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2019
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COMMUITY DISPLACEMENT: AN INJUSTICE RESULTING FROM URBAN REGENERATION INITIATIVES IN THE JOHANNESBURG CBD

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22 May 2019

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MG Neluheni

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express gratitude to all the people that supported this work. This research report has benefited from comments and suggestions made by supervisor Dr Brian Boshoff, Dr Tshiwela Neluheni, HSD Pretoria team at HSRC, and other acquainted brilliant minds. I thank the Wits-TUB programme for awarding me with a scholarship to achieve my master's degree. Special thanks to my mother, Nkhangweleni Ndou. Thank you for supporting my academic career. To my family and friends, your kindness and support appreciated. Thank you. I acknowledge my late grandmother, Alice Neluheni and my late father, Tshifhiwa Neluheni, for their remarkable brainpower.

ABSTRACT

In South Africa, regeneration is a key instrument towards achieving spatial efficiency and inclusion in metropolitan cities. Nonetheless, it often results in the process of gentrification associated with displacement. Many studies have overlooked the qualitative nature of displacement, especially when induced by development activities. Therefore, negating the consequential experiences of people in a moment of gentrification. This study seeks to demonstrate how gentrification-related displacement affects the wellbeing of the working-class, by considering and analyzing their lived experiences. Therefore, steering attention to a critical displacement discourse. The case study is Maboneng Precinct, a neighbourhood created through the regeneration of a section of old Jeppestown. The method used is qualitative with a phenomenological narrative of experiences. An analysis of the findings from the interviews with displaced and remaining working-class residents in Maboneng indicate the capacity of the participants to persist through the pressures of gentrification-related displacement. All in effort to maintain their social and economic well-being in a changing environment. Subsequently, I led a desktop review of the South African Integrated Development Framework (IUDF) to demonstrate the extent to which it addresses the issue of gentrification-related displacement. The framework indicates displacement as a reality in South African urban settings, prompted by spatial transformative strategies. Thus, IUDF flags conditions that need fixing to avoid further displacement of the urban working-class from neighbourhoods undergoing regeneration. Therefore, asserting the government's responsibility to budget appropriately for resources to be available to follow through with urban development that is efficient and inclusive.

Keywords: [urban regeneration, gentrification, displacement, gentrification-related displacement, spatial transformation, working-class, social and economic wellbeing, IUDF, maboneng precinct]

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1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1. Introduction

Post- apartheid South Africa experienced a series of disinvestments in some of its inner cities neighborhoods. This resulted in the decline of the physical built environment, social and economic activities that were previously appealing and profitable. Urban regeneration is a global spatial transformation approach with origins from European and North American cities as an intervention to remedy the effects of urban decay. Though urban regeneration intentions are to improve neighborhoods, overtime it instigates a process of gentrification, with challenging implications on people's social and economic well-being, particularly the working class. Gentrification refers to the physical, social and economic upgrading of typically a working-class/low-income neighbourhood, making it attractive to people that will invest in the space, typically the middle and high-class. The term *gentrification* was coined by Ruth Glass (1964), a British sociologist who conducted an empirical study to examining the transformation of a neighborhood's physical features, value of property and social class in certain areas in London. Previously, gentrification was extensively an occurrence in cities in the global north; nonetheless, it has paved its way to cities in the global south through globalization. "However, while the process may bring appealing traits, gentrification is at the same time also associated with evictions, homelessness and the displacement of people" (Slater 2015, cited in Ah Goo, 2018:90).

Slater (2006) argues that discourse neglects a critical perspective of displacement in gentrification literature, specifically on how it affects people and their experiences. In other studies, displacement has been represented as an outcome of gentrification that does not have any significant negative effects due to a lack of adequate quantifiable evidence (Freeman and Braconi 2002; McKinnish et al. 2008; Vigor 2002). According to Ah Goo (2018: 90), "one of the reasons why attention has been steered away from displacement associated with gentrification is that researchers (such as Caufield,1994; and Hamnett,

2003: Rofe,2003) have tended to focus on the middle-class, who are agents of gentrification instead of expanding on the experiences of low-income residents living in gentrifying inner city areas who are more susceptible to exclusion and physical displacement (Doucet 2009; Murdie and Texeira, 2011; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015; Slater, 2006, 2009; Slater et al. 2004; Wacquant 2008; Watt, 2008)". Nonetheless, the existing literature on gentrification has been critical of its trend, such as increase in property value and rent and the effects it has on social and economic structures of a neighbourhood. The issue of race is merely a contextual sub-category in relation to socio-economic class of those affected adversely by gentrification and those who are agents of gentrification. The vulnerabilities caused by gentrification-related displacement include psychological distress, socio-economic and cultural costs. The focus of this research study will be on the effects of gentrification-related displacement on people displaced and existing in Maboneng Precinct, an urban space developed within Jeppestown, which a predominantly working-class neighbourhood situated east of inner city Johannesburg.

1.2. **Problem Statement**

A typical indicator of gentrification is the physical upgrading of a neighbourhood leading to an increase in property value and occupant space rent. The change in rental price can create inopportune income disparities in terms of affordability and accessibility of rental property amongst the residents. This phenomenon results in direct displacement of low-income residents. Often such groups involuntarily move to the periphery and other desolate areas in the city; some reluctantly migrate back to their place of origin. Such an outcome can have disadvantageous effects to a household's social and economic well-being. The working-class that remain in the neighbourhood may experience the pressures of displacement by losing supportive networks such as friends and local relatable business services. Nonetheless, this can stimulate adaptive strategies to the significant changes around or suffer the exclusionary effects of displacement.

According to Davidson (2009:228), “the growing authority of purely quantitative studies of displacement that simply relate spatial relocation to displacement represent a significant empirical void in terms of gentrification”. There must be an exploration of displacement as not purely physical and only concerning spatial relocation, but also involving an expression of characteristics of gentrification-related displacement, that affect both people that are displaced and those that remain in the neighbourhood, thus reflecting on their experiences.

1.3. **Rationale for Research**

Private sector led urban regeneration is quite constraining in terms of apportioning appropriate ways to achieve spatially efficient and inclusive urban planning. The outcome of its implementation is often gentrification associated with the displacement of original residents and businesses in working-class neighbourhoods. Both the private and the public sector fail to (1) recognize and adequately address the effects that gentrification has on people, especially the low-income class; (2) and how to responsibly manage and monitor private sector’s involvement in urban regeneration projects. Essentially, actors involved in urban regeneration fall short on applying appropriate measures that adhere to the principles of sustainability.

1.4. **Research Aim**

The aim of this research is to explore gentrification-related displacement qualitatively by assessing the effects it has on the wellbeing of displaced and remaining working-class residents in the Maboneng Precinct.

1.5. **Research Objectives**

Objective 1*:* The primary objective for this research is to find out how displacement of the working class (from Maboneng Precinct) has affected their social and economic wellbeing, by seeking qualitative information to view their experiences of gentrification-related displacement.

Objective 2: The second objective is to explore how urban regeneration leads to gentrification and the displacement of an urban population.

Objective 3*:* The third objective is to examine the extent to which the integrated Urban Development Framework (UDF) addresses the issue of gentrification-related displacement in South Africa.

1.6. Research Question

(a) How has the process of gentrification-related displacement affected the social and economic well-being of the displaced and remaining working-class residents in Maboneng Precinct?

1.7. Sub-Research Questions

(a) How do the displaced and remaining working-class residents perceive the process of gentrification taking place in Maboneng Precinct?
(b) What are the challenges and opportunities experiences by the displaced and remaining working-class residents in Maboneng Precinct?
(c) What is the extent to which the IUDF objectives address gentrification-related displacement in South Africa?

1.8. Right to the City as a conceptual framework to delineate the effects of gentrification-related displacement on the working-class.

This research is framed by Lefebvre's (1968) and Harvey's (2008) concepts on the 'right to the city'. This is a concept that requests the substantiation of social and spatial justice. It articulates that both rich and poor residents have the right to occupy the city and be able to use resources available within an urban setting. The concept interactively insists on integrative developments. Urban regeneration is a form of re-entry to the city for public and

private sectors as well as civil society. This intervention has deemed the city a place of reinvention; however, it often presents exclusionary effects through the process of gentrification, which can impede the agency of the working-class in engaging with activities in the city, thus rendering regenerated city spaces exclusively accessible to privileged social classes. Harvey (2008) articulates that the freedom for people to make and remake the city is a fundamental right that informs the idea that cities are for people and not for profit. The right to the city concept places gentrification-related displacement as a manifestation that can be a threat to the social and economic experiences of the working-class by isolating them from a space that allows them to create and maximize their livelihoods.

Lefebvre (1967:158) defines the right to the city as "a cry and a demand. This meanders through detours of nostalgia and tourism, the return to the heart of the traditional city, and the call of existent or recently developed centralities". The concept also grapples with "the right to information, the rights to use of multiple services, the right of users to make known their idea on the space and time of their activities in urban areas; it would also cover the right to the use of the center" (cited in Marcuse, 2012: 29-30). This interprets into addressing urban regeneration objectives, meaning that in the case of urban decay, its application communicates with what factors in as having the right to the city. However, the process of gentrification as an outcome often causes the disengagement of economically marginalized groups with the environment.

Marcuse's (2012: 30) elaborates Lefebvre's definition of the right to the city by articulating that, "the demand comes from those directly in want, directly oppressed, those for whom even their most immediate needs are not fulfilled: the homeless, the hungry, the imprisoned, the persecuted on gender, and religious, racial grounds" (ibid). In the context of my research, demand comes from residents displaced by the process of gentrification. "It is a demand of those whose income is below subsistence, those excluded from benefits of urban life" (ibid: 31). This research uses the right to the city concept to demonstrate how the displacement of the working-class in a gentrified neighbourhood has stretched the

capacity to access certain urban resources that create avenues for sustainable social interactions and their livelihoods.

