water from Maboneng.'
E.	'We survived by people passing by who came to help us.'

Without shelter, without possessions

As a consequence of the eviction, the participants were placed in a very vulnerable situation as they were deprived of a home. One of the participants stated: *'We were without a roof over our heads. We were homeless.'* They decided to take refuge under a freeway on-ramp in the Maboneng Precinct because they were reluctant to leave the area, as most of their belongings were still locked up in the building where they had lived. Consequently, they had to survive on the street without many of their possessions such as beds, stoves and refrigerators. One of the participants stated that some of them did not even have a mattress to sleep on: '*We would lay on pieces of cardboard at night time.'*

Exposed to crime

Living on the street or what the participants called *'living under the bridge'* in the Maboneng Precinct endangered their lives and that of their families. With no shelter to offer them

protection, the participants described how they constantly lived in fear of criminals in the area. One of the participants described the experience as follows: *'Staying under the bridge was the worst experience ever! It was not safe. I had a lot of fear. Just thinking about it now makes me want to cry.'* The women and the children especially did not feel safe, particularly at night: *'It was very difficult, especially for us women…for safety reasons. We had to be aware of our surroundings. We felt very vulnerable.'* Another female participant recalled how the experience affected her sleep:

> *It wasn't nice. We didn't get proper sleep. Your sleep was on and off...You would sleep and wake up just to check if there were criminals lurking or not. You would fear something would happen to you…or an accident.*

Fortunately, they came to no harm while they had lived on the street and one of the participants attributed this to protection from God: *'We really survived by the will of God.'*

Exposed to adverse weather conditions

The participants described how living *'without a roof over their heads'*, also left them unprotected and exposed to the elements, such as the hot summer sun and the heavy thundershowers that occur in Johannesburg during the summer months. One of the participants stated: *'It was uncomfortable living under the bridge. The weather was bad…There was flooding.'* Another participant recalled how the heavy rainfall had destroyed their possessions: *'We faced terrible weather…floods which damaged our things…We lost most of the clothes that were given to us.'*

Lack of access to basic services

The participants lived under the bridge without access to basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation. One of the participants described her experience of this, as follows:

> *The following morning, your body was in pain, and you haven't bathed, and you have to go to work. My employees understood these circumstances and I'm still with them. They allowed me to use one of the showers over there. So they understood my situation. So I would bath myself there, change clothes and even wash some clothes as well. I would not wash the children's clothes there though.*

She further described how they had to ask other people for water at Maboneng and how she washed her children and their clothes under the bridge:

> *I washed the children's clothes and hung it under the bridge. I would ask for water at Maboneng...from the security guards. The children would bath there under the bridge before going to school. We used paraffin stoves to cook our food...we had no electricity.*

Dependant on others for survival

The participants were destitute and to worsen matters even further, many of them were of the most vulnerable in society such as women, children, the elderly, and two were newborn infants. They were dependant on the help of other people to survive. One of the participants described the situation that they were in, as follows: *'We were quite troubled...We very much struggled...We got food hand-outs. We survived by people passing by who came to help us. They would bring us food. Life was very difficult for us...We tried to survive day by day.'* The participants disclosed that they had not received any help from the residents of the new developments in the Maboneng Precinct. Instead, one of the participants noted that it was the visitors and the tourists who came to the area, who offered them help:

> *The white people that came to Maboneng...They would offer us money to buy food and paraffin for cooking so that we could eat. We knew usually on Saturdays and Sundays, they would offer us money. On some occasions, they would also offer us food that was already cooked.*

The participants felt that their presence opposite the new developments in the Maboneng Precinct was unwanted. As one participant stated: *'The people over there didn't really want us there but we stayed regardless.'* They therefore concluded that this was the reason why they were not offered any assistance by the residents of Maboneng, who lived in the newer developments.

As a result of the increasingly vulnerable position in which she found herself whilst living under the bridge, one of the participants had considered going back to where she had originally came from, because life had become *'more difficult'* for her:

> *Thinking of the experience of living under the bridge, it is unexplainable. I thought it was better to go back home but how could I then because I had nothing? Their father had passed away, and so I then became the sole provider for them to have life. So life was really difficult indeed. It's still difficult now, but before, it was much more difficult. It was their father, the children being sick, the demonic spirits which really hurt me.*

However, for this woman, a lack of finances prevented her from returning to her hometown in Kwazulu-Natal.

7.6.2.6 Loss of self-esteem

Theme 6, *loss of self-esteem*, focuses on the impact of displacement on the psychological well-being of the participants and the feelings and the perceptions that they had of themselves, following the eviction. Many of them felt degraded because they were homeless. This affected their self-esteem and their sense of self-worth. Related to this theme, two subthemes, *lack of confidence* and *unwanted* were identified. In Table 7.9, significant statements that relate to this theme are presented.

Table 7.9 Theme 6: Loss of self-esteem.

	Significant statements
A.	'It was embarrassing...'
B.	'I felt humiliated because I was homeless.'
C.	'I don't have confidence...because I didn't have a place to stay.'
D.	'I couldn't tell the nurse that I was homeless...I was ashamed.'
E.	'…we were not welcome there.'

Lack of confidence

Some of the participants articulated feelings of great humiliation and a loss of dignity because they were now homeless. One of the male participants recalled the great amount of embarrassment that he had suffered as a result of his situation: *'It was embarrassing...Everyone was standing outside...laughing at us. Living there every day…it was not easy…I don't have confidence on the street…because I didn't have a place to stay…I was homeless.'* The confidence that he had in himself and his self-worth was diminished, as a result of being evicted from his home.

Another participant described how, out of humiliation, and more particularly the fear of her newborn baby being taken away from her, she gave the nurse at the hospital her sister's address instead of telling her that she was homeless:

> *Oh...at the hospital...I didn't mention that I didn't have a place to stay...that I was homeless...because I didn't want them to take my baby. I was also too embarrassed to tell the nurse. My sister had a place...so that's what I told them.*

Unwanted

After having lived under the bridge for more than a month, officials from the City of Johannesburg helped to relocate the displacees to a shelter for homeless people in another part

of the inner city. However, as seen in the following account, the displacees were rejected and shunned by people who already lived at this shelter:

> *We were taken to a place near the park where many homeless people lived. They threw stones at us saying that we were not welcome there. We were harassed because we were the newcomers. We eventually left that place because they did not find place for us.*

This experience made the participants feel *'unwanted'* and *'uncared for'*. Following this, the displaced residents were taken to another shelter, where they still lived at the time that the study was conducted.

Themes in Period 2: The present circumstances

In this group of themes, the participants in the study reflected on their present circumstances in which they described their experience of living at the shelter for homeless people. Two themes emerged in reference to this experience, namely *living conditions worse than before* and *impact on relationships.*

7.6.2.7 Living conditions worse than before

In Theme 7, *living conditions worse than before*, the participants explained that they presently lived at the shelter in conditions that were of a poorer quality than where they had lived before. Several sub-themes emerged, namely *lack of private space, unsuitable environment for children, unhealthy living conditions, unsafe neighbourhood* and *increased distance from work, school and shops*. In Table 7.10, selected significant statements that relate to this theme are shown.

Table 7.10 Theme 7: Living conditions worse than before.

	Significant statements
A.	'Sharing accommodation is very hard.'
B.	'We do not feel at home here.'
C.	'We just don't connect anymore like we used to.'
D.	'It's a health hazard here.'
E.	'There is no space for the children to play.'
F.	'There is a lot of overcrowding and a lot of crime.'

Lack of private space

One of the most difficult aspects of living at the shelter was the fact that the participants no longer had their own space and that the rooms that they shared with the other displacees, lacked privacy. One of the participants stated that: '*Sharing accommodation...is very hard...There is a lot of noise...especially from the TV. I'm not sure if everyone understands. I am not sure how I should adapt to this situation.'* Another participant noted: *'There is no space here...for a family. I wish that I had my own space again. At Main Street, we could be alone. We could have time on our own.'*

Furthermore, the participants did not feel as free and as comfortable to do what they liked at the shelter, as they would have, had they been living in their own home. In other words, they did *'not feel at home'* and at ease in their new surroundings. One of the participants described living at her previous home as follows: *'It was like home...I was in my own space without bothering anyone. If I needed to sleep, I slept. If I needed to sew, I would sew.'* The participants felt that they always had to be on guard towards the perceptions and the feelings of the other residents at the shelter. One participant described the undue stress that she felt because of her experience of living with other people:

> *You know, it's not nice at all...especially living with people...which makes life difficult. I'm not fond of noisy environments...I have BP. You see just hearing the*

> *TV right now, it's loud for me and I have a bit of a headache. So I'm really more of an indoor person, so people here know I don't like noise. I do ask them kindly to be outside and I remain alone here as they know I can't tolerate the noise.*

Her description also highlights how her new surroundings had an impact on various aspects of her life, particularly her physical health and well-being.

Moreover, the lack of private space at the shelter made life particularly difficult for those participants who were studying. One of the participants explained that he *'suffered a lot'* while he was a university student, because he was unable to effectively prepare for tests and examinations, as there was not a private, quiet space at the shelter where he could study: *'I couldn't study…Some people would play the radio…make a noise. I would go to the library but then I would get hungry. At least if I stayed here, I could get some mielie-meal to eat.'* Another participant expressed his annoyance at the fact that he was forced to study in the communal bathroom at night time after his classes, as that was the only quiet space he could find at the shelter: *'...it is very difficult to prepare to study. I have to go outside this room to study.. next to the toilet. I put a chair there next to the toilet to study.'*

Unsuitable environment for children

The participants also felt that the environment in which they presently lived was not conducive to bringing up their children. As one of the mothers explained: *'It is not nice living here, especially as I arrived here with a one month old baby…The place itself is not good…The beds are small…You can't sleep with a child comfortably.'* Furthermore, the participants commented on the lack of space where children could safely play at the shelter. There was no outside space and the only place that the children had to play at the shelter was the long, dark passageway that led up to the rooms where they lived. One of the participants, who was a mother to a four year old boy, explained that this was however, not an ideal place for the children to play, as it posed a number of dangers for the children: *'They play in the passage but it is not safe. Someone can*

just open the gate and then they can run outside. If a car lost control, they could be bumped on the pavement.' In addition, the space was also used by the women to cook and this put the children further at risk as they could potentially sustain serious burn injuries from the stoves. The public spaces in the neighbourhood, such as the nearby park, were dirty and unkempt and were not safe for the children to play in either, so none of the participants took their children to play there.