Right to the City Concept Access to an urban setting and its resources, with the freedom for people to re-create the city and themselves.			
Actors	***Gentrification drivers***	***The process of gentrification***	***Social and Economic Aspects***
Local government Private developers	Urban regeneration initiatives	Re-investment Resale and rehabilitation of buildings Rent increase Physical displacement	Relocation Direct displacement Economic exclusion Increase in economic activity Employment opportunities Shift in Social Capital

Table 1: The research Conceptual Framework

2. CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

The research framework draws from the concept of the right to the city, making use of qualitative methodology to develop a phenomenological narrative of experiences pertaining to gentrification-related displacement. I selected this methodology because it "captures expressive information not conveyed in quantitative data, about beliefs, values, feelings, and motivation that underlie behaviours" (Berkwits and Inui, 1998: 195). It allows displaced people to voice their experiences and opinions pertaining to particular phenomena (Sofaer.nd). A qualitative approach allows freedom of expression, especially within marginalized groups. To address the research objectives and questions I applied two qualitative research designs and methods described below.

2.2. Research Design and Method

2.2.1. ***Case Study***

I conducted fieldwork in Maboneng Precinct, Jeppestown, which involved approaching people in the area for their participation in the interview process. This allowed me to attain a phenomenological perspective (Lester, 1999, Bhattacherjee, 2012) of displacement from the selected participants, in order to demonstrate the lived experiences of gentrification-related displacement by displaced and remaining working-class residents in the Precinct. The interview guide entailed semi-structured questions for in-depth individual interviews. The fieldwork also included an observation of conspicuous activities taking place in the neighbourhood.

2.2.2. ***Desktop Review***

The second element of the research design is a desktop review. I reviewed literature on and associated with gentrification with the consideration of international and South African perspectives. This is to provide an understanding of the subject under investigation and to reflect the significance of its exploration. For meeting the second objective of the study, I

reviewed the South African Urban Integrated Development Framework (UIDF). The relevant material for the review was identified using secondary sources including: grey literature (government policy drafts, online news articles) and academic journals and books sourced from the Wits Architecture and Planning library and online using Google and Google Scholar. The review of the framework has allowed me to identify its limitations and suggest methods to deal with gentrification-related displacement in the context of South Africa.

2.3. **Research Site, Sampling and Recruiting**

I collected the primary data in Maboneng Precinct through purposive and referral sampling followed by interviews. Purposive sampling refers to a process where participants are selected because they meet a criteria predetermined by the researcher as relevant to addressing the research question (William, 2008). I interviewed two business owners whose businesses pre-existed the creation of Maboneng Precinct; five displaced residents who relocated to the periphery of Maboneng's immediate boundary; and one former resident of Jeppestown who relocated to Bezuidenhout Valley (a suburb that lies further east of Johannesburg CBD) prior Maboneng's creation. I casually approached the participants from their place of business/employment in Maboneng. A street artist that frequents Maboneng referred me to his now neighbour in Bezuidenhout Valley, and former Jeppestown resident.

In regards to sampling, I had some limitations in accessing and exploring heterogeneity in terms of ethnicity, geographical origin and gender dynamics. It was limited due to the narrow access of participants suggested by referral sampling, sensitivity of the subject and language barrier. Some of the participants that referred me to potential participants did not directly have their direct contact and often, they did not know where to find them. Thus the small sample. Considering the sensitivity of the research subject, I chose to refrain from asking certain questions that might have provided valuable information but would have offended the participants as well. Language was a barrier in a sense that some of the participants interviewed both foreign and national were most comfortable speaking in their native tongue than English. This made communication difficult thus cutting the interview short. In other

interviews, I was fortunate to have a local acquaintance to help translate throughout the interview session.

2.4. **Data Analysis process**

The qualitative data generated using individuals interviews was recorded using a digital recorder and transcribed verbatim for analysis. I used thematic analysis to analyze the data for interpretation. The process leading up to the emergent of relevant themes to address the research objectives and questions involve the process of coding the data then identifying and defining the themes developed (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis encompasses six phases to analytic interpretation of data: familiarization with the data set through repeated readings; initial code generation; construction of preliminary themes; refinement of themes through comparison with coded extracts and the entire dataset; naming and defining themes; and generating the narrative report of the findings. (Braun and Clarke, 2012). The right to the city theoretical framework has guided the analysis process through the corroboration of its defining qualities as articulated by Lefebvre (1967). An analytical review of urban development policy literature is another part of data analysis applied to address the second research objective. The analysis involved contrasting policy with urban realities in Johannesburg inner city neighbourhoods.

2.5. **Ethical Considerations**

The research participants were informed comprehensively about the nature of the research and the role they would be playing. An informed consent in the form of a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and a formal consent form was provided to willing participants (Israel and Hay, 2006). The participants were informed that their participation in the research interviews is purely voluntary and if they wish to withdraw from the proceedings, they may do so at any time (Alshenqeeti, 2014). Confidentiality and anonymity are other aspects expressed to the participants to secure their trust and allowance to use the information they have provided for the purpose of the research study. The information gathered has only been

accessible to me as the researcher and kept in a secured file in my password-protected computer. As a precautionary measure when interpreting the data collected and referencing it back to the participants' responses, I have coded the participants by attaching a number to protect their identities. However, I have included a brief bio about each participant to show context, without exposing specific identifying details.

2.6. **Conclusion**

This chapter delineates the data analysis procedures taken in action to synthesize an interpretation of the data that communicates with the aim of the research. The selection process of participants, though done purposively, happened arbitrarily. The referral process also enabled me to stay in course when recruiting relevant participants. The research limitations include not being able to locate residents that relocated to communities beyond Jeppestown. Most of the daily hours on the field were spent walking around trying to find people to interview, which then translated to me not engaging with a significant number of participants, thus a missed opportunity on gathering more significant information and perspectives regarding the subject under investigation. The participants' responses do not speak to the experiences of all residents that where displaced from Maboneng due to the process of gentrification, however, their stories offer a different perspective to lived experiences of gentrification related displacement and its effect. Therefore, this methodological occurrence offers a framework to Davidson (2009) and Slater's (2006) argument about literature on gentrification neglecting the qualitative impressions of gentrification on those affected by the phenomenon.

3. CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature pertaining to the concept of gentrification and displacement from both International and South African perspectives and debates. To inform the research inquiry the literature review is sectioned in conjunction with relative concepts and discourse. The literature shows that the principal intention of urban regeneration initiatives that invoke gentrification is to bring progressive restructuring, the side effects accompanied by the process are somewhat beneficial to some nonetheless costly to others' wellbeing. In this study, the concept of well-being is framed around social and economic aspects.

3.2. Social and Economic Well-being

According to (Teghe and Rendell, 2005) well-being is subjective. It does not have a single definition and it is frequently used interchangeably "with quality of life, happiness and life satisfaction" (OECD, 2013: 26). According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2001: 6), "well-being depends on all the factors [the natural environment, the built environment, social arrangements and human consciousness] that interact within" a "culture and can be seen as a state of health or sufficiency in all aspects of life." Wilkinson (1979: 6) argues that, "any systematic treatment of development must begin with delineation of desired goals, outcomes, or direction of change." The delineated features are rudimental to social and economic well-being of a population. Wilkinson (1979: 6) further explains two approaches that allocate value to the concept of social well-being and its individual and community expression. The first approach mentioned is "select goals on which there us wide-spread consensus" (ibid.) to avoid the irrational belief that a past outcome was predictable. The second approach mentioned, "is to take a structural perspective which assumes that values are epiphenomenal to the system of norms through which necessary social functions are performed" (ibid.).

From a social dimension, well-being denotes social conditions relating to the acceptance of self and others, self-actualization, social contribution, social coherence and sense of belonging

and participation in a community (Teghe and Rendell, 2005; Keys, 1998). Studies on the relationship between economic factors and well-being have contradictory views (Teghe and Rendell, 2005). Hamilton (2003, 145) found that "inequality of income can severely effect well-being." However, researchers such as Headley and Wearing (1992), Diener and Biswas-Diener (2002) found that "economic variables, such as income and employment status, appear to have little effect on well-being" (Teghe and Rendell, 2005: 5). In economic studies, wealth and income are often distinguished. Nevertheless, income is a variable commonly used to measure economic well-being. The perception of wealth varies individually and organizationally, thus, its degree of interpretation is subjective. However, on a statutory level, it is often regulated to be able to define the economic well-being of a population.

3.3. **Urban regeneration and the process of Gentrification**

Gentrification is identified interchangeably with urban regeneration, renewal and revitalization across various contexts. Urban regeneration is a term well received and used in the United Kingdom and South Africa. Urban renewal and revitalization on the other hand are terms commonly used in the United States of America. Nonetheless, all these spatial transformative programmes are characterized by subtle differences. They also have their successes and failures. A phenomenon that elaborates both success and failure is the socio-economic restructuring that is well noticeable and the inevitable exclusion of the urban poor on a neighbourhood level.

Describing the similarities and differences between the urban regeneration initiatives.

Urban regeneration is more about changing the physical form of the city, specifically to a similar form that it once had in the past, or it can involve restructuring activities that used to take place by replacing them with new forms that still have an economic value to the neighborhood (Weaver, 2001).

Urban renewal involves the transformation of urban spaces, by using public sector buying power of property to rehabilitate decaying neighbourhoods, demolishing and reconstructing

decaying buildings, and reshaping the social and cultural scape of the neighborhood (Rui, 2003). It does not necessary involve upper to middle-class groups transforming the neighborhood.

Urban revitalization is a way of giving life back to declining neighborhoods. It involves the socio-economic activities of a city- especially a city that was once vibrant but seems to have lost its liveliness due to businesses closing and people relocating. Kennedy and Leonard (2001: 6) define revitalization as "the process of enhancing the physical, commercial and social components of neighbourhoods and the future prospects of its residents through private sector and/ or public sector efforts".

As a symptom of traits involved in the mentioned urban redevelopment programmes, gentrification usually occurs. However, "gentrification does not automatically occur when higher income residents move into a lower income neighborhood", as its recognized definition dictates (ibid.).

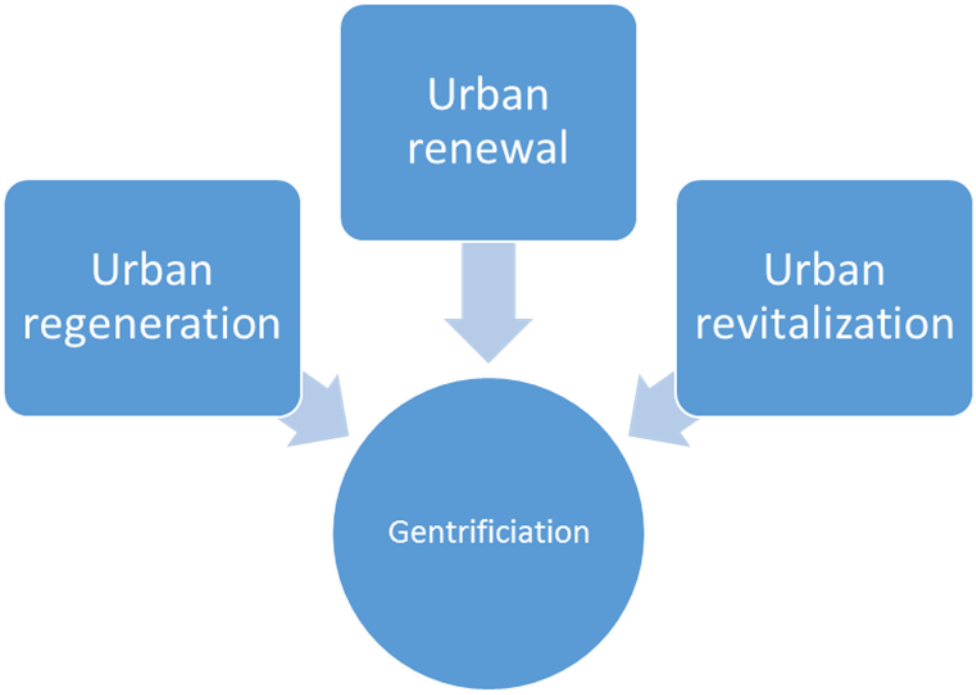

Figure 1: Gentrification as an outcome of urban regeneration initiatives (Source: Author)

Allocating Glass' (1964) definition of gentrification within contemporary society, it is identified as the upgrading of run-down urban neighbourhoods by middle-class to upper-class residents and property investors, therefore resulting in low-income groups being displaced due to certain trends that enforce the process of gentrification. In essence, gentrification is defined by its consequences. This perception of gentrification is known argued as classic gentrification (Shaw, 2008). Clarke (2005) defines it as a replacement of land users, whereby the new users are of an elevated socio-economic status than the previous land users. This is influenced by capital investment in the build environment that create opportunities for profitability. According to Ghaffari et al (2018: 1) "gentrification remains gentrification even if displacement does not occur as part of the changing socio-economic structure of the neighbourhood."

According to Steenkamp (2004) urban regeneration can be used as a tool to address the crime and pollution in declining cities. In conjunction with Steenkamp's rationale for urban regeneration, Roberts (2000) suggests four conditions that create the need and demand for urban regeneration: devastating changes in an economy and employment in a city; social and community insecurities; corrosion of the physical aspects of a neighbourhood; and lack of environmental quality and sustainability (cited in Steenkamp, 2004). The reasons to initiate urban regeneration are substantiated by the objective to make the neighbourhood's townscape more attractive for businesses and residents by opening up market to capital investors from either the public sector or the private sector (Steenkamp, 2004).

Urban regeneration promotes flagships through the process of gentrification. Maboneng Precinct -the case study for this research is an example of such a phenomenon. The evidence to prove that it is a flagship is demonstrated in the findings chapter. By definition a flagship is a large-scale urban regeneration project with the functions to attract "further developments, or they can promote tourism, new land uses and transform the image of the city" however the negative side to a flagship involve "the risk of cultural standardization and issues of access".

Flagships can cause social and political digression and focus more on the satisfaction of the middle-class and to the exclusion of the working-class. (Steenkamp, 2004: 56).

3.4. **Gentrification from an international perspective**

There are different perspectives of gentrification across cities on a global scale. Gentrification is no longer a phenomenon contained within cities in the global north. Contemporarily, gentrification has emerged in cities of the global south and has progressed to their peripheral urban settings (Monare et al., 2014). According to Chapple (2017: 85) there are losers and winners to an influx of gentry. “The losers of the process are the displaced, while the winners include those who benefit from the new profitability of these areas: some new residents and some existing residents, but most of all those who stand to benefit from the accumulation of capital in entire neighbourhoods – large financial institutions and the cities themselves”.

The debates concerning gentrification are delineated within two contrasting school of thought with a social and economic departure to their conceptualization of gentrification to offer lessons about it. According to Chapple (2017:86) the demand-side school associates gentrification with demographic factors that stimulated a demand for urban residences through the “a changing economic base that created a large number of white-collar jobs in the city centre and the mainstreaming” of an avant-garde lifestyle. The supply-side school is contrary to the demand-side school, nonetheless, it particularizes that gentrification is a capitalist phenomenon with the invocation to produce profit for property owners and financial institutions facilitated by private capital investment and public policy in declining neighbourhoods. “The change in neighbourhoods is the spatial manifestation of the restructuring of capital accumulation, in a process of uneven development” (ibid.).

In spite of the debilitating effects of gentrification, there are authors that argue in favour of gentrification such as Brueckner and Rosenthal (2009); Lipton 1977; Wheaton 1977; Kern 1981; LeRoy and Sonstelie 1983; Schill and Nathan 1983. They perceive it as a natural and inevitable process of post industrialization to revitalize neighbourhoods that are experiencing

decay and bring ‘culture’ and capital to the area. The occurrence of displacement because of gentrification is not accepted as a restricting issue by the authors.

A study in the United Kingdom did not find gentrification to induce social mixing, a strategy thought to foster diversity and manage income inequality in a neighbourhood and to improve the quality of life (Monare et al., 2014). Rather it perpetuated a division amongst social classes. However, the positive effects of gentrification that can be confirmed in most contexts is the improvement of safety, cleanliness and economy of a neighbourhood. In contrast the negative effects that eclipse the positive effects include: race-class profiling; “conflicts between old and new residents; increased property tax, the loss of cheap rental” (ibid: 110) space for residential and business purposes; and ultimately displacement of the working-class. The negative and positive effects of gentrification perceptually differ. Scoping gentrification from a capitalist point of view, some of the positive effects are what may be perceived as negative effects to the working-class.

Gentrification is embraced within international urban development policies “either as a justification to obey market forces and private sector entrepreneurialism or as a tool to direct market processes in the hopes of restructuring urban landscapes in a slightly more benevolent fashion” (Wyly and Hammel, 2005: 35). On that accord, Monare et al. (2014) argues that gentrification is a process that cannot be resisted but should be managed well in order to accomplish and sustain a more justifiable society with equity spared on resource allocation. There are international endeavors to avoid rental pressures that might force people to relocate.

In Germany, there is an institution of a rent regulating governing body, which oversees and determines a standard price for a rental unit. The regulation prevents landowners from abruptly raising the rent for incoming new residents, and it allows the tenants a steady rental period (Le Gates and Hartman, 2014). South Africa suffers from a tremendous housing backlog. The rental regulation situation in Germany posits a probable short-term solution to the need for access to affordable housing. However, as a lesson for South Africa, “the rental

regulation in Germany has not decreased the demand for housing, nor has it resulted in a lack of profit for developers" (Le Gates and Hartman, 2014: 63). The latter argument suggests a credible retraction from rental price increase by private developers on newly upgraded residential neighbourhoods, which then leaves many a people under financial pressure and at risk of displacement.

3.5. **Gentrification in a South African context**

In South Africa, gentrification has emerged in two distinct phases (Le Gates and Hartman, 2014). The first phase occurred in the 1950s and 1980s. It involved class displacement, partly executed by the Group areas Act of 1950. Garside (1993) and Kotze (1998) demonstrated that the first phase of gentrification in South Africa was consumption induced. Therefore, it resulted when middle-class households upgraded their properties thus pushing working class households out of the neighborhood due to a change in the neighbourhood market value. Garside (1993) substantiated the consumption disposition of gentrification in the first phase in South Africa to be associated with minority groups moving into neighbourhoods that were previously intended for white people. In Woodstock, Cape Town, Coloured people started to move into lower Woodstock essentially displacing the existing white residents (cited in Le Gates and Hartman, 2014).