Unhealthy living conditions

All of the participants made reference to the fact that they felt that they were living in unhealthy conditions at the shelter. Participants used words such as *'unhygienic'*, *'dirty'* and *'a health hazard'* to describe the living conditions at the shelter. One of the participants stated that:

> *It is a health hazard here...there are no windows. We breathe the same air. We wash clothes, dishes and ourselves in the same space. It is tough here but I am getting used to it.*

Another participant described her experience of living at the shelter in the following way:

> *Hygiene-wise...it is also difficult. There are no windows...It's hot which makes it hard to sleep at night and there is not much oxygen. The air is stuffy...In winter the likelihood of 'flu is very high. If one person has 'flu; everyone else gets sick. We only have cold water to wash ourselves with. Winter is upon us now and we don't have warm water.*

Like her, many of the other participants also noted that illnesses seemed to spread easily at the shelter because they lived in such a confined space. The lack of fresh air and ventilation was also of major concern to all of the participants. In addition, two of the participants likened living at the shelter to that of a *'jail'* because of the confined space in which they lived. One of the participants stated:

> *You see the problem here is...just by looking at it...there's no space to move. It gets hot...It's everything...I can't explain it...It's like a prison. Also, it's not safe because of the roads and the accidents. The only good thing is that we are not outside. We are not affected by rains...*

Another participant described the conditions at the shelter as follows:

> *I just don't like this place. You don't even get air coming in here. It's like a jail. The only redeeming thing is at least we can hide our heads and sleep. Otherwise, it's not a nice place at all.*

However, despite their dislike of the place, both of these participants were nonetheless grateful to have a roof over their heads.

Unsafe neighbourhood

The participants regarded the neighbourhood that they were living in to be *'unsafe'* for a number of reasons. Crime in the neighbourhood was an issue that concerned all of the participants. In the following excerpt, one of the participants compared the safety of the previous neighbourhood where he lived, with that of the present one:

> *It was quiet…There was no crime where we lived before. Here you have to be careful about where you go to and at what time you go. One of us here was robbed twice in one month. He was knocking on the door here late at night and a criminal came…He lost his computer.*

Another participant described how they were not free to walk around the neighbourhood, particularly at night: *'There is…a lot of crime. We can't walk around at night…I feel that I am always running away…You have to be alert…If you make one mistake, they will rob you.'* In addition, one of the other participants commented further on the perceived dangers of the neighbourhood: *'Crime is high here. It is also not wise to hold your phone in your hand in the*

street…they will steal it. You often hear gunshots as well. It's just not safe. There are also a lot of taverns surrounding this area.'

In addition, the participants also complained that the neighbourhood was overcrowded and that there was a lot of traffic congestion. As one of the participants noted: *'[I]t is too busy here...There is too much traffic. We get hit by cars here. There's just too many people and cars...and taxis here.'* The danger that the traffic in the area posed to the children living at the shelter was also highlighted by the participants.

Increased distance from work, school and shops

Living at the shelter also meant that the displacees were further away from their places of work and the schools that their children attended. As one of the participants stated: *'One of the challenges was the transport to school, as it was too far for my child...So that is why she went back to KZN.'* In addition, they were located at a greater distance from the shopping centres that they used to frequent. One of the participants stated that they were close to the shopping centre and transportation when they lived in Maboneng: *'It was close to the Carlton Centre where you can buy everything. The train station was nearby in Jeppe. I went to work with the train.'* As a result of the increased distance, some of the participants spent an increased amount of time in commuting to work, which in turn resulted in increased costs for them. Therefore, the participants were financially worse off than they were in the past and this added to their hardship and suffering.

7.6.2.8 Impact on relationships

Theme 8, *impact on relationships*, focuses on the effect that the experience of being physically displaced had on the participants, their spouses, children, family and friends. Sub-themes of

family life disrupted, effect on children and *difficult to spend time with family and friends* were identified. The significant statements that relate to this theme are provided in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11 Theme 8: Impact on relationships.

Significant statements	
A.	'We don't have our own private space anymore.'
B.	'We just don't connect anymore, like we used to.'
C.	'She was failing at school... and she became very disobedient.'
D.	'I was compelled to take some of my children back home...due to the living environment.'
E.	'There is no place for us to chat...no privacy.'
F.	'When relatives come to visit me...they can't stay with me...There is no space.'

Family life disrupted

The experience of living at the shelter was even harsher for those participants who were married and/or had children, as they did not live together as a family unit. Consequently, husbands lived in a separate room from their wives and their children. Married couples therefore complained of a lack of privacy and intimate time together with their spouses. One of the participants expressed that she felt estranged from her husband as a result of these living arrangements: '*I feel like I don't even know him anymore. We don't spend together anymore...We don't have our own private space anymore...We just don't connect anymore, like we used to.'* This constituted a loss of intimacy between her and her husband. Therefore, she longed for the way things were before, between her and her husband, prior to moving to the shelter.

Effect on children

Being displaced had a severe impact on those children who lived with their parents at the shelter. For one participant, her daughter had already started to become particularly difficult and rebellious while they lived on the street. Her schoolwork had deteriorated and she had also refused to go to school. The participant recalled the experience as follows:

> *Speaking of my girl...One day, bad spirits consumed her. She got sick. She was failing at school because she had no desire for that and she became very disobedient. When I tried to ask her what was up, she refused to speak. When you asked her to bath to go to school, she refused.*

However, despite the fact that her *'child got healed'* while they were living at the shelter, the participant was unfortunately forced to send her daughter to live with relatives in Kwazulu-Natal, due to her own personal circumstances, and the living environment at the shelter. Another participant, who also did not want to be separated from her children, but who felt that it was in their best interests to go and live with their grandparents, stated: *'I was compelled to take some of my children back home to Nkandla due to the living environment here. It is not a nice place to bring up children here.'*

Difficult to spend time with family and friends

Furthermore, participants complained that they did not feel comfortable having visitors at the shelter, such as friends and family. There was no space for them to relax and spend time together with them or to have a private conversation or to share a meal. One of the participants, whose partner and two children lived in Cape Town, complained especially that they could not stay over with him when they came to visit him in Johannesburg, due to the lack of space at the shelter: *'There is no place for us to chat...no privacy. When relatives come to visit me...they can't stay with me...There is no space.'* Therefore, this lack of space severely limited the amount of time that he could spend with his family at the shelter, when they were in town.

Theme in Period 3: The future

Thoughts about the future engendered different feelings and emotions for the participants of the study. For some of them, there was a sense of hopelessness and helplessness about the future, while other participants were more optimistic and dreamt about a day when they would have their own home and be reunited with their families again.

7.6.2.9 Thoughts and feelings about the future

The final theme, Theme 9, centred on the participants' *thoughts and feelings about the future.* Several sub-themes emerged that relate to this theme, namely *sense of hopelessness and helplessness, acceptance of their fate, fear and anxiety, hope for the future, sense of nostalgia* and *desire to return*. In Table 7.12, selected significant statements that relate to the theme are shown.

Table 7.12 Theme 9: Thoughts and feelings about the future.

	Significant statements
A.	'I have to accept that I have to stay here.'
B.	'I feel hopeless.'
C.	'...getting a decent place to stay...'
D.	'I wish for our own home so that all my children can come back.'
E.	'It is so hard but I have to hope that everything will get better.'
F.	'My heart pains when I look at it...just to think we used to live there.'
G.	'I wish I could go back.'

Sense of hopelessness and helplessness

Many of the participants expressed a sense of hopelessness and helplessness about the future. For example, one of the participants stated: *'I have nothing. I have no husband...I have no home. I lost hope.'* For other participants, the City of Johannesburg had failed them as they had not provided them with the suitable, affordable accommodation they had been promised approximately four years ago: *'Waiting in the hope that the city people will help us...Up until now, they haven't done anything. It's been quite some time since they've made the promise of getting us a place to stay.'* The participants felt forsaken by the municipality and they were also disillusioned and disappointed as they had not expected to live at the shelter for such a long time. Another participant summed up his feelings in this regard as follows:

> *The municipality has let us down. They are the ones to blame. They didn't do nothing to help us...help us to get employment. They know that many of us are not working. They know our situation. They know we can't pay R1000 for accommodation…They know we can't pay that…We are not working.*

Sadly, this participant, who was in his late 20s, died before he had been able to find employment and escape the conditions of the shelter.

Some of the participants also attributed their feelings of *'hopelessness'* and *'helplessness'* to the fact that so many people had come to the shelter in an attempt to help them, but nothing had resulted. One participant stated:

> *I feel hopeless...So many people have come to speak to us...but nothing ever happens. I feel so helpless about our situation. We have told people the same things that we are telling you now but no-one has come to help us.*

This seemed to intensify their feelings of hopelessness and despair even further.

Acceptance of their fate

A number of the participants stated that they had slowly adjusted over time to living in unfamiliar surroundings. They had also accepted their present circumstances, as seen in this participant's comment: '*Personally, I suffered a lot. I had to adapt to a new place. I have to accept that I have to stay here.'* Words such as *'we got used to this life eventually'* and *'[i]t is tough here but I am getting used to it'* further demonstrates the willingness of some of the participants to tolerate the difficult situation in which they found themselves in. Furthermore, a number of the participants felt that they would never be able to afford their own home one day. For them, the prospect of finding an affordable home in the inner city therefore, appeared to be bleak. This, together with the fact that some of them had become used to living at the shelter, had also diminished the urgency to find a place of their own.

Fear and anxiety

However, some of the participants described the severe emotional strain that they were under because of the difficultly that they had experienced in finding suitable, alternative accommodation. This was in contrast to when they lived at their previous residence, as they did not have any anxiety or concerns regarding the payment of the monthly rental because they could easily afford it: *'We paid a little...R400. We didn't stress about rent.'* However, they now worried about the future, as they were unable to afford the accommodation that was on offer in the inner city. In addition, a number of the participants mentioned the on-going pressure that they felt, particularly in trying to find a suitable place to raise their young children. This on-going fear and anxiety about the future was further exacerbated by the fact that the participants were unsure about the period that they would continue to be accommodated at the shelter. Thus, they lived in uncertainty and with a lack of security with regards to the future.

Hope for the future

Some participants, however, still had hope for the future and an expectation that things would get better for them. For some of them, the yearning to have their own home one day was accompanied by the longing to be reunited with their children again. As one of the participants expressed:

> *I wish for our own home so that all my children can come back. It is better if they all can come back....It is better if we are all together and we can all survive together.*

Similarly another participant stated: '*Getting a decent place to stay...being able to be with my children. I think that will make me feel better. If you're with your family, you feel like all is okay.'* These desires and wants were therefore closely tied up with the participants' emotional well-being. As in the case of these two participants, they felt that they would be happy again if their dreams materialised. Another participant described her desire for a *'safe', 'affordable'* and

'decent place' to stay:

> *I wish they could get us a decent place to stay where we can stay comfortably as it's not really safe over here at times. So just a decent, safe place...Life isn't good over here, as you can see how this area is. So even with a year time-frame, if they could get us a flat in the region of R400 or so that we could rent because most of us are not full-time employed. So we rely mostly on piece-jobs. So we'd be happy if that were the case…*

These participants therefore, faced the future with a sense of cautious optimism. They lived in the hope that things would get better for them and their families, and that their living conditions would improve someday. For example, despite the hardship that she had experienced, one of the participants stated: *'It is so hard but I have to hope that everything will get better'.*

Sense of nostalgia

As the participants looked ahead towards the future, they also expressed a sense of nostalgia; a longing for the past and the way things were prior to the eviction. Many of them wished that they could live with people again whom they could trust and rely upon, like the friends and the neighbours that they had at their previous residence. They also expressed a longing to live in their previous neighbourhood again.