The distinction between gentrification in the global north, particularly United States and in the global south particularly South Africa, is by an interchange of racial groups classically affected by the ramifications of gentrification. In the United States, black working-class neighbourhoods often vulnerable to pejorative impacts of gentrification-related displacement. However, in South Africa "Black, Coloured, and Indian people can be agents of gentrification, thus owing to the rise of black middle-class and demand for housing" (ibid: 110). In the case of Maboneng Precinct, the agents of gentrification are mostly the white middle-class and the emerging black middle-class (both of a foreign and local nationality) that take residence or open businesses in the neighbourhood.

The second phase of gentrification is allocated at the epicenter of urban regeneration literature and dialogues (Kotze and Van der Merwe, 2000). In this context, urban regeneration is applied in public policy as a way to reverse decay in a neighbourhood. In urban regeneration debates, the initiative is closely associated with gentrification, hence both being identified interchangeably.

Visser (2002) describes the third and emerging phase of gentrification as a process-taking place in peripheral apartheid developed black townships. The emerging trend described by Visser (2002) relates to what Lemanski (2014) identifies as hybrid gentrification. Hybrid gentrification involves downward raiding and classic gentrification. Downward raiding is a concept framed to address slums in the global south. Downward raiding by definition is when "middle-income groups 'raid' lower-income areas (often state subsidized or informal settlements) and undertake service/infrastructural upgrades; low-income residents are both displaced and excluded" (Lemanski, 2014: 2946). Like classic gentrification, it also involves displacement and exclusion (ibid.).

A review of the downward raiding by Payne (1996: 21) demonstrated that it "makes it more difficult for low income households to obtain housing in areas originally intended for them". In the case of Maboneng Precinct, the working-class that experienced gentrification-related displacement where previously not intended to occupy what is now Maboneng Precinct considering it was historically an industrial site, nonetheless post decentralization of industries in the neighbourhood created an opportunity for the working-class to move in. Therefore creating and shaping the urban space according to the resources available to them. Gentrification being a phenomenon that started in the global north, the side of downward raiding in the global south invokes a contextualized and comparative approach to urban change discourse.

Lemanski's (2014) approach to gentrification is characteristically limited to certain regions in both cities in the global north and cities in the global south for an experimental observation of the process. Lemanski (2014: 2944) delineates that "hybrid gentrification as a concept

demonstrates that theories rooted in certain empirical locations are enriched by analysis from elsewhere; and more broadly this example demonstrates a methodology for bridging the North-South theory divide". Harrison (2008) positions gentrification within a neo-liberal moment because of the trends it has set globally. Similar to Lemanski (2014), Harrison (2008) argues for a comparative approach to understanding the spread of gentrification, as one must consider the geography and history of a context.

Some of the key trends that have emerged in South African gentrification literature include the investigation of rising black middle-class in former black townships; and an academic inquiry about the desirability of gentrification as without a doubt has the capacity to have devastating effects on the architectural legacy of South African cities (Monare et al., 2014). The architectural legacy includes the preservation of classic construction designs that represent a definitive era in an urban society.

3.6. **Urban regeneration in Johannesburg**

The city of Johannesburg is celebrated for its historical connection to the gold rush in South Africa, which attracted many a people to the area in pursuit of riches and other opportunities. Gradually it developed into a formidable economic node, nationally and internationally. However, through series of disinvestment in the 1970s it experienced instantaneous decline since the 1980s (Bethlehem, 2013). Post-apartheid, occupation of the inner city by people who were constitutionally deprived of the right to live there by previous racial segregating laws and policies was in motion. Urban decay and proliferation of crime and fear instigated migration from the inner city within the white middle-class (Crankshaw and White, 1995). Simultaneously, informality and illegality became prevalent (Garner, 2011).

In the 1990s, South Africa established the City Improvement District (CID) after exploring a North American Business Improvement District (BID) concept (Ah Goo, 2018). The purpose of the CID in Johannesburg was to re-introduce cleanliness, safety, and maintenance of public spaces through levies paid by property owners in the city. The CID was appointed and

managed by the public sector and it marked the beginning of urban regeneration initiatives in Johannesburg concurrently with the Inner city Development Economic Development Strategy and the Inner city Spatial Framework. In the early 2000s, the city of Johannesburg formed the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), an autonomous body of government tasked to deal with inner city regeneration projects driven by the adoption of a themed precinct approach (Garner, 2011). Various actors in Johannesburg have attributed urban regeneration processes in selected neighbourhoods.

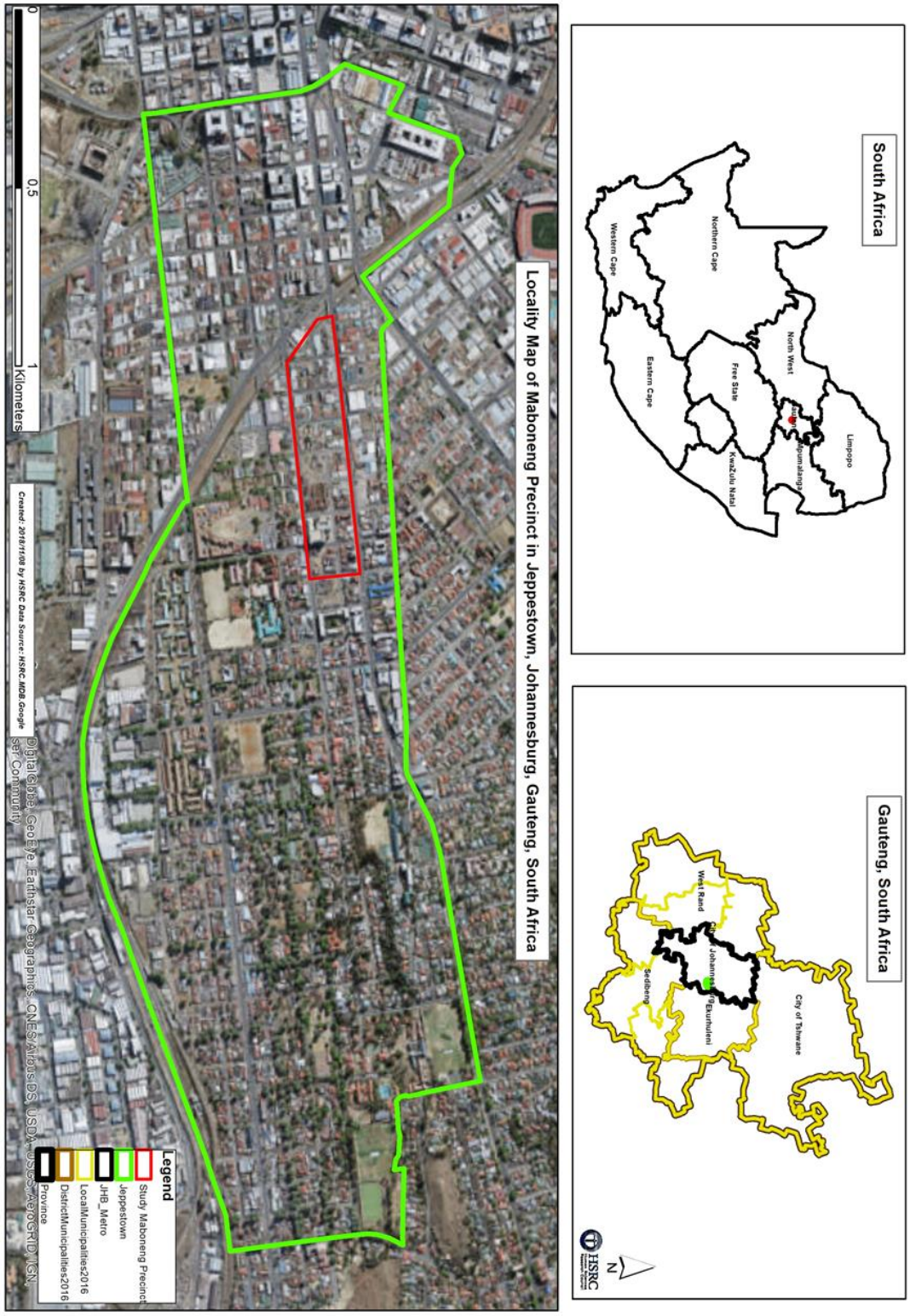

Figure 2: Locality map of Maboneng Precinct, Jeppestown inner city Johannesburg (Source: Author)

3.7. **The development of Maboneng Precinct and the process of gentrification**

The regeneration of Jeppestown's abandoned industrial quarter into a mixed-use neighbourhood began in 2008 (Ah Goo, 2018) with the first facility opening in 2009 called Arts on Main. The leading developers of Maboneng, Propertutity, embraced experiences from global inner cities that have experienced urban decay and instituted urban regeneration initiatives to transform their neighbourhoods. They also drew on the design principles of New Urbanism (Ah Goo, 2018). New Urbanism is an urban design movement initiated in the United States in the early 1980s. Its main objective was to reduce the use of cars and to establish walkable neighbourhoods with jobs and amenities in close proximity to each other (Briney, 2018). Its principles entail walkability; connectivity of streets; mixed-use buildings and diversity of occupants; mixed-housing; quality architecture and urban design that is appealing and safe; traditional neighbourhood structure; increased density; smart transportation; sustainability and quality of life. (CNU and HUD, 2000).

The architecture in Maboneng Precinct is modern with refurbishment designs that present an avant-garde appeal (Nevin, 2014). The neighbourhood's transformation rests on Florida's (2005) notion of amply attracting the "creative class" into an urban setting to "achieve high levels of prosperity and economic growth" (Moss, 2017: 14). According to Florida (2005), the creative class are people who take on employment in the creation of significant artistic forms. This form of economy supports experimentation of ideas to produce something with monetary value. Florida does not limit the creative class to be comprised by college graduates; he includes people in creative occupations without a college qualification. However, paradoxically members of the creative class are considerably college graduates (Moss, 2017: 13). The introduction of the creative class in Maboneng sets the process of gentrification in motion (Ah Goo, 2018). Propertuity, being the leading developers of Maboneng invested in creating a space that is conducive to a creative lifestyle with the belief that it will create opportunities and stimulate diversity and cultural tolerance. Florida (2012) correlated urban economic growth with the presence of the creative class (Moss, 2017). The developers

believed that introducing a creative economy to the precinct would bring a liberal transformation that would form the base of the Maboneng community.

The precinct's creative theme is attracting people from diverse backgrounds that can afford the lifestyle offered within the precinct. According to Ah Goo (2018: 96) the transformation process that led to the current realities of Maboneng "began as a form of arts gentrification" in conjunction with classic gentrification. The neighbourhood is recognized as an enclave (an element of new urbanism) without physical barriers. It has security at each point of entry. It is the archetype of a postmodern design in a neoliberal moment. During the early development phases of Maboneng, there has been an execution of a model of gentrification described by Berry (1985: 44) by the identification of "gutted shells" of buildings and the "little displacement of existing neighbourhood residents"(Cited in Nevin, 2014: 192).

Since opening up to residential and business space to renters, prices have doubled in Maboneng. "In 2017, rentals started from R3 500 (USD 260) for a studio apartment to R22 000 (USD 1645) for a 185m2 penthouse" (Ah Goo, 2018: 96). Propertutity the leading property developer have affordable housing on offer from R1850 (Propertuity website). Now, it is a question of the unit's spatial parameters, whether it can accommodate an average working-class household and whether a household income is sufficient, considering "the development attempts to cater for a range of income groups" (Ah Goo, 2018: 96). The brand manager of Maboneng affirms high prices on renting units by arguing that even though the housing units at Maboneng are more costly than the housing units in areas adjacent to the precinct, they are actually "cheaper than apartments in the northern suburbs" (Nevin, 2014: 192). Its "island"-like nature as Berry (1985) described marks its gentrified space that much visible. (Nevin, 2014). "Maboneng is a conscious creation of a new neighbourhood over an existing one" (Walsh, 2013: 203) driven by the private secto. The middle-class played the role of encouraging the creative economy in the precinct through social and economic support.

3.8. **Social realities in Maboneng Precinct**

There is an apparent spatial and social divide indicated by class differences within Jeppestown. Main Street physically separates Fox Street, which is the center point of Maboneng from an area adjacent to Maboneng, primarily occupied by the working-class. The cost of living configured by the development of Maboneng is mainly affordable to an affluent group of people. Nevin (2014) mentions that evictions that took place in Maboneng were of informal businesses. He further states that the eviction of residences took place in the outskirts of Maboneng and not within the precinct defined parameters.

The following tables demonstrate the age and race split amongst Maboneng's residents and agents of gentrification.

Age	**Owners (%)**	**Renters (%)**
25-34	**50%**	**-**
35-49	**31%**	**-**
18-34	**-**	**69%**

Table 2: The age split between demographics of residential owners and renters at Maboneng Precinct (Source: Propertuity, 2016)

Race	**Owners (%)**	**Renters (%)**
Black	**27%**	**66%**
White	**47%**	**22%**
Indian	**14%**	**8%**

Other	**10%**	**-**

Table 3: The race split between demographics of residential owners and renters at Maboneng Precinct (Source: Propertuity, 2016)

Ownership of property within the precinct amongst historically disadvantaged minority groups in South Africa indicates that there is a rise of the black middle-class. However, black residents appear to represent a high number of renters that property owners in comparison to the rest of the races represented in the table above. I believe it is safe to assume that part of the 69% of youth aged 18-34 renting correlates with the high number of black people renting. The age-racial split between owners and renters gives a glimpse of the wealth convenience and distribution amongst the residents. This occurrence indicates the construction of "new class contradictions to overlay and replace older ones" within a gentrified space (Nevin, 2014).

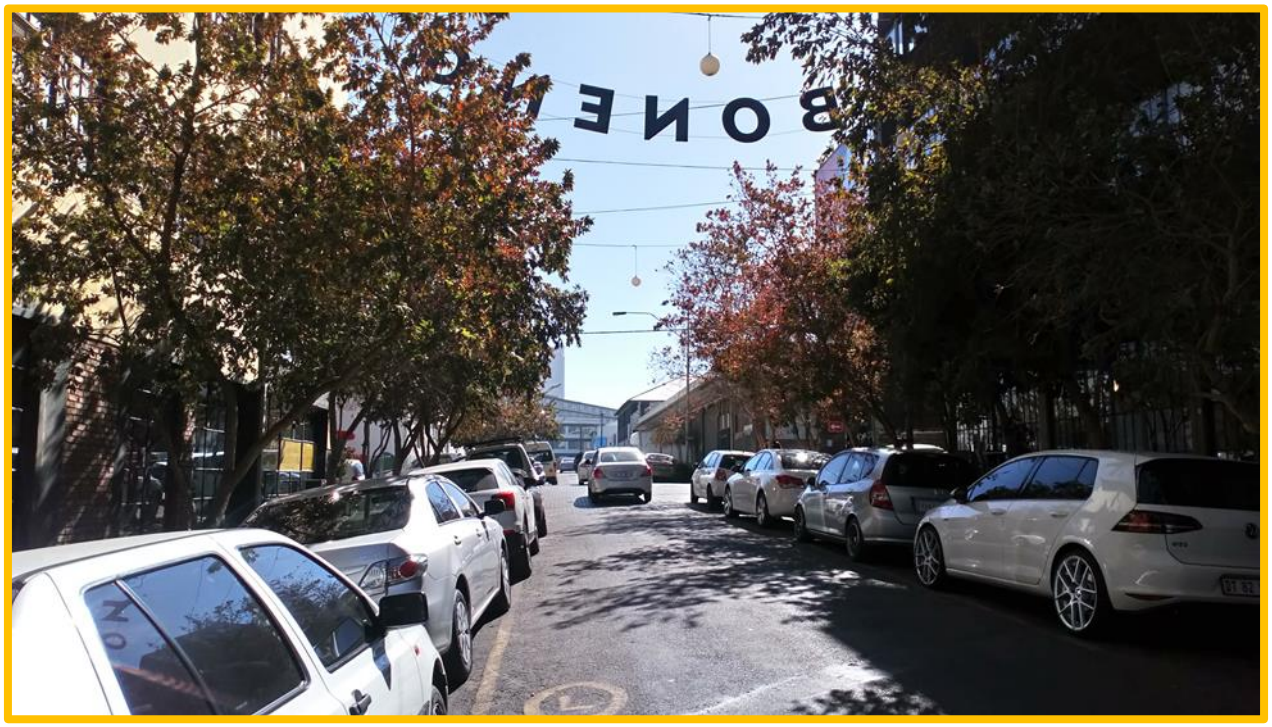

Figure 3: A section of Maboneng Precinct on Kruger Street (Source: Author, 2018)

The following attached image is a map that indicates income distribution across broader Maboneng Precinct, thus delineating a class of people centered within the heart of Maboneng, established between Commissioner Street and Main Street



Figure 4: An illustration of class distribution across broader Maboneng Precinct (Source: Propertuity, 2016)

3.9. **Gentrification-related displacement**

Atkinson (2004) defines displacement as a move from a settlement involuntarily. Cortez (2017) reviews the cause of displacement and its effects within the context of a neoliberal moment. The author explains that gentrification does not have a narrow definition. The author defines gentrification as a process that is “profit driven racial and class reconfiguration of urban, working-class, and communities of colour that have suffered from a history of disinvestment and abandonment” (Cortez, 2017: 7). This definition compliments the notion that “gentrification is not as one might be encouraged to think from reading recent scholarships, the saviour of our cities” (Slater, 2006: 725). It includes the exclusion and othering of people of a certain racial and income class.

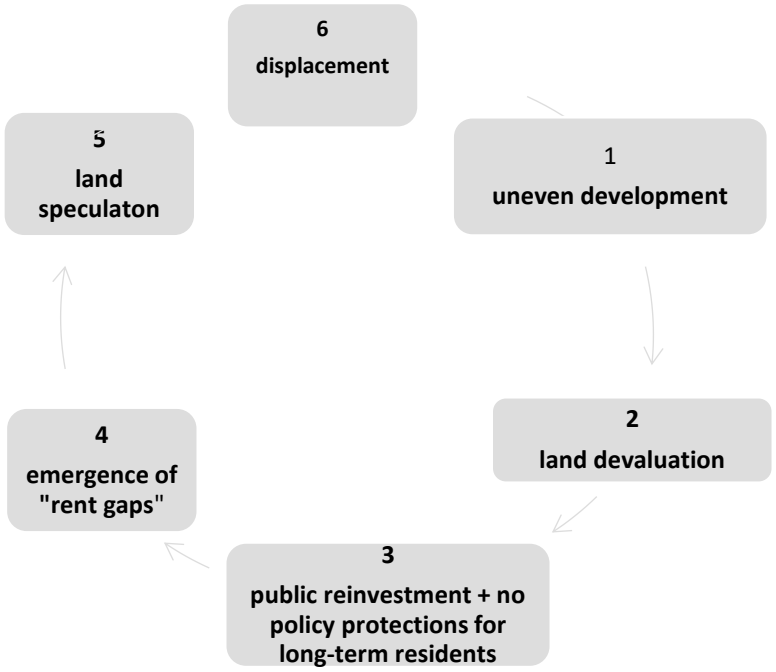

Figure 5: An illustration of gentrification as part of a neoliberal urban development (Source: Cortez, 2017: 8)

The image above is an adaptation of a figure illustrating the life cycle of a neoliberal urban development where gentrification is part of a neoliberal urban development consequently transpiring to displacement, based from the Mission Trails case study by Cortez (2017).