As one of the participants reminisced about the past; feelings of sadness surfaced within her: *'It is very painful when I think about that place. It felt like home. I was happy there'.* Another participant described the feelings that she had when she walked past the building where they had lived and saw that it had been recently renovated:

> *When I went past there, I saw that the flat now had glass now at the stairs. It's been designed in a different way. My heart pains when I look at it...just to think we used to live there.*

The mere sight of the building also stirred up painful memories for the participant of the day that they were evicted.

Desire to return

All of the participants expressed a desire to go and live at their previous home again for a number of reasons. One of the main reasons for wanting to go back was that they had their own private space: *'It was a good place. We had our own space. It was better than living here.'* Another participant stated: *'I want to go back. I had my own room. I was on my own with my children. Whereas here, there's so many of us...'* Apart from wanting to have her own space again and time to be on her own, one of the other participants also wanted to return to her previous home because she felt that it was in a better location than where she presently lived.

> *I wish that I could go back and stay at Main Street...I prefer to be on that side...The location is better...I wish I had my own space again. At Main Street we could be alone. We could have time on our own.*

Another participant wanted to return to her previous home because the area was safe and there was space for her children to play: *'I wish I could go back. It was safe...and secure. The children could play inside. They could also play on the roof of the building.'*

Another participant, however, felt that it was not likely that they would be able to afford the rent at their previous residence due to the increase in the rent:

> *I wouldn't be able to go back because the flat is more expensive. It's changed. It's been re-done. If the rent went down back to what we were paying, then definitely I would go back, because of course...we had to pay…We didn't live for free.*

However, the probability of this happening was low, as the rent at their previous home had increased by more than 100 per cent due to the renovations and the rebranding of the building, which reflected the new developments in the Maboneng Precinct.

From these themes and the invariant horizons of each of the participant's experiences of displacement associated with gentrification, a textural description was developed, which will be presented in the following section.

7.6.3 Textural descriptions

Through the process of transcendental-phenomenological-reduction, a textural description of the meanings and the essences of the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification were obtained. In other words, a description of 'what' was experienced (Moustakas, 1994) with regards to the phenomenon of displacement was developed. In this description, the textural qualities of the experience are described.

In this section, selected individual textural descriptions of the participants' experiences of being displaced, which were constructed from the verbatim transcribed interviews of the participants, will be presented. Following this, a composite textural description of the experience of displacement will be given, which was developed from all of the individual textural descriptions of each of the participants.

7.6.3.1 Individual textural descriptions

From a synthesis of the themes and the meaning units of each of participant's experience of displacement, individual textural descriptions were constructed. The following passage (Box 1) presents the experience of being physically displaced, as described by one of the participants of the study, who was at home on the day of the eviction. This passage was selected because it describes in some detail 'what happened' during the experience of being physically displaced. It also highlights some of the thoughts, feelings and the difficulties that this particular participant

had to grapple with. In this description, the participant describes how she struggled for her right to remain in her home.

Box 1 Example 1 of an individual textural description of displacement.

The experience of being displaced was particularly distressing for this participant as she and the other occupants of the building where she had lived, had not been informed that they were going to be evicted. She described the experience as follows: *'It was painful...It's just that they came unexpectedly. It must have been around eight in the morning…some of us were sleeping...The Red Ants were going with these corrupt police. They came to knock on our doors and they showed us some papers that stated we should get out. Then we said that we didn't get that…We knew nothing about that.'*

The participant then described how in spite of her protestations and her informing the Red Ants that they were not notified about the eviction, they proceeded and removed her belongings from her apartment: *'But the Red Ants went in anyway and just took the things in my home, while I was still searching for my things. So we all got out…though some people were still inside the building.'* Later, she realised that some of her belongings had been stolen during the process of being evicted: *'When I went back, some of my things were suddenly gone...stolen...the little that I had.'*

She further explained that she was determined not to give up her home: *'We refused to leave because they had not given us any notice.'* She phoned her daughter and some of her neighbours who were at work at the time, and informed them that they were being evicted and that she needed their help: *'Some of the others were at work and we phoned them then...to tell them what was happening. We also needed them to come and help us.'* Thereafter, the participant described how they had physically fought with the police and the Red Ants for almost the entire day, for their right to stay and not to be evicted from their homes: *'Well, we had to fight back...it lasted right 'till early evening...It was a very hectic day. We did not even have time to eat. We fought with the police that wore grey...We gave them quite a hiding. They retaliated with pepper spray and our eyes hurt and we coughed, but we didn't back down. We weren't prepared to leave.'* Although the participant described the experience as traumatic, she however, indicated that she was not afraid: *'It was bad indeed...not nice...There was no time to be scared... your life was at risk.'*

In spite of the fight that they had put up, they eventually had to give up and leave their homes: *'...once we were evicted...after the Red Ants and the police...we didn't know what to do...Eventually we left…We had to go because we had to follow our furniture out of the house. We had nowhere else to go to…so we went to live under the bridge. Others left and went their own ways or places, but many of us remained behind.'* Due to the fact that they had no other place to stay, they were forced to seek refuge under a freeway on-ramp, while some of the other displacees who were more fortunate, went to live with family and friends in other parts of the city.

The following passage (Box 2) is a description of the experience of displacement from the perspective of another participant, who had been at work at the time that all of the occupants of the building had been served with eviction notices. This passage was chosen as it describes the pain and the suffering that the participant had to endure as a result of being displaced.

Box 2 Example 2 of an individual textural description of displacement.

The experience of being physically displaced was described as *'painful'* and *'difficult'* by the participant for a number of reasons. Firstly, he stated that: *'They did not notify us. The Red Ants came and took our stuff out. I was stressed…I was at work.'* Secondly, apart from losing his home, he lost a lot of his belongings: *'When I got home, I could not find my belongings. People stole my things.'* Thirdly, he was rendered homeless: *'It was mid-month…we were not going to find other space to live. We then stayed under the bridge.'* Fourthly, a few days after the eviction, he was arrested at his previous home for trespassing: *'We later went back to the building and the police arrested us…for trespassing. We spent two nights in jail. It was very painful…very stressful…and scary. It was my first time in jail. We were let out on the 24th of December…one day before Christmas.'* Finally, due to the fact that he had no place to stay other than living on the street, he decided to leave most of his possessions behind and go and stay with his family in Kwazulu-Natal for the festive season, instead of spending Christmas and New Year under the bridge: *'After that I decided to go to KZN…to my family. I left all my things behind…I only took my clothes and my blanket. I left my pots, my stove and my mattress behind.*

I spent the festive there...' However, he decided to return to Johannesburg despite the dire circumstances that he was in: *'...I came back in January...At that time, I applied for studying…I was accepted. I studied logistics. I need a job now…anything…with any company.'*

7.6.3.2 Composite textural description

The themes and invariant meaning units of each of the participant's experiences of displacement were synthesised into a composite description of the textures of the experience. The composite description therefore depicts 'what' the group of participants as a whole experienced (Moustakas, 1994) with regards to displacement associated with gentrification (see Box 3).

Box 3 Composite textural description of displacement.

Remembering the day that they were evicted, brought painful memories to mind for all the participants. Expressions such as *'a very horrible day'*, *'a terrible experience'*, *'a very bad experience'* and *'a hectic day'* were used when the participants spoke about their experience of being displaced. They also mentioned that the experience was *'stressful'* and that it had led to a great deal of pain and suffering for them, particularly since they were evicted without any prior notification. The eviction was also seen as unjust and *'not fair'* because they had not been given the opportunity to find alternative accommodation prior to being physically displaced from their homes.

The participants' experience of displacement evoked a wide range of emotions. Some of them described that they were in shock when the Red Ants began evicting them from their homes, while others expressed feelings of utter disbelief, as they did not know what was happening to them. Feelings of fear and anxiety then seemed to take hold, as they started to worry about where they were going to stay. Other participants explained that these feelings later changed to feelings of anger, particularly towards the owner of the building, who had not warned them of the impending eviction.

All the participants perceived the physical act of being displaced as very *'traumatic'*. The

'harsh treatment' that they received from the Red Ants, as they were forcibly removed from their homes and left abandoned on the streets was particularly distressing for them. They felt that they were not treated with any dignity and that little care was taken in the way in which their belongings were removed from the building by the Red Ants. This resulted in some of their property being damaged beyond repair.

Furthermore, some of the male participants were imprisoned for a number of days because they had returned to their previous homes to collect some of their belongings. They felt that they had been unfairly treated like criminals. The experience of being displaced was also described as particularly *'difficult'* for those participants who were not at home on the day that the eviction took place. Upon their return, they found that their homes had been entered into and their possessions removed without their knowledge or permission. Some of them were unable to find all of their belongings on the pavement, as they had been stolen.

An integral part of the experience of displacement was the deep sense of loss that the participants expressed, particularly the loss of their home, family, friends and neighbours. Apart from the pain of losing their homes, the most agonising loss for some of the participants was the breaking up of their family units. They were forced to leave their children in the care of other family members, as they did not want their children to live on the streets. *'Sadness'* and *'heartache'* were two very painful emotions described by the participants who were separated from their children. At the shelter where they later lived, families were further separated from one another. This, in turn, affected their personal lives, as it was difficult for married couples to spend intimate time together.

Being made homeless and being forced to live on the streets was described as a humiliating and a degrading experience. One participant described the embarrassment that he felt as onlookers laughed at them while they were being evicted. He described how these feelings later led to a lack of confidence in himself, which in turn led to a low self-esteem and feelings of insecurity. Therefore, his perception of himself changed, as a result of this experience. Other participants expressed that they felt unwanted and uncared for as the City of Johannesburg had not initially come to their aid.

Being displaced meant that the participants were placed in a very vulnerable position. Living without shelter left them exposed to harsh weather conditions and they lived in fear of criminal elements in the area. For some of them, their livelihoods had been destroyed which resulted in a

dependance on other people in order to survive. They had no access to basic services such as water, sanitation, and electricity which meant that they had to endure living in very harsh circumstances.

Although their present living conditions were better than when they had lived on the street, the participants, however, described it as being worse than the apartments where they had previously lived. Apart from living in unfamiliar surroundings, the participants mentioned in particular the high crime rate and the traffic congestion in the neighbourhood in which they lived at the time of the study. Furthermore, they felt that they lived in a place that was not suitable for raising children. Participants also described the shelter as a *'health hazard'* and they complained of the lack of privacy and space at the shelter. The stress and suffering which resulted from the adverse circumstances under which the participants presently lived, was described by all of the participants.

For many of the participants, feelings of hopelessness, helplessness and despair characterised their thoughts about the future. Many of them described coming to terms with the reality that they were not going to find a suitable and affordable place to stay in the inner city. For some of the participants, it felt as though their *'world had fallen apart'*. In other words, the changes brought about by displacement had changed their life-word as they were now homeless and a number of them were living without their children. They also expressed a sense of fear and anxiety about what the future might hold for them.