According to (Jaysawal and Saha, 2016: 5), “displacement is primarily a phenomenon associated with the loss of land, which is a fundamental point of economic, social, and cultural references”. In South Africa displacement in association with homelessness which is often linked with a shortage of affordable housing. However, Chapple (2017) mentions another aspect to consider in the displacement discourse, which is income inequality by assessing the balance between housing demand policy and labour and income policy. In spite of the uneven development pressure in urban settings, to counter act the effects of gentrification, policy makers should set a balance by prioritising labour and income policy. Chapple (2017: 85) suggests a review of perception on the issue of displacement. The author frames the concept that addresses that “what is widely viewed as a housing crisis, then, is actually an income crisis”.

Marcuse (1985) describes displacement and its different forms as well as ways to measure the extent to which it affects communities. Grier and Grier (1978) speak of direct displacement, which is comprised of physical and economic displacement. There are numerous applied methods to measure displacement. One method evaluates “the number of housing units affected. This method considers only the last resident of that unit as displaced.” (Marcuse, 1985: 206). The type of displacement that arises from the latter is “last-rent displacement” (ibid.). The other method is “chain displacement”. It occurs when a household has been living in the very same unit as the previous tenant, but forced out due to the “physical decline of the building or earlier rent increase” (ibid: 206). Another form of displacement expressed by Marcuse (1985: 207) is exclusionary displacement which “occurs when any household is not permitted to move into a dwelling” when the previous tenant vacates either voluntarily or involuntarily.

Another thing to consider in regards to displacement is that it does not only affect those physically displaced, it also affects people who have had associations with those displaced from the neighbourhood. They feel “the pressure of displacement” (Marcuse, 1985:207) when their social networks leave, and when they witness the small business they have been supporting for years close down and new businesses replacing them. Richard, Le Gates and Hartman (1986) wrote evidence based report to encourage cities beyond the United States experiencing gentrification-induced displacement to make use of their findings to develop policies that mitigate the damaging effects of displacement on vulnerable groups.

The authors identify the characteristics of in-movers (typically middle-class) and out-movers (typically working-class) to and from gentrified neighbourhoods through a categorization of prior location, age, race, income, family structure and occupation. My main concern for this research report is the impacts of displacement distinctively expressed by the characteristics of the out-movers. However, it would be just to address in-movers characteristics to show how it intersects with out-movers’ experiences. Characteristics of in-movers are discussed in the next paragraph.

The authors describe in-movers in the context of the United States as typically, “young affluent and well educated members of the dominant elites” (Richard et al., 1986: 179) moving into regenerated urban neighborhoods that are close to their place of work and leisure. In the United States studies show that in movers are not migrants from the suburbs as sustained by the *back to the city movement* (Smith, 1979), rather they relocated themselves from within the city itself (Richard et al., 1986). However, “it has been hypothesized that even though in-movers may have been living within the city just prior to their move into the gentrifying neighborhood, they are essentially suburban in origin (Weiler 1978)” (cited in Richard et al., 1986: 180). Below is classification of in-movers and out-movers characteristics.

Age

In-movers tend to be of the same age group and sense of lifestyle. They are typically young professionals getting their independence started in the city. (Richard et al, 1986.). A similar situation has emerged in the context of Maboneng Precinct *(see Table 2. p. 29).*

Race

In a case of the Unites States in-movers are primarily white (Richard et al, 1986). However, in a case of South Africa, there is a rising black middle class in favour of the urban city life with amenities and work within close proximity to their residential area. Hence, they are moving into vibrant newly gentrified urban neighborhoods (Monare et al., 2014). In the first phase of gentrification in South Africa Coloureds moved into lower Woodstock, which was predominantly a white neighbourhood, thus displacing the existing residents and replacing the neighbourhoods culture (Le Gates and Hartman, 2014). In Maboneng Precinct, Black residents constitute 66% of in-movers (Propertuity, 2016) *see table 3, page 29*.

Family structure

The family structure of the in-movers is typically constituted of "small households consisting of a single individual or a couple" (Richard et al., 1986: 183). Their family structure is typically of an extended household consisting of parents with children and sometimes-other relatives in a basic housing unit. Amongst the out-movers "there are substantial numbers of unemployed and welfare-dependent households" (ibid: 189) as well as individuals holding low paying jobs. "Out-movers are a much more heterogeneous group than in-movers. It is not easy to profile a typical out-mover household because of the range of characteristics involved" (ibid: 189) in the following classifications: age, family structure, income, and occupation.

"Popular accounts of gentrification induced displacement frequently assert that out-movers are geographically dispersed into less desirable dwelling units and neighbourhoods at higher costs" (Richard et al.1986: 190). The costs involved are social and economic. Richard et al. (1986)

states that studies found that out-movers are likely to settle not too far from their previous settlement. In recent gentrification- displacement studies, there are reports that indicate a rise in cost of shelter for out movers. In a case of Seattle, United States, in the 1970's, "87 percent of the displacees were reported to be paying approximately 6 percent more than their former rent with only 12 percent (of the out-movers) paying over 8 percent more" (Richard et al: 191).

Cortez (2017) explains that displacees often experiences a period of homelessness before finding permanent residency if such an opportunity arises. They also experience "out of pocket expenses, increases in housing burdens, employability, accessibility and affordability". In the Mission Trail case study, the households that forced to relocate had greater expenses to cover than the assistance they were offered by the developers (Cortez, 2017). There are cases of families and friends separated due to displacement. The most unnerving effect is "having to move without notice" (Cortez, 2017: 88) and support from community leaders and city officials. Consequently, displacement can neutralize displacees' political power (Richard et al., 1986).

In Johannesburg, South Africa, private developers have avoided dealing with issues of displacement. For instance in the Maboneng Precinct, leading property developer Jonathan Liebman, CEO of Propertuity sees displacement as a none-issue in Johannesburg. He claims that there is sufficient affordable housing available to the poor who have been displaced (Reid, 2014). In Woodstock, Cape Town, developers have declared their priorities when they say that "their target is the forgotten middle who can't afford to live in more up market areas but they earn higher than the threshold for social housing" (Menon, 2017: para 21).

3.10. **An assessment of human displacement**

An assessment of displacement is considerably difficult to capture quantitatively. Shaw (2008) delineates that there is trouble distinguishing between voluntary and involuntary relocations, struggling to track down the displaced and categorize them according to the cause and impacts of the move. "A small number of quantitative studies suggest that displacement does occur but debilitating effects are exaggerated" (Shaw, 2008: 6). This is demonstrated by Vigdor (2001)

and US Housing Urban Development (HUD) reports. Vigdor (2001) provides an example of a survey conducted by the USHUD in 1981which found that households that moved involuntarily from a gentrifying neighborhood did not experience negative impact of displacement such as having relocated to housing that is ill fit for human occupancy. The study was limited in producing a fair assessment of displacement because it did not seek qualitative information such as a relocation study and their experiences of development-induced displacement (Shaw, 2008). However to achieve such, those displaced need to be located first, and that seems to be an issue. Nonetheless, a qualitative approach to assessing displacement illuminates the lived experiences of people thus demonstrating the effects of the phenomenon.

3.11. **Forms of displacement taking place in Maboneng Precinct**

There are both direct in indirect forms of displacement operating within Maboneng Precinct (Ah Goo, 2018). Direct physical displacement of residents in the neighbourhood buildings was carried out by a private security called Red Ants, employed by property owners to evict occupants, often their procedures are violent. With no alternative accommodation to turn to some of the evicted residents found refuge under a bridge (Ah Goo, 2018). Exclusionary displacement (Marcuse, 1985) is indicated by the high costs of commodities and services in Maboneng of which people from the surrounding area cannot afford “as it caters more for the middle-class clientele who can afford the expensive good” (Ah Goo, 2018:101). In addition, the exclusionary displacement in the precinct is accompanied by social and cultural exclusion.

As the physical and social structure of the neighbourhood changes, there is an emerging feeling of not belonging in a setting because of lack of familiarity to the activities that take place and perception of difference to the people that frequent Maboneng. The resale of buildings in the precinct have put people’s livelihoods at risk, which potentially leaves people stranded and excluded from economic opportunities. There is neighbourhood resource displacement (Davidson, 2008) were the resale of a building with commercial tenants offering services mostly used by working-class people in Jeppestown, results in the eviction of the commercial tenants. Last and not least, the residents that remained in the neighbourhood have experienced the

pressure of displacement (Marcuse, 1985). Residents' responded to "the growing feeling of alienation and exclusion from the residential and commercial offerings from Maboneng" by protesting (Ah Goo, 2018: 102).

3.12. **Community protests in Jeppestown**

The eruption of community protests in Jeppestown against occurring eviction driven by Maboneng Precinct developers received media attention. This a result of socio-political pressures on the existing working-class residents, prompted by urban regeneration activities. A report published on youtube by Caxton Greator Joburg North (2015) showed a protest demonstrated by Jeppes residents, against a one-month eviction notice they received upon the developers of Maboneng buying over a residential building. The protesters expressed feelings of frustration throughout their demonstration. In the same year, eNCA (2015) reported perpetual evictions in the neighbourhood, of which the residents believe that Propertuity is responsible, though Porpertuity disputed the allegations. Therefore, it rendering Maboneng as a scapegoat for gentrification-related displacement in Jeppestown. The reporter considerately defines the condemnation of Propertuity by the residents.

***eNCA reporter**: "The company developing Maboneng Precincnt, Propertuity says it has nothing to do with the planned evictions. These protests perhaps signal the boiling over of tensions that have been simmering for several years now. Tensions that seem to be rooted in the city of Johannesburg ongoing crisis of illegally occupied and mostly run down inner city buildings"*

The impending evictions were a threat to many of the resident's social security. One of the pupil interviewed pointed out the severity of the situation and the costs that will exacerbate their well-being.

***Interviewee:** "Where will we go if we leave this place? We have been living here for 15 years. We are not being stubborn living here, many of us don't work."*

In spite of the informality evident in their settlement, it is a place they can afford and create a *sanctuary* to protect themselves from harmful environmental conditions.

***Reporter**: "its buildings like this one known as kwadukathole that are at the centre of the storm. Hundreds of families live here in squalor each floor is partitioned into shacks with no running water or sanitation. Electrical connections are dodgy, yet residents say it beats sleeping in the open [being homeless]"*

The eruption of community protests against Maboneng-led evictions questions whether an integrated community is achievable with the obvious systematic structure at play.

3.13. **The illusion of an integrated community**

One of the fundamentals that the leading developers of Maboneng (Propertuity) pride themselves on is diversity, represented through the concept of a mixed-use and mixed-income community. By community, they are referring to a social space that discourages income disparities but embraces income differences amongst its residents by "facilitating more frequent interactions between people that have means and people without." In that respect, it will allow resource to follow sustainably "and will perform a balancing act for the new unjust social economic climate" (Propertuity, 2016: 59). Propertuity founder Jonathan Liebman affirms the principle of an integrated community by substantiating the late former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela's declaration. Nelson Mandela declared the need to come together in oneness as a nation, moving forward past social injustices created by the former apartheid government, and finding ways to integrate all races and classes by initiating development measures that will assist to bridge the socio-economic gap.

Propertuity (2016) positions itself in the rhetoric of an integrative society by stating that they "want to build an enlightened community that stands as an example of the South Africa envisioned by Nelson Mandela. A community based on freedom, integration, egalitarianism, innovation, inspiration". However, this vision seems to be distanced from reality. In the case of Maboneng, the vision appears to be selective on who is privileged enough to become a

beneficiary within the precinct. Considering the context of the development, it is apparent that the favourable group is the middle-class. The phrase “community” in this case is superfluous and used by developers in promotion of an integrative discourse use the term. The phrase “community” has lost its social aesthetics that come from a place of organization and developing human interaction that form and shape activities that may transpire at a neighbourhood level.

Additionally, the phrase “community” in the context of Maboneng is used to describe community development programs that they have tried to initiate to motivate the neighborhood to work interactively and to bridge any discriminatory gap (Nevin, 2014). However, the concept of community within “community development projects” is used in a way that “community uplifters” (developers) take it as if a group of locals needs help from them (Nevin, 2014: 195). “Maboneng’s basic community objectives are based on upliftment, rather than integration” (Nevin, 2014: 195). On the contrary, Propertuity website (2014) argues, “Community objectives focus on integration of the existing and new communities within Maboneng. In doing so we encourage interaction with local families and business people and support the local economy with the Made in Maboneng initiative” (cited in Nevin, 2014: 195). It appear as if Propertuity perceive their development as a “saviour” to the locals.

In the face of the developer’s “saviour complex” through the community initiatives, it is also apparent that Maboneng was created with the rich in mind for capital accumulation. Jonathan Liebman, is quoted in Wilhelm-Solomon (2012: para 13) stating that: “One must be very careful about developing a downtown or inner city that only caters for the needs of the poor”. He affirms that to create a good city “the middle income and the rich must also be looked after in addition to the poor” (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2012: para 13). He makes a valid statement, however in the process of looking after the middle-class it should not be at the expense of the poor. Jonathan’s statement is remote from what Propertuity website claims Maboneng represents in terms of “community”.

3.14. **Legislation and policies that address urban regeneration initiatives, gentrification and displacement.**

South Africa does not have a designated legislative structure to monitor and regulate the implementation of urban regeneration initiatives, thus there is no specific measure in place to manage or mitigate the negative effects associated with the process of gentrification (Steenkamp, 2004). Nonetheless, there are policy frameworks and legislature that can provide a backbone for the employment of urban regeneration initiatives. According to Steenkamp (2014: 1986) the following legislatures are suitable for validation:

- The South African constitution of 1996
- The Slum Act 76 of 1979
- National Health Act 36 of 1997
- Housing Act 107 of 1997
- Municipal Powers to Expropriate Act 64 of 1903
- The ordinance of Township establishment (ordinance 15 of q1986)
- Development facilitation Act 96 of 1995
- Reconstruction and Development programme of 1994

and other urban development policies such as a municipal Integrated Urban development Framework (IUDF).

At the same time as there is national legislature that provides a backbone for urban regeneration, there is legislature and international treaties that protect people affected by development processes. Both the national legislature mentioned and the international rights protecting people from forced removals can work in conjunction with each other. According to the United Nations Human Rights office of the High Commissioner (2014), citing the International law, forced removals are illegal. It is an act in contravention with the following human rights:

- The right to security (in International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, art. 9.1)
- The right to adequate standard of living, including the right to adequate housing, food, water and sanitation (in International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, art. 11, and Human Rights Council Resolutions)
- Freedom to movement and to choose one's residence (in International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, art. 12.1)
- The right to property (in Universal of Human Rights, art. 17), amongst many other rights.

Multiple development cases in South Africa have resulted in residential forced removals. Such cases have aided in reviewing law regulating illegal evictions. Courts have been systematically using the Prevention of Illegal Eviction and Unlawful occupation of land Act 19 of 1998 (PIE Act) to grant eviction orders in favour of the property owners rights which are reinforced by section 25 of the Constitution), in the first few years of its application (Clark and Wilson, 2016). The amended use of the PIE Act by the courts substantiated section 26(3) of the constitution (1996) which necessitates that "no one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances". The intention of the PIE Act is to assure millions of South Africans living in urban areas without tenure to the land they are occupying, to receive alternative housing when claim to land by the owner is applied (Clark and Wilson, 2016).

There is an eviction case in Johannesburg that substantiated the PIE act's commitment to a housing need for people with minimum wage and struggle to afford rent. Blue Moonlight case demonstrates the municipality's adherence to the PIE Act and response to an order administered by the court. Blue Moonlight Properties purchased abandoned factory buildings in Saratoga Avenue, Johannesburg inner city, with plans to develop the buildings for higher-income markets. The company had knowledge of the 86 squatters occupying the buildings, and arranged to evict them. In this case, the constitutional court addressed the obligations of a municipality "where an eviction by a private landlord would result in homelessness" (Clark and Wilson, 2016: 18). The private property could not proceed with removing the squatters until

the municipality provides alternative accommodation for them. The municipality's common reluctance to provide alternative housing to private land evictees pertains to previous cases involving evictions processed by the local government themselves.

A concern most municipalities have in terms of providing alternative accommodation to people at risk of being homeless after forced removals is the lack of indispensable resources, which translates to a lack of a financial budget. However, In the Blue Moonlight case, the municipality plead of resource constraints and a lack of a budget programme for housing obligations was rejected by the court. The court judgement for the Blue Moonlight case prompted for the municipality to recognize the obligations it has in conjunction with provincial and national government towards the provision of alternative accommodation to displaced people.

The court stated, "It is not good enough for the city to state that it has not budgeted or something, if it should indeed have planned and budgeted for it in the fulfillment of its obligations" (Blue Moonlight, 2010: para 74). Therefore, in relations to displacement in gentrified neighborhood, the local municipality is obligated to deliver alternative accommodation to people who cannot afford to find new residence. The working- class living in inner city Johannesburg are increasingly having difficulties affording housing rent owing to numerous neighborhoods undergoing private invested transformations (Qukula, 2015). With the infringement of such basic rights and the perpetuation and propagation of uneven developments, social sustainability remains a questionable concept to achieve.

3.15. **Towards a sustainable approach to anti-gentrification induced displacement policy framework**

Van Weesep (1994: 80) explains that to comprehend policy making to remedy displacement as an inherent gentrification effect- it is "better served by the analysis of concrete problems than by general descriptions of broad trends which disregard many of their manifestations and effects". According to Shaw and Hagemans (2015: 324) "'gentrification without displacement' is considered a policy solution to the extremes of disinvestment or exclusion."

It is considered “a benign process of ‘positive gentrification’ in which middle-class in movers are not pushing low income residents out of the neighborhood, but, through filling vacancies or increasing housing densities, are expanding the total population so that the proportion but not the absolute number of low-income residents” (ibid.) depreciates. The suggestion to positive gentrification is social mix policy as a mechanism that manages displacement. Social mix policy is intended to “promote population mixes of different socioeconomic and racial groups while simultaneously enhancing the civil class domination of the neighborhood” (Clay, 1979: 70).

Social mix policies were promoted in the US, the Netherlands and the UK- of which they were not sustainably effective. Therefore, the outcome of the implementation of social mix policies in the US, Netherlands and the UK was not anticipated. (Lees, 2008). Atkinson (2000) shows that increased social mixing in declining neighborhoods reconfigure the social structure of existing residents. The existing residents in this context are the working-class/low-income residents. Manley and Doherty (2011) wrote an article investigating whether there is evidence base framework to validate social mixing as an appropriate cure for negative neighbourhood effects. Through a review of studies and tenure policies, Manley and Doherty (2011: 14) argues that, “creating more socially mixed neighbourhoods is unlikely to create more opportunities in life for the original residents”. In addition, socially mixing neighbourhoods through tenure mixing will only change the population composition of neighbourhoods, increasing average incomes because more affluent residents will move into the owner occupied housing replacing social housing” (ibid.).