Furthermore, there was a belief amongst some of the participants that no-one cared about them. They felt disillusioned with the authorities whom they felt had failed in providing them with suitable, affordable accommodation. It appeared to them as though no-one was concerned about their plight and that they had been *'forgotten'* and abandoned by the municipality. In spite of these feelings and the circumstances under which they lived, some of the participants were grateful that they had a roof over their heads and that they were not living on the street any longer.

In the midst of all the pain and the suffering that they had experienced, some participants, however, still had hope for the future, while others had accepted that they were going to live at the shelter for still a long time to come. All of the participants expressed a desire to return to their homes in their previous neighbourhood. They spoke of their previous home with a deep sense of nostalgia and they longed for the way things were then, before they had been displaced.

7.6.4 Structural descriptions

Through imaginative variation, reflection and analysis, a description of the structures of the experience (Moustakas, 1994) of displacement associated with gentrification was constructed. This is essentially a description of 'how' the participants of the study experienced displacement, in terms of the context or the setting that influenced the experience, as well as the conditions and the situations within which the experience took place (Creswell, 2013).

In this section, individual structural descriptions of the experience of being displaced will be presented. These selected structural descriptions were constructed from the verbatim transcribed interviews of the participants. Thereafter, a composite structural description of the experience of displacement is provided, which was developed from all of the individual structural descriptions of the participants.

7.6.4.1 Individual structural descriptions

From a synthesis of the themes and the meaning units of each of the participant's experiences of displacement, individual structural descriptions were constructed. One of the participants recounted her experience of how the process of displacement unfolded on the day that they were evicted (see Box 4). Although the context was similar for each of the participants, the individual situations that they found themselves in when they were physically displaced, differed.

Box 4 Individual structural description of displacement.

The experience of being displaced is traumatic. For one of the participants who was expecting a baby when she was evicted from her home, feelings of fear engulfed her mind as she was forcibly removed from her home; particularly fears about the well-being of her unborn baby. The fact that she was uninformed about the impending eviction, added to the traumatising nature of the experience, particularly since she was unable to adequately prepare for it as she

was not afforded the time to find alternative accommodation. Feelings of uncertainty then filled her mind because she was not sure of what to do and where to go to next.

She continued to experience displacement through the dispossession that she suffered whilst living on the streets, close to her previous home. Apart from being deprived of her home and many of her possessions, she also did not have access to basic services. Her situation was made even worse by the fact that she had to give birth to her baby under the bridge. She was denied a clean, safe and private space to give birth to her child. These degrading circumstances caused her much pain and humiliation. Fear of further humiliation prevented her from disclosing to the nurses at the hospital that she was homeless. More importantly, she did this because she was afraid that her baby would be taken away from her.

While living at the shelter, she expressed that she *'did not feel at home'* in her new surroundings. She was situated in a structure that was unfamiliar to her. This unfamiliarity made her feel that she did not belong there and she expressed a deep desire to return to her previous home. The living conditions at the shelter were described as *'not nice'* and *'really bad'* and the space was inadequate for her needs and for those of her baby. She also found it *'difficult'* to live with her baby under such harsh circumstances, as the space was dark and lacking in natural light and the air felt suffocating due the inadequate ventilation in the building. In addition, she did not feel comfortable at the shelter like she would have, had she been living in her own home.

Displacement also had an impact on her relationships with other people. Because of her deep concern for the well-being of her family, she had decided that it was better for her children to live with their grandparents, due to the poor living conditions at the shelter. However, this led to a feeling of disconnection from her children, as she was unable to them very often, due to financial reasons.

Being displaced and living at the shelter was a time of great stress and anxiety for this participant. She felt a deep sense of loss – not only a loss of her material possessions but also of her everyday life-world as she had known it. She also mentioned that it felt as though she was in a sort of state of *'waiting'* – waiting for a house, waiting and hoping that things would get better for them, waiting in expectation for someone to come and help them. With the passage of time, however, she felt resigned to her fate, in the sense that it seemed as though she would still be living at the shelter for a long time to come. The prospect of finding another home appeared to

be very slim for her and despite the dire circumstances under which she lived, she stated that: *'I got used to this life eventually'*.

7.6.4.2 Composite structural description

From the individual structural descriptions of each research participant and by means of imaginative variation, a composite structural description was constructed. This composite description represents 'how' the participants as a group, experienced the phenomenon of being displaced as a result of gentrification (see Box 5).

Box 5 Composite structural description of the experience of displacement.

The experience of displacement took place primarily within the context of the participants being evicted from their homes. Displacement was also manifest to a lesser extent, prior to their eviction, through the sense of disconnection that the participants felt from the surrounding transformation of the neighbourhood where they had lived. The participants of the study continued to experience displacement after they were evicted from their homes, as they were rendered homeless and they were forced to live on the street and later at the shelter.

Initially, the participants reacted to their physical displacement with shock and disbelief due the fact that it was unexpected. Feelings of anger and injustice then surfaced due to the degrading and undignified manner in which they were removed from their homes. Fear and anxiety was felt when they came to the realisation that they had been rendered homeless and that they had no other place to go to.

Displacement unsettled the everyday lived experiences of the participants. Their lives as they had known had changed. This change was, however, not for the better. Instead, displacement placed already vulnerable people in an even more vulnerable position. They endured living without shelter and access to basic services. Livelihoods were destroyed and incomes were reduced which made their daily lives all the more harder. Displacement therefore led to considerable hardships for the participants.

Being displaced disrupted the family life of some of the participants, as families were forced to separate due to the adverse living conditions which they were faced with. Social ties were also broken because of displacement, as friends and neighbours went to live in other parts of the city. This destruction of personal bonds and connections gave rise to feelings of great sadness and heartache for the participants. Furthermore, they longed for the sense of community that they had felt with familiar people such as their family, friends and neighbours from the previous building where they had lived.

The emotional toll of the experience of displacement gave rise to health concerns for some of the participants. Hypertension due to the stress of not having a place to call 'home' was the most frequently reported effect on their health and well-being. Having an inadequate place to stay also gave rise to difficulties in sleeping at night for some of the participants.

Displacement further affected some of the participants psychologically. The experience was humiliating and degrading. Some of the participants were ashamed of being homeless and this affected their confidence and self-esteem. As a result of still being homeless, some of them felt a sense of dejection and a brokenness of spirit.

The space where they lived did not do much to uplift their spirits. The metaphor of a *'prison'* was used to describe the shelter as a space that confined and restricted them. It was also a place that did not feel like home. There was also a sense of unfamiliarity with the space and the neighbourhood where they presently lived, which was further felt by the participants because there were other unfamiliar people who also lived at the shelter. Furthermore, the situation in which they found themselves was also unfamiliar due the fact that they were displaced , homeless and living in a shelter.

Being in a space that did not feel like home meant that the participants did not feel comfortable with being themselves and doing things that they were used to doing when they had lived in their space. For example, they could not watch television when they wanted to because they feared that they might disturb the other residents. This led to unnecessary stress and it evoked feelings of anxiousness.

Within the context of living at the shelter, some of the participants felt that they were in a state of waiting and uncertainty. It was as if their life was on hold and they felt abandoned, forgotten

and neglected by the authorities. In addition, they were not sure how long they would be allowed to remain at the shelter. Knowing that their time at the shelter was not indefinite gave rise to a deep sense of insecurity and anxiety about their future. Consequently, they lived in fear of becoming physically displaced again. Living with this uncertainty meant that they did not have the security and the peace of mind that comes with living in one's own home.

Displacement was also experienced in more indirect ways within this context, through the inability of the participants to access suitable, affordable housing in the inner city. This exclusionary form of displacement also meant that they were excluded from living in the building where they had previously lived, as the rent had escalated significantly due to the rehabilitation of the building. Some of the participants felt that their desire to return to their previous homes and neighbourhood is unlikely to materialise.

Time had reduced the urgency of trying to find another place to stay. With time, the fear and the anxiety about the future also started to dissipate and some of the participants began to accept that they were going to stay at the shelter for still a long time to come, as the possibility of moving to better quality seemed remote. Consequently, they felt resigned to their fate. In spite of having had feelings of despair and hopelessness, some of the participants still had hope for the future and they dreamt of the day that they would have their own home again.

Reflecting back on the experience of displacement, evoked feelings of deep pain and anguish for the participants. Displacement was also associated with a deep sense of loss – a loss of home, family, friends, community and their past lives. Although thinking about their previous home brought back memories of happier times, the overwhelming feeling however, was one of loss, longing and sadness.

7.6.5 The essence of the experience of being displaced

Through an integration of the composite textural descriptions and the composite structural descriptions, a synthesis of the qualities, the meanings and the essences of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification was derived. This description represents the

'essentials' of the phenomenon of displacement. In other words, it is the essential invariant structure or the essence of the phenomenon of displacement.

The passage below (Box 6) describes the common or universal experiences of displacement associated with gentrification, of the group of participants of the study as a whole.

Box 6 The essential, invariant structure of the experience of being displaced.

Displacement associated with gentrification is a traumatic experience that inflicts substantial hardships on the experiencer. It deprives people of a place to call 'home' and it renders poor and destitute people homeless. The displaced end up in spaces and situations that are worse than where they were before, thereby increasing their vulnerability. Therefore, displacement is viewed as an act of injustice.

Painful feelings and emotional suffering are associated with the experience of displacement, as well as anger and anxiety. Displacement is therefore a stressful event. In this experience, the body is also affected which impacts the overall physical and psychological well-being of those displaced. One of the most difficult aspects of displacement is therefore related to the self. The humiliation and the degradation of the experience impacts one's self-esteem and sense of self-worth.

Displacement affects the everyday lives of those displaced; disturbing the set patterns and routines of daily life. It goes without saying that being displaced affects people's relations to others. It disrupts family life and impacts other relationships as people are forced to relocate. Displacement therefore destroys the familiar and it leads to an unfamiliarity of place, situations and people. Being situated within an unfamiliar structure, a homeless shelter and an unfamiliar neighbourhood, leads to discomfort and unease. This unfamiliarity in turn creates greater insecurity.

Time appears to diminish feelings of anxiety associated with displacement but these feelings quickly resurface again. The possibility of being displaced again is not far from the minds. It engenders a state of uncertainty, of discontent and unease in life. Thoughts about the future

and particularly of finding a new home evoke feelings of fear and anxiety which at times lead to feelings of despair and hopelessness. However, severe financial constraints limit the displaced's ability to find a home.

The experience of displacement is associated with a longing for the past; a longing to be reunited with family and friends; and a longing for what seemed to be impossible for them at this point in time - a new home. Slowly the displaced begin to accept their fate but yet there is still a sense of hope inside of them – an expectation that one day things will change for the better.

The essence of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification is one of great loss. A loss of home, family, friends and a sense of community. It is also the loss of a past life and it may lead to a loss of self, that is, of who an individual once was. Displacement therefore disrupts the life-world of the experiencer.

7.7 Conclusion

This phenomenological investigation articulated the essence of the lived experience of displacement associated with gentrification, from the perspective of a group of individuals who were evicted from their homes in the gentrifying area of the Maboneng Precinct. The demographic characteristics of the participants revealed that they were a particularly vulnerable group of people, with most of them being dependant on social grants or having low-paying jobs.

Through Moustakas' (1994) methodology of transcendental phenomenological analysis, 9 themes that related to the experience of displacement were uncovered. It was found that displacement is a traumatic and stressful experience which is accompanied by very painful emotions. For this reason, displacees are deprived of their joy and happiness. Displacement is also a process that affects people materially, physically and psychologically. As such, it has an impact on the overall well-being of those displaced.

The experience of displacement associated with gentrification, as described in the present study, is associated with a deep sense of loss, which is still experienced long after the physical relocation of people has taken place. Apart from a loss of home, the participants experienced a loss of family and friends, a loss of a sense of community and for some, even a loss of self-esteem.

Displacement also placed poor and destitute people in an even more vulnerable position, as it rendered them homeless. This loss of home creates fear and anxiety and also a longing for a past life. Displacement also leads to feelings of unfamiliarity which in turn engenders feelings of insecurity. The essence of the lived experience of displacement is therefore one of great pain and personal loss, which affects the everyday lives of the experiencer.

The next chapter concludes the study, by providing a summary of the entire phenomenological investigation, as well as its implications and the conclusions that were reached.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

Home and place are human needs (Tuan, 1977), but for some of the former residents of gentrifying inner-city areas in Johannesburg, their right to a home has been denied and they have been rendered homeless. Marcuse (1985b) described this state of homelessness as a result of gentrification as the 'worst' outcome of displacement, while D.M. Smith (1994) called it 'a heinous act of injustice' (p. 152). Despite this, according to Lees, Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso (2017, p. 2), eviction continues to be a 'hidden' housing issue, even though it has been identified as the most under-researched means by which inequality is reinforced in society (Desmond, 2016).

This study sought to highlight the personal, subjective experiences of being displaced, in order to contribute to a more holistic understanding of gentrification processes. From in-depth interviews with the participants of the study, the qualities, themes, meanings and the essences of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification was determined, using a phenomenological approach.

Following Moustakas (1994), this chapter begins with a summary of the entire study, from the beginning of the study to the final synthesis of the data. The research findings are then compared with previous studies on gentrification and displacement. The challenges and limitations of the study and in particular of using a phenomenological approach will also be discussed. In addition, the following chapter sets out the implications of the study for future research. Finally, the chapter closes with a few concluding remarks.

8.2 Summary of the study

In Chapter 1, I briefly outlined how displacement associated with gentrification had declined as a research question. This chapter also highlighted the fact that personal accounts of the experience of displacement has largely been absent from the literature on gentrification. Therefore, in order to uncover the essence of this experience, the lived experiences of a group of individuals who had been physically displaced from their homes in the inner city of Johannesburg was explored. The context within which gentrification takes place in the Maboneng Precinct in particular, where the participants lived is also briefly described in this chapter.

In Chapter 2, relevant literature on gentrification and displacement was reviewed. It revealed that despite a large body of literature on gentrification, the experience of displacement was under-researched. The literature review also brought to light that the reason for this was in part due to the methodological difficulty of tracing displaced people and that the concept of displacement associated with gentrification itself was under-conceptualised.

In the light of the above, Chapter 3 focused on how the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification was conceptualised. The conceptualisation of displacement of Marcuse (1985b) and Davidson (2008), amongst others, was used in this study in order to provide a framework for exploring the experience of displacement associated with gentrification, which included both direct and indirect forms of displacement.

Phenomenology was the methodological approach that was found to be best suited to uncovering the experiences of inner-city residents, who had been physically displaced from their homes. Chapter 4 therefore examined the methodology of transcendental phenomenology employed in this study, by firstly outlining the history of phenomenology. This was followed by

a brief explanation of the key concepts of transcendental phenomenology, which included the epoché, essence, intentionality and life-world. The important philosophical assumptions that underlie these key concepts were also expounded upon as these assumptions informed the methodological decisions of the study and the type of data analysis techniques that were used.

Chapter 5 describes the methods and the procedures that were used to prepare for the collection of the data, as well as those of the actual data collection process itself. Particular attention was paid to the location and the selection of the sample of the study, as well as the method used to determine the size of the sample. The process of in-depth phenomenological interviewing was also described in detail. Following this, a detailed description was given of how the data was analysed and synthesised, using the method of phenomenological analysis, as espoused by Moustakas (1994). Furthermore, this chapter specified the procedures that were employed to ensure that the study was carried out in an ethical way, and the strategies that were used to try and maintain the methodological rigour of the findings of the study.

As phenomenological studies have tended not to emphasise the broader context within which a particular phenomenon takes place, Chapter 6 focused on the context within which gentrification and displacement takes place in South African cities. Due to the history and the context of the area under study, unique manifestations of gentrification in the inner city of Johannesburg were uncovered. In addition, this chapter also explored the different types of displacement that were experienced in the gentrifying area of the Maboneng Precinct.

In Chapter 7, several themes were uncovered regarding the experience of displacement associated with gentrification, which included a description of displacement as a difficult and emotional experience, which affected the physical health and psychological well-being of the participants. A profound sense of loss; feelings of injustice; increased vulnerability and a sense of hopelessness about the future were some of the other themes that emerged from an analysis

of the data. In addition, the structures and the textures of the research findings were expounded upon. Moreover, this chapter described the universal essence of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification.

Following Moustakas (1994), the final chapter, Chapter 8, provides a summary of the study, which, as already mentioned, focused on what was uncovered about the experience of displacement associated with gentrification. Following this, the findings of the study will be distinguished from previous studies on displacement associated with gentrification, which were summarised and discussed in the literature review. Thereafter, the specific challenges faced in conducting the present study and the possible limitations of the study are considered. In addition, the implications of the study for future research are discussed. This chapter closes with some concluding comments on the essence of the study.

The following section discusses how the findings of the present study differ from the literature on gentrification presented in Chapter 2. It also highlights those aspects of the research findings that are consistent with previous studies on displacement associated with gentrification.

8.3 Comparing findings against previous research

While previous studies on gentrification have mostly examined the process from the perspective of middle-class gentrifiers, the present study explored the experiences of existing inner-city residents, the non-gentrifiers, who had lived and/or worked in an area undergoing gentrification. In this section, the present study and its findings will be positioned in relation to the review of the literature presented in Chapter 2, by commenting on the similarities and the differences between these studies.

8.3.1 Forms of displacement

Several forms of displacement were identified in this study, which included both direct and indirect displacement. The study's participants experienced direct physical displacement, as identified by Marcuse (1985b), in the form of being evicted from their homes. They did not, however, experience any form of winkling, nor were they displaced as a result of economic reasons, as their rent had not increased to the extent that they were forced to leave. Instead, they were physically coerced to vacate their homes, without any prior warning from the building's landlord, so that the owners could take repossession of the property.

As noted earlier, more subtle, indirect forms of displacement, as described by Marcuse (1985b), were also experienced by the participants. Both exclusionary displacement, and to a lesser extent, displacement pressure, was experienced by the participants. In the case of exclusionary displacement, the participants were unable to access suitable, affordable housing in the inner city of Johannesburg. Thus they were excluded from where they would have lived because the accommodation was more expensive, as a result of was gentrification. Regarding displacement pressure, neighbourhood change in the Maboneng Precinct had not taken place to such an extent that the participants had felt pressured to move from the neighbourhood, prior to being evicted.

Besides direct physical displacement and exclusionary displacement, the participants described experiencing a form of everyday displacement, as described by Stabrowski (2014). While they lived at their previous residence, they experienced the new gentrified spaces as areas of 'prohibition' (Stabrowski, 2014). Although there were no walls or gates barring them from entry, they were reluctant to go to these areas, as they felt that there were no people like them there and they felt excluded from these spaces for economic reasons. This is similar to Valli's (2016) findings, which further points to the exclusionary nature of gentrification. Furthermore, although the participants no longer lived in a gentrifying neighbourhood; they nonetheless

remained in a state of housing insecurity and deteriorating living conditions (Stabrowski, 2014). Therefore displacement, like Stabrowski (2014) described, was 'ongoing and lived' (p. 808) for the participants of the study, as their 'security' and 'agency' to 'make place' was severely reduced as a result of gentrification.

8.3.2 Displacement is a difficult and emotional experience

Being displaced was found to be a difficult and an emotional experience. This finding was consistent with that of research conducted by Atkinson (2015). Furthermore, the participants of this study described the deep sense of trauma that they had experienced as a result of the dehumanising way in which they were evicted from their homes. Living in the open on the street in the inner city of Johannesburg, without any shelter, further added to the distress and anguish that they had experienced. This is similar to a number of other studies that have revealed traumatic accounts of gentrification and displacement (Curran, 2004; Larsen & Hansen, 2008; Newman & Wyly, 2006).

Researchers have also noted that people who are forced to relocate, particularly the elderly, experience a sense of mourning for their homes, their neighbourhoods and their past lives (Atkinson, 2015; Betancur, 2002; Curran, 2004; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Fried, 1963; Hartman, 1984; Hartman et al., 1982). Although the participants of the study did not use the word 'grief' or 'mourning' in their descriptions, they did however, convey feelings of deep sadness and longing for their home, family, friends and closest neighbours, who were now living elsewhere. These feelings are usually associated with the experience of grief. The findings of this study also point to the effect that these experiences had on the life-world of the participants. This confirmed what Fullilove (2004) and Marris (1986) found that displacement disrupts the everyday day lives of people.

8.3.3 Sense of loss

The trauma of the experience of displacement was associated with a deep sense of loss. Like Henig (1984) and LeGates and Hartman (1986) have shown, displacement resulted in considerable hardship, suffering and great personal loss for the participants of this study. They lost their homes and most of their earthly possessions. Displacement also rendered the participants homeless, as studies by Atkinson (2000a) and Marcuse (1985b) have also found. In addition, some of the participants' livelihoods were put at risk and they suffered a loss of income as a result of being displaced. This is consistent with the findings of He (2009) and Sakizlioğlu (2013).

Similar to the findings of research conducted by Atkinson (2015), displacement had an effect on the participants' relationships and their social networks. Social ties and connections were broken as friends and neighbours went to live in other neighbourhoods in other parts of the city. Family bonds were also disrupted and the participants bemoaned the loss of the sense of community that they had experienced at their previous home. Displacement therefore, as Marcuse stated, 'impairs a sense of community' (1985a, p. 931).

Therefore, like Atkinson's (2015) findings, the participants expressed a longing and a sense of nostalgia for a time in their lives when they lived in Maboneng with their family, friends and neighbours. This also confirms the findings of previous research conducted by Atkinson (2000a, 2015), Fullilove (2004) and Marcuse (1985a) that displacement is a socially harmful process. Furthermore, consistent with the ICMD's assertion (n.d.), this study found that a loss of social ties and connections created stress, which in turn affected the participants physically and psychologically.

8.3.4 Displacement and well-being

The trauma and the social costs of displacement had an impact on the physical well-being of the participants. Indeed, like other researchers have found (M. Shaw, 2004; Wilder et al., 2017), inadequate housing also leads to stress which can have a negative impact on an individual's health or medical conditions. Similar to the findings of Wilder et al. (2017), some of the participants indicated that their stress and anxiety had worsened, particularly parenting stress which was related to the period of homelessness.

Displacement and the fear of becoming displaced have also been identified as having an effect on the mental health of people (Fullilove & Wallace, 2011; Wilder et al., 2017). Indeed, some of the participants of this study articulated that the trauma of displacement had a severe impact on their psychological well-being. Similar to the findings of other studies such as those conducted by Atkinson (2000a, 2015), Fullilove and Wallace (2011), Hart (1988), IMCL (n.d.), Sakizlioğlu (2013), Twigge-Molecey (2014) and Wilder et al. (2017), displacement was found to be a process that psychologically harms some people.

The humiliating experience of being homeless in turn had an effect on the study's participants self-esteem. This is consistent with Wilder et al.'s (2017) findings, where displaced people were found to have lowered self-esteem. Indeed, research by Wacquant, Slater, & Borges Pereira (2014) have also indicated that neighbourhood changes may affect long-time residents through the 'corroding [of] their sense of self' (p. 1275), while Valli (2016) and Wilder et al. (2017) found that it reinforced feelings of inferiority. However, none of the participants identified being depressed as the result of displacement, as other studies such as that by Wilder et al. (2017) have found.

8.3.5 Sense of injustice

The act of being physically displaced was accompanied by deep feelings of injustice and anger, as has been the case in studies conducted by Atkinson's (2015) and Hart (1988). The participants in this study felt that it was unfair and unjust that they had not been notified that they were going to be evicted from their homes, nor were they given any reasons for their eviction. Therefore, they expressed feelings of anger and resentment towards the man whom they believed was the owner of the building and to whom they had consistently paid their rent. Furthermore, the participants were also deeply angered by the dehumanising way in which they were removed from their homes. Remarkably, they did not express any resentment or bitterness towards the in-coming gentrifiers, as has been found to be the case in other studies such as those of Atkinson (2015) and Valli (2016).

8.3.6 Increased vulnerability and deteriorating conditions

Atkinson (2015) noted that the 'most vulnerable' of the vulnerable in society are displaced. This was also the case in the present study. Being deprived of their homes and living without shelter was made worse by the fact that most of the participants were female and poor, while one of them was elderly. Some of the displaced also had very young children, who were under the age of five. These already vulnerable people were exposed to crime and adverse weather conditions, as well as being without access to basic services, while they lived on the streets. As a consequence of this, their living conditions deteriorated to a great extent as a result of being displaced.

Researchers such as Atkinson (2000b, 2015), Hartman (1984) and LeGates and Hartman (1986) have indicated that displacees often tend to move to poorer quality accommodation, usually in the same neighbourhood where they had lived, or in adjacent areas, or they may move to outlying suburbs further away. This was also the case in this study, where some of the

displacees went to live with family and friends in neighbourhoods on the periphery of the city, while others moved only a short distance, tending to remain in the inner city of Johannesburg.

While Atkinson (2015) found that the pressure of displacement steered low-income residents towards cheaper accommodation, Hartman (1979, 1984) and LeGates & Hartman (1986) found that the displaced often moved into more expensive accommodation. In the case of this study, the participants had not found alternative accommodation, and they still lived at a shelter for homeless people, years after they had been evicted from their homes, where the space was inadequate and in a poorer condition than where they had previously lived. This is in line with studies by Atkinson (2000b) and Hartman (1979, 1984), who also found that displacees moved to overcrowded and poorer quality accommodation.

Similar to the findings by Atkinson (2015) and Sakizlioğlu (2013), the participants had feelings of anxiety and unease as they did not have security of tenure, while living at the shelter. Consequently, they lived in fear, with a deep concern about whether they would ever find another place to stay. Similar findings have also been noted by Atkinson's (2015). It is also highly likely that, if in the future the participants of the present study found alternative accommodation, it would likely be more expensive than where they had previously lived.

Many of the negative impacts of gentrification that He (2009) had found in a study of displacement to the outskirts of the city, the participants of this study also experienced, even though they still remained in the inner city of Johannesburg. For instance, the socio-economic prospects and livelihoods of some of the participants were threatened, and their social networks were fragmented as a result of being displaced, as has been found in He's (2009) study. In addition to this, the time and the costs of commuting to work had increased as they were located further away from the city centre. This too is consistent with He's (2009) findings.

8.3.7 Place attachment

A striking omission in this study's participants narratives, however, was that they did not articulate an emotional attachment to the neighbourhood in which they had lived or a connection to the wider community of Jeppestown. Instead, they indicated that they were emotionally attached to the building where they had lived, as it was 'home' and there was a sense of community that they felt with their friends and their closest neighbours. In contrast to this, the participants articulated what Atkinson (2015, p. 383) described as 'feelings of psychic distance' to the new developments in the neighbourhood, in that they did not feel connected to the place, as these developments were viewed as white spaces of consumption and leisure. As mentioned earlier, this was related to the fact that these gentrified spaces were frequented by people who were unlike them and they felt that the commercial services offered in the area were not for them, particularly since it was regarded as expensive. This sentiment has also been noted by Valli (2016). Therefore, the participants experienced a sense of 'out-of placeness' as described by researchers such as Davidson (2008) and Shaw and Hagemans (2015).

This lack of attachment to place (i.e. the neighbourhood) may be attributed to the fact that the participants of the study were relatively recent migrants to the inner city of Johannesburg. Therefore they had not lived in the area all of their lives and as such strong connections to the neighbourhood had not been established. Furthermore, the Maboneng Precinct was previously an industrial space, with limited residential usage. The inner-city spaces of Johannesburg are also in a continual state of flux and the occupancy of the area is ever-changing (Nevin, 2014). In addition, gentrification in the inner city is fragmentary and not yet at an advanced stage of development.

This finding of an absence of a deep emotional attachment to the area is aligned with what Martin (2005) found, where working-class residents in a gentrifying area were more concerned

about the material aspects of their life such as facilities, safety and shopping conveniences. Although some of this study's participants did articulate a desire to return to the neighbourhood where they had lived, there was a much deeper desire to have their own private space again in the form of a place that they could call 'home', irrespective of its location within the inner city of Johannesburg. For the participants, losing a home was a more pressing issue than losing their neighbourhood.

8.3.8 Sense of hopelessness and acceptance

Furthermore, the findings of this study were similar to that of Atkinson's (2015) in that the participants also felt that their spirit was broken as a result of being displaced. It felt as though their hopes and dreams about the future had been taken away from them. There was also a noticeable 'sense of dejection' (Atkinson, 2015, p. 381) that they expressed, in which a sense of hopelessness and helplessness about the future was conveyed. Some of them had lost all hope in the future and they believed that no-one cared about them or their plight.

There was also a 'sense of fatalism' (Atkinson, 2015, p. 381) in that many of the participants had accepted that they were going to still live at the shelter for some time, as their chances of finding suitable and affordable accommodation were very slim. However, there were others who were more optimistic about the future, and who believed that things would one day change for the better. Although they did not express an attachment to the Maboneng Precinct, they did, however, convey a desire to return to the area, as it was seen as being better than the neighbourhood where they currently lived.

8.3.9 Positive experiences of gentrification?

Although gentrification is a contentious process, long-time residents may appreciate the upgrades and the developments in their neighbourhood as a result of this process (Doucet, 2009;

Freeman, 2006; Martin, 2005; McGirr et al., 2015; Sullivan, 2007; Valli, 2016). This was also found to be the case in the present study where some of the participants welcomed the changes in the Maboneng Precinct, such as the renovation of dilapidated buildings and the increased security in the area, which they believed had resulted in a significant drop in the crime rate in the area. Some of the participants also reported that the businesses where they worked, had grown due to the increased number of people living in and visiting the area. Interestingly, as Shaw & Hagemans (2015) also found, none of the participants of this study made any remarks regarding how the street and landscaping improvements and other infrastructure upgrades in the neighbourhood had enhanced their lives.

In spite of these positive views on the new developments in the Maboneng Precinct, this study found that gentrification does not benefit the poor, although these neighbourhood upgrades and new spaces of consumption may initially be welcomed by long-time residents. Instead, studies have shown that these areas later become related to issues of displacement (Davidson, 2008; Wyly & Hammel, 2005). Indeed, as has been shown in this study, the gentrification of the inner city of Johannesburg has resulted in homelessness and the displacement of people.

In the section that follows, the limitations of the research methodology and the findings of the study are discussed, as well as the challenges of using phenomenology as a research method.

8.4 Challenges and limitations of the study

Using a phenomenological approach, presented a number of specific challenges. Firstly, it was important to identify and clarify which form of phenomenology was used at the beginning of the study, as a number of different forms of this approach exist (Grbich, 2007). This requires an understanding of the broader philosophical assumptions of phenomenology (Creswell, 2013), which at first appeared to be a very daunting task. However, by engaging in the writings of

various authors on phenomenology, Moustakas's (1994) approach was found to be the most appropriate for this study. In addition, the specific language of phenomenological research had to be learnt (for example, terms such as epoché, horizonalization, imaginative variation), which necessitated being receptive to understanding these terms and the way in which they may be utilised in this study (Moerer-Urdahl & Creswell, 2004).

Furthermore, in the way a number of other researchers (such as Creswell, 2013; King & Horrocks, 2010; LeVasseur, 2003; Moustakas, 1994; Van Manen, 1990) have also found, bracketing personal experiences was difficult to implement, as it was not possible to set aside all biases and pre-conceived understandings of the experience of displacement. However, engaging in the epoché process was a useful way in which I was made aware of my subjective understandings of the phenomenon of displacement. Although the epoché process was difficult achieve, it did as Moustakas (1994) has suggested, substantially reduce the influence of biases and preconceived thoughts and judgements on the phenomenon under investigation.

The process of locating inner-city residents who had experienced being displaced from areas undergoing gentrification in Johannesburg was also challenging. It was particularly difficult to trace these individuals, as they no longer lived in the area from which they had been displaced. Trying to locate potential research participants entailed a long engagement in the field and many conversations with inner-city residents and people from various organisations in order to find out where displaced people had relocated to.

One of the limitations of the research was that it was a cross-language study where most of the participants spoke in *isiZulu* or *isiXhosa* during the interviews, which are languages, not understood by the researcher. It was however, important to capture the meaning of the experience of displacement in the language in which the participants felt most comfortable conversing in. Therefore, an interpreter was used in order to translate what the participants had

said into English. To some degree, the oral translation of the interviews hindered the free flow of the conversation, and the indirect nature of the conversation made me feel less connected to the person whom I was speaking to. In addition, some important nuances of the experience of displacement may have been lost in the translation of the participants' words. However, the full description of the participants' experience was audio-recorded which meant that any information that needed to be further explored, could be discussed at subsequent follow-up interviews.

It was particularly challenging to gain information-rich data from participants who used very little words to describe their experiences of being displaced and who found it difficult to open up about what they had experienced. In addition, some of the participants found it difficult to remember the details of the day that they were evicted. A possible reason for this was perhaps the fact that the experience happened a few years ago, and therefore their memory of the experience was somewhat diminished. Participants may also have suppressed some of the more painful memories of the experience. Therefore, more information-rich data may have been obtained if the participants had been interviewed a few months following their eviction. However, most of the participants felt that they had shared their experience of being physically displaced in sufficient depth and detail.

Some displacees were, however, reluctant to share what they had lived through, as they felt that they did not have anything new to add to the experience of being displaced. They felt that their experiences were the same as everyone else who had lived at the same building and they were therefore not keen to participate in the research. Interestingly, it was some of the male displaced residents who did not wish to participate in the study. In addition, it was also the male participants in the study who found it more difficult to speak about their emotions related to the experience of being displaced.

The homogeneity of the participants may have presented another limitation of the study. All of the participants, who were physically displaced, had lived in the same building and in the same neighbourhood that was undergoing gentrification. The experiences and the perspectives of a more diverse group of people, who may have been displaced from other parts of the inner city of Johannesburg, may therefore have yielded some recurring patterns and themes that were different to those that emerged in the present study. In addition, research participants may have been less likely to have felt that their experiences were the same as everyone else who was participating in the study.

Moreover, as Grbich (2007) has noted, it was difficult to determine when the phenomenological research process was complete. In the case of the present study, the interview process continued until no more participants could be found who were willing to participate in the study. Nonetheless, this initially created uncertainty as to whether enough information-rich data was collected. However, recurrent themes and patterns emerged early on in the data analysis process and the point of saturation was reached after seven in-depth interviews had been conducted.

It is also recognised that the present study has geographic, cultural and temporal limitations (Given, 2016). In other words, an account of the experience of displacement is presented which is bounded by a particular time and place and situated within a specific context. Indeed, Moustakas (1994) notes that the essences of any experience are not ever entirely depleted, as the textural-structural synthesis is representative of the essences of a particular phenomenon at a particular time and place, from the perspective of a particular researcher.

In the following section, the implications of the study for future research will be discussed.

8.5 Implications for future research

The findings from this phenomenological investigation of the experience of displacement associated with gentrification have a number of implications for further research, particularly in the field of urban geography. Cities across the world are being transformed by the repopulation of inner-city areas with people who are more affluent than the people who are already residing in the area. In studying the experiences of existing inner-city residents, it has been shown that displacement associated with gentrification is a painful and traumatic experience, and that it renders people homeless. Therefore, further research is needed that includes the experiences and the perspectives of a wider range of people who are most affected by gentrification processes.

Similar studies in different settings, contexts, and situations could be undertaken. In other words, researchers could extend the work to other populations who have experienced being physically displaced as a result of gentrification. For example, people from different inner-city areas that are undergoing gentrification in other parts of South Africa may be studied. Research on the experience of displacement may further be broadened to include areas where other forms of gentrification are taking place such as ‘new-build’, ‘suburban’ and ‘rural’ gentrification. This would add to a broader understanding of the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification.

In addition, the question of what the experiences are of long-time residents who are living through the process of gentrification in their neighbourhoods warrants further investigation. This is particularly important, as very little is known about long-time residents’ experiences of displacement in gentrifying spaces (Doucet, 2009; Slater, 2006; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Watt, 2008). For example, in the Bo-Kaap and Woodstock in Cape Town, long-time residents who have lived in these areas for decades, are increasingly facing the pressure of displacement. Some of them had lived in the same home for generations (Pather, 2016) and are witnessing the

transformation of their neighbourhoods as a result of gentrification. Apart from deepening our knowledge on the topic of displacement associated with gentrification, this type of research would highlight the plight of those who have managed to remain in the inner city, in spite of the fear that their homes, their livelihoods and their community may be taken away from them. This in turn would also provide the opportunity for researchers to identify other forms of indirect displacement which may be in evidence in gentrifying areas.

From the findings of the study, it is evident that the experience of being physically displaced from one's home has a profound effect on the health and the well-being of people. The deep sense of loss that the participants experienced as a result of being displaced, created excessive stress and affected displacees emotionally and psychologically, which in turn affected their physical health. These impacts of gentrification are felt both before physical relocation takes place, as well as after. However, these aspects of gentrification are under-researched (Valli, 2016). Therefore, further investigation is required as poor and vulnerable communities are at increased risk of the negative consequences of gentrification (IMCL, n.d.; Wilder et al., 2017).

It is hoped that through this research a greater awareness of the implications of transforming and uplifting neighbourhoods is created, particularly when it comes to the costs of gentrification for low-income households. Future research has a key role to play in exposing the social costs of displacement associated with gentrification, as more and more of the urban poor are likely to be threatened by indirect displacement, eviction and homelessness. This in turn will generate a greater understanding of the experience of displacement and it will provide further evidence that gentrification is not merely a benign process as some have suggested.

Strategies therefore need to be devised which include the needs of low-income inner-city residents, particularly those who unable to gain access housing in social housing projects and those who are unable to afford adequate housing in the private residential market. In other

words, government and private developers need to ensure that in the process of rehabilitating inner-city areas, the needs of the poor are also met, by providing them with adequate and affordable housing in the inner-city. This is especially so, within the context of the socio-political history of South Africa, as inner-city residents who may have lived through the forced removals of the apartheid era, which often took place under the guise of slum clearance, are now increasingly facing the threat of being evicted from their homes as a result of the gentrification of their neighbourhoods. Therefore, strategies should also be sought to ensure that the poor are not relegated to the periphery of cities, as had been the case during the apartheid era, when black people were forcibly displaced to the most undesirable land on the edges of the city.

Moreover, resistance to gentrification, which in the case of South Africa includes resistance to apartheid spatial planning which is still evident across the country), in the form of mass protest are likely to escalate in the future unless increased efforts are made to provide affordable housing for the increasing numbers of urban poor who have called the inner city 'home', since the dismantling of apartheid. Indeed, resistance to gentrification is a growing phenomenon in cities across the world and it continues to be a significant area of struggle with regards to social justice (Lees, et al., 2017). However, only a few academic studies have been conducted on the resistance to gentrification, and in particular 'the fight to stay put in the face of gentrification' (Lees et al., 2017, p. 1). Therefore, as Lees et al. (2017) have suggested, further research needs be undertaken to investigate how anti-gentrification practices have enabled people to remain in their neighbourhoods despite living with the threat of physical displacement.

Within the broader context of gentrification, race and ethnicity has not been as extensively studied in comparison to class and gender (Lees, 2000). Furthermore, the conventional understanding of gentrification as a process whereby white gentrifiers displace low-income blacks is often not applicable, particularly within post-colonial contexts (Lees, 2016). Therefore, South African cities are important sites for investigating these manifestations of gentrification,

particularly due to its unique history. Indeed, as already mentioned, the redevelopment of the inner city of Johannesburg does not fit the gentrification narrative of the white Anglo appropriation of the area, as the inner-city which was once a white, segregated space is now essentially a black, Pan-African space (Lees, 2014). Therefore, Lees (2016) suggests that aspects of race and ethnicity in relation to gentrification need further investigation, as previously black neighbourhoods are also being gentrified. This will add to the growing body of literature on displacement associated with gentrification in the Global South.

Finally, this study has implications for the way in which cities are planned and developed. More participation is needed by those who are most deeply affected by gentrification. Existing long-time residents have a role to play in sharing their experiences of gentrification so that the rehabilitation of inner-city areas can take place without evictions and other pressures of displacement. Dialogue must therefore be on-going between the state, the developers and the existing inner-city residents, so that more inclusive cities and neighbourhoods are developed that can meet the needs of all people (Florida, 2015), not only the middle class.

In the following section, closing remarks on the study will be offered.

8.6 Concluding remarks

By using a phenomenological approach, this study demonstrated that the phenomenon of displacement associated with gentrification is a deeply traumatic and a life-altering event. From the perspective of inner-city residents, it was found that displacement affects people physically, psychologically, emotionally and materially. It severely disrupts their social networks and their livelihoods, resulting in a dramatic change in the life-world of the displaced. Already vulnerable people are placed in an even more destitute position by being rendered homeless. Feelings of fear and anxiety and painful memories are also associated with this experience. The trauma of

displacement was also still felt a considerable time after the initial experience. The findings of this study therefore suggest that displacement has a severe impact on the everyday lives of individuals, particularly those from low-income and vulnerable households.

Therefore, contrary to a number of other studies, the outcomes of gentrification were found not to be positive. This study therefore argues that it does not benefit the poor. In fact, descriptions of displacement in this study suggest that people's lives are not improved. Instead, they are in fact made worse. As more middle-class populations settle in the inner city of Johannesburg, gentrification processes will further transform the area and the desirability of gentrifying spaces, such as the Maboneng Precinct will likely increase. Property prices in turn will rise and more people will face the prospect of being displaced and rendered homeless. Indeed, studies have also shown that eviction rates are high in areas experiencing early gentrification (Chum, 2015). Although long-time residents may not initially experience direct physical displacement, they are likely to experience other indirect displacement processes such as indirect economic displacement, social and community displacement and neighbourhood resource displacement, to a greater extent than what has been articulated in this study. Consequently, the gentrification of spaces in Johannesburg, like the Maboneng Precinct, is likely to create an environment that is hostile for those who are unable to afford to live there.

Although the history of gentrification in Johannesburg is a short one, its impact is likely to affect hundreds of people who do not have access to suitable, affordable housing. Resistance to gentrification is likely to increase in the future and this too may turn out to be a traumatic experience (Inzulza-Contardo, 2011). More therefore needs to be done to include the 'voices' of existing inner-city residents in the planning of urban renewal projects, while government and private developers need to find a balance between supplying affordable housing and regenerating the inner city of Johannesburg. Reinvestment strategies in inner-city areas should also strive to take place without the eviction of low-income households.

Public policy relating to gentrification should therefore seek to curtail displacement processes, particularly since these policies often appear to facilitate it (Marcuse, 1985a). In other words, these policies and strategies should also be in the interests of the poor and not only the middle class, as the right to shelter is a basic human right. Furthermore, the right of access to adequate housing is enshrined in the Section 26 (1) of the Constitution of South Africa.

In closing, Marcuse (2010) highlighted the importance of not forgetting that the essence of what needs to be addressed in gentrification studies is the pain of displacement:

> If the pain of displacement is not a central component of what we are dealing with in studying gentrification - indeed, is not what brings us to the subject in the first place – we are not just missing one factor in a multi-factorial equation; we are missing the central point that needs to be addressed (p. 187).

Therefore, as neighbourhoods change, the issue of displacement needs to be foremost in our minds, so that cities can be transformed into more socially inclusive spaces and the process of urban regeneration can take place without the displacement of the poor and the marginalised.

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APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Good morning / afternoon / evening _____, I am Delia Ah Goo, a Geography lecturer at the North-West University (Vaal Triangle Campus) in Vanderbiljpark and this is _____, the interpreter. I am doing research for my PhD at the University of the Witwatersrand on the experience of the process of gentrification (when an area is upgraded by and for higher income people) of people who live in the inner city or who have lived in the inner city of Johannesburg.

I would like to invite you to be part of my research because I feel that your experience of living in the inner city of Johannesburg can contribute to our understanding of the process of displacement. Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary. In other words, you may choose whether to participate in the study or not. You do not have to decide immediately whether or not you will participate in the study. The research will involve you answering questions about yourself and your experiences of gentrification. The interview should take approximately 45 minutes to complete.

There will be no direct benefit to you for participating in the study and you will not receive any payment for participation. However, your participation will help us find out more about the experience of being displaced in the inner city.

I will provide you with the necessary information to help you understand the study and if there is anything that you do not understand, I will explain it to you as we go along. You may ask questions to clarify anything that you do not understand at any point. If you accept to be part of the research, you may withdraw from answering any questions at any point. In addition, if you experience any feelings of past trauma during the interview, arrangements can be made for counselling with the Emthonjeni Centre Psychology Clinic at the University of the Witwatersrand by contacting Ntabiseng at (011) 717 4513.

The information that you give is confidential and any information about you will have a number on it instead of your name. Only the researcher will know what your number is and this information will be stored securely in a locked cabinet and on a password protected computer. The entire interview will be audio-recorded, but no-one will be identified by name on the

recording. The recorded information is confidential and no-one except the researcher and the transcriber will have access to the recordings. The recordings will be kept securely on a password protected computer and it will be destroyed at the end of the study.

The research findings will, however, be shared through publications and conferences so that others may learn from the study. You may contact me if you would like a summary of the research findings and I will forward it to you.

Furthermore, the ethical integrity of the study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand, which comprises of an independent group of experts whose task is to ensure that the rights and welfare of the research participants are protected and that the research is conducted in an ethical manner.

You can ask me any further questions about any part of the research study or you may ask them at a later stage by contacting me at (016) 910 3457 or delia.ahgoo@nwu.ac.za or 793400@students.wits.ac.za.

The supervisor of my project is:

Dr. Alex Wafer
School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies
Tel: (011) 717 6517
Email: alex.wafer@wits.ac.za

Thank you for taking the time to listen to me.

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

RESEARCHER:	**Ms. Delia Ah Goo**
SUPERVISOR:	**Dr. Alex Wafer**
INSTITUTION:	**University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg**
TITLE OF PROJECT:	**Gentrification-induced displacement: A phenomenological study of the inner city residents' experiences in Johannesburg**

I have been invited to participate in research about the experience of displacement in the inner city of Johannesburg. I hereby declare that the research has been explained to me and I have had the opportunity to ask questions and any questions that I have asked, have been answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and I am aware that I may withdraw from answering any questions at any stage during the interview. In addition, I have been assured that any information that I give will be confidential and that my name will not be recorded on the interview schedule.

I voluntarily agree to the interview being audio-taped and I have been informed that the recordings are confidential and that no-one, except the researcher and the transcriber will have access to the recordings. *(delete if not applicable)*

I do not agree to the interview being audio-taped. *(delete if not applicable)*

I am aware that there will be no direct benefit to me for participating in the study and that I will not receive any payment for participation in the study. I have also been informed that if I experience any feelings of past trauma as a result of displacement during the interview, arrangements can be made for counselling with the Emthonjeni Centre Psychology Clinic at the University of the Witwatersrand.

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

APPENDIX C

GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

Participants who lived and/or worked in a gentrifying area
1. For how many years have you been living and/or working in this area? 2. Where did you live and/or work before? 3. Have you noticed any changes in the neighbourhood since you moved here? Can you please describe these changes in as much detail as possible? 4. What was the area like before? 5. How have these changes affected your place of work and/or the neighbourhood where you live? 6. How have these changes affected you and your family? 7. Have these changes resulted in any particular responses or actions from the people living and/or working in the area? 8. Would you ever leave this area to live and/or work somewhere else? 9. What would ultimately force you to leave this area? 10. What options have you considered in order to avoid having to leave this area? 11. Do you feel that you have a choice about having to leave? 12. Are there any other thoughts and experiences that you would like share?

Participants who were physically displaced
1. Try to remember in as much detail as possible the day that you were evicted from your home.
2. What happened on the day?
3. How did you feel?
4. What were your thoughts during the experience?
5. How did you act? What did you do?
6. How did the experience affect you?
7. What changes do you associate with the experience? Physical? Bodily? Emotional?
8. How did it affect your family, friends and your neighbours?
9. Tell me about the time that you lived at your previous residence.
10. How long did you live there?
11. Did you notice any changes that have taken place in the area during the time that you lived there?
12. How many times have you had to move during the past?
13. Will you ever consider moving back to the previous neighbourhood where you lived?
14. Is there anything else that you would like to share with regards to your experience?
15. Do you know of any other people who have been forced to move from their homes in the area where you previously lived?
16. Where have they moved to?
17. Is there anything else that you would like to share?

APPENDIX D

SELECTED SIGNIFICANT STATEMENTS

- It was difficult for us. They did not notify us.
- I was very stressed…I actually got sick and I ended up at General Hospital....the BP was quite high and they weren't able to bring it down.
- It was very painful. We lost things that took a lifetime to get.
- It was mid-month...we were not going to find another place to stay.
- We did not have a chance to go back home.
- It was a very bad experience.
- We paid rent but they never returned back our money.
- We did not know what was happening.
- We lost everything. We have to start from scratch.
- So what saddens me here is there's no work because I'm not looking after children. I'm not doing anything. The husband is not working.
- I went home to Mount Frere with only the clothes that I had on.
- I lost of all of my clothes and the new baby clothes that I bought too.
- The memory of having a home was taken away from us.
- It is very difficult.
- We refused to leave because they had not given us notice.
- But we had to go...we had to follow our furniture out of the building.
- Some of our furniture was damaged and some was stolen.
- We were fighting with them 'til the evening.
- It was a very hectic day.
- There was no time to be scared. Your life was at risk. We had to fight back…
- The men were arrested but they were later released.
- The Red Ants destroyed everything.
- We did not know about it.
- There was no warning at all...we did not expect it.
- They just came in with no questions asked.
- They told us to take our IDs and to take only the things that were important and to leave everything else.
- It was a terrible day for me. I was pregnant and about to give birth.

- I rushed to the place but it was too late...most of our stuff was moved out.
- It was very frustrating.
- I did not get to see my family in KZN over the Christmas period.
- It was very emotionally stressing.
- We try to survive day by day.
- It is tough here but I am getting used to it.
- It is so hard but I have to hope that everything will get better.
- Personally, I suffered a lot.
- I had to adapt to a new place.
- I have to accept that I have to stay here.
- I feel hopeless...So many people have come to speak to us...but nothing ever happens. I feel so helpless about our situation. We have told people the same things that we are telling you now but no-one has come to help us.
- The municipality has let us down.
- They know we can't pay R1000 for accommodation.
- I wish that they can get us a decent place to stay where we can stay comfortably as it's not really safe here at times.
- We do not have any luxury here.
- I didn't have a place to stay. I was homeless.
- Everything was shattered.
- It was a terrible day for me.
- I felt like I was risking my newborn's life. It was a horrible time. I did not know what to do.
- I wasn't in a good space because that was the month for me to deliver...and I had no place to stay.
- The Red Ants treated us very harshly. They gave us no reason for why we were being evicted.
- They did not care about us or our belongings...so much of our stuff was damaged.
- I didn't know what to do...I didn't have a place to stay. I was homeless.
- Everything changed then. I sent the children back home to KZN. I had to take them there...I couldn't manage.
- It was also difficult to cope with my health. I couldn't take it anymore.
- My heart pains when I think about her…I cry every time I think about her. It's not easy being without her.

- We lived quite nicely.
- We were a unit over there in a sense that if one of us was away at our jobs, those that stayed behind could look out for our things and you were even able to trust them to look after any of the children.
- It was emotionally stressing.
- Sharing accommodation...is very hard...There is a lot of noise...especially from the TV. I'm not sure if everyone understands. I am not sure how I should adapt to this situation.
- I slept peacefully before without any problems. I didn't have stress. But here...there's no peace here. I don't sleep peacefully at night.
- Staying under the bridge was the worst experience ever! It was not safe. I had a lot of fear. Just thinking about it now makes me want to cry.
- [I]t is too busy here...There is too much traffic. We get hit by cars here. There's just too many people and cars.
- It was very difficult, especially for us women…for safety reasons. We had to be aware of our surroundings. We felt very vulnerable.
- It wasn't nice. We didn't get proper sleep. Your sleep was on and off...You would sleep and wake up just to check if there were criminals lurking or not. You would fear something would happen or an accident.
- We really survived by the will of God.
- We were quite troubled...We very much struggled...We got food hand-outs. We survived by people passing by who came to help us. They would bring us food.
- Life was very difficult for us...We tried to survive day by day.
- The people over there didn't really want us there but we stayed regardless.
- Thinking of the experience of living under the bridge, it is unexplainable. I thought it was better to go back home but how could I then because I had nothing? Their father had passed away, and so I then became the sole provider for them to have life. So life was really difficult indeed. It's still difficult now, but before, it was much more difficult. It was their father, the children being sick, the demonic spirits which really hurt me.
- It is very difficult to prepare to study. I have to go outside this room to study.
- It is not nice living here, especially as I arrived here with a one month old baby.
- It was embarrassing...Everyone was standing outside...laughing at us.
- Living there every day…it was not easy…I don't have confidence on the street… because I didn't have a place to stay…I was homeless.

- There is no space here...for a family. I wish that I had my own space again. At Main Street, we could be alone. We could have time on our own.
- It was like home...I was in my own space without bothering anyone. If I needed to sleep, I slept. If I needed to sew, I would sew.
- It is a health hazard here...
- There's no space to move. It gets hot...It's everything...I can't explain it...It's like a prison. Also, it's not safe because of the roads and the accidents. The only good thing is that we are not outside. We are not affected by rains...
- Getting a decent place to stay...being able to be with my children. I think that will make me feel better. If you're with your family, you feel like all is okay."
- The only redeeming thing is at least we can hide our heads and sleep.
- There is…a lot of crime. We can't walk around at night…I feel that I am always running away…You have to be alert…If you make one mistake, they will rob you.
- I feel like I don't even know him anymore. We don't spend together anymore...We don't have our own private space anymore...We just don't connect anymore, like we used to.
- There is no place for us to chat...no privacy. When relatives come to visit me...they can't stay with me.
- I have nothing. I have no husband...I have no home. I lost hope.
- It is tough here but I am getting used to it.
- I wish for our own home so that all my children can come back. It is better if they all can come back....It is better if we are all together and we can all survive together.
- My heart pains when I look at it...just to think we used to live there
- It is very painful when I think about that place. It felt like home. I was happy there
- I want to go back. I had my own room. I was on my own with my children.
- I wish I could go back. It was safe...and secure. The children could play inside. They could also play on the roof of the building.
- I wouldn't be able to go back because the flat is more expensive. It's changed. It's been re-done.