Lee (2008: 2430) argues that, “there is a poor evidence base for the widespread policy assumption that gentrification will help increase the social mix, foster social mixing and thereby increase the social capital and social cohesion of inner city communities”. According to Lee (2008: 2430), low income renters “who are subsequently displaced through” policies supporting social mixing “will most likely end up in other deprived social housing estates in the same urban area, and for them little will change for the good”. Urbanization in South

Africa has compromised the country's ability to effectively provide sufficient affordable housing to the urban poor because of the vast influx of people into cities consequently exciting a competition between the poor and the affluent, and the production of housing being more available to the middle-class because they are profitable candidates.

The process to formulate an inclusionary housing policy for the country has not been adopted at national level (Klug et al, 2013). "At the 2007 national inclusionary draft , private property developments were supposed to provide 10% to 30% of affordable housing unit in their developments with provision for off-site housing provision or payment of in lieu of fees in cases where it was not possible to accommodate affordable housing within the development" (Klug et al, 2013: 73). Private property developers because of the following resisted the national inclusionary draft:

- There was no clarity on the mechanism to manage it;
- national government did not adopt a national legislation on inclusionary housing, hence municipalities formed their own policies;
- and the reason why inclusionary housing in cities of the south has been a challenge is because "the ratio of people needing affordable housing compared to the development costs and profit imperatives of developers as well as the limited control that private developers have in the process" (ibid: 73).

When considering place making and social mixing, the life of the original residents is at risk of displacement as a more affluent group of people with different cultural values and lifestyles move into the neighborhood. Therefore, changing the character of the neighborhood, which can be either good for the community as a whole or bad as it, can devastate home stability for others. Lees (2008:2458) argues, "gentrification does not engender social mixing". The gentrifiers are not acutely aware of the diversity in their action when they couple social mixing within the process of gentrification. In response to the idea of social mixing within the process of gentrification, Lee (2008: 2460) argues, "social mixing is a one-sided strategy that is seldom

advocated in wealthier neighborhoods that may be as socially homogenous- for example, poor people are not being moved or attracted to middle income neighborhoods".

The typical assumption about social mixing is that if the middle-class is situated with poor people, poor people will instantaneously assimilate with the middle-class. According to Lees (2008:2463-2464) "social mix policies destroy their moral authority because they socially construct the middle-income groups as a natural category in contrast to a demonized low-income groups". They set the idea that middle-class is what everyone should aspire to be, in order to fit in within a newly redeveloped urban space. Social mixing is "about social cleaning and all the problematic connotations that go with that" (ibid. 2464).

Green (2014) indicates a programme of revitalization without gentrification initiated in a working class neighbourhood in The United States in the 90s. The programme entailed the involvement of local residents collaborating with the district government and the private sector (if they are driving the development) to forge their own development designs to in effort to alleviate the negative effects of gentrification such as displacement. The local residents design respected the community's source of well-being and unique cultural heritage. The outcome of their involvement in the development plans manifested in 2000 units of affordable housing and no displacement. Therefore, what the case study demonstrate is that local residents are valuable agents of community development. They bring in knowledge about the community that ascertains suitable plans to be developed. The key is "bringing residents and the community to the table often and at the beginning" (Green, 2014: para 4) of any development that affects them directly.

Ghaffari et al (2018) reviews strategies and practices that may suggest a socially acceptable gentrification. The authors argue that displacement is immoral and that gentrification whether manageable or perceived as natural must be disassociated from any form of displacement (ibid.). The authors have recognized the academic gap in focusing on gentrification and displacement mitigating strategies. The authors managed to comprehend feasible solutions by exploring case studies on gentrification effects in the 1980s. Considering the explored case

studies, Ghaffari et al (2018:6) identified their solutions into three classifications: “community empowerment, controlling ownership and development, and tenant protection”.

Community empowerment

Participation, especially of marginalized residents in decision-making empowers a community (Marcuse 1985). Participation is a significant tool that can be used to mitigate gentrification related displacement. The United States case brought up by Green (2014) and the case of Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin (Levin, 2004) prove to be success stories of community participation in a moment of gentrification and displacement. Local job creation is one of the other strategies associated with empowering the locals (Levine, 2004). Though urban regeneration initiative bring in job opportunities, often compensation is minimum and not sustainable. In Seattle, a community organization called The Urban Enterprise (UEC) has located over 7000 locals in employment that offers decent salaries (Ghaffari et al, 2018). Educating local population and counselling forms the basis to mobilize the locals. The knowledge of one’s rights puts one in a position refute forces that infringe their rights. Bent and Holm (2009) recommend giving tenants legal advice to mitigate displacement.

Controlling ownership and development

Capitalistic urban developments is another force that propagates gentrification (Ghaffari et al, 2018). New ownership of buildings after resale due to tax arrears on the property can result in the eviction of its occupants (Marcuse 1985). A solution suggested by Marcuse would be the public sector investing in inner city property as a way to make it affordable to the public. In the same light. Zoning is another practical solution considered in relation to interest-driven developments (Ghaffari et al, 2018). Though practical, it has its own limits. In the context of South Africa, for instance, in consideration of the Integrated Urban Development Framework and its strategic goals, zoning in the end would be an obstructive tool in the process of achieving the agendas envisioned within the framework. Bryant and McGee (1983) suggests the provision of comparably priced replacement housing in the same gentrifying neighbourhood.

This may be dependent on the level of involvement of the public sector in the development. Therefore, I would suggest urban regeneration driven by the public sector. For instance, in small trading community adjacent Maboneng Precinct called Kwa-MaiMai has undergone regeneration facilitated by the Joburg Property Company (JPC), a local government agency. This was after the community youth leaders (an instance of community participation) approached the City council seeking assistance in upgrading the settlement to boost their micro-economy via tourism. The city of Johannesburg invested more than R3.2 million into repairs and maintenance. The pre-arrangement of the project serves as an invocation of "the best urban practice" involving the empowerment of a community (The Newsroom, 2014).

Tenant's protection

Rent increase is a typical indicator of gentrification at a detriment to tenants. There are four proposed strategies by different authors that insure tenant protection. Rent skewing, "observed by Lloyd (2014) is a system through which higher income residents subsidize the rent of low-income residents" (Ghaffari et al, 2018). Rent subsidies is maintained by the public sector with funds accumulated through taxation (Van Gent, 2013). Rent control is probably the most common strategy used across contexts of gentrification mitigating strategies. There are regulations on setting up rent prices for a specific period and location of which cannot be changed abruptly. This can work in favour of sustaining a fair variation between one's income and rent (Marcuse, 1985).

Certain influential actors and driving forces (Ghaffari et al, 2018) determine the success of these strategies. Public intervention and political will as demonstrated by the case of urban regeneration in Kwa-MaiMai, seems to be a key factor in light of urban regeneration to control the process of gentrification and displacement. A bottom-up approach to planning is significant to ascertain satisfaction of the spatial transformation from the community. Actors that seem to be significant I the effectiveness of these strategies are the spheres of government and community organizations and the private sector to include the locals in their development to curtail exclusion from their residential and business space projects.

Though these strategies may have proven successful in different cases by affording community organization the power to decide for themselves, there should be an awareness that the power to restrict in prevention of the unpleasant outcomes might result in furthering what is intended to be prevented. Fraser (2004) demonstrates this through a study on regeneration in The Unites States. In this case, the community organization “excluded an entire socio-economic and racialized group of society from having the mobility to live in the neighbourhood” (Ghaffari et al, 2018). The strategies are feasible solutions to managing physical displacement. There is a necessary point of inquiry whereby strategies to deal with the pressures of displacement by those indirectly affected by physical displacement. This will specify the variation in forms of displacement and articulate the degree on which to address each form contextually.

3.16. **Conclusion**

The literature review explores gentrification and displacement debates from an international and South African context. Weighing in its costs and benefits on a community, leads the investigation to validate whether it is an appropriate development process that prompts physical, social and economic transformation that would benefit a community as a whole. Maboneng has a case of gentrification that is propagating exclusion conversely creating a superficial integrative space. The neighbourhood operates under a privatized system, which distinctly controls the area with subconsciously observed rules that keep the neighbourhood exclusive. The precinct is an example of a controlled urban environment with regulatory measures that maintain its appeal to a certain social class, thus unforgivingly restricting other social groups who cannot follow the lifestyle presented by Maboneng. The following chapter demonstrates the findings interpreted and analyzed from the data collected from interviewing displaced and existing people in Maboneng and the extent at which urban development policy in the City of Johannesburg integrates ways to manage gentrification related displacement. Some of the findings will challenge reviewed statements about Maboneng by authors referenced in this chapter.

4. CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter identifies how the process of gentrification-related displacement in Maboneng has affected the social and economic wellbeing of displaced and remaining working-class residents. This chapter is a reaction to Slater's (2006) argument that gentrification disregards critically recognizing displacement especially on how it affects people and their experiences. There are challenges and opportunities that emerge in regards to interviewees' reflection of their experiences in a changing neighbourhood. I used a thematic analysis to curate and interpret the accumulated data. The primary themes that emerged are resilience and accessibility, each theme is comprised of sub-themes.

4.1. **Resilience**

With the process of gentrification prevailing in Maboneng Precinct, the displaced and remaining working-class residents have shown a certain level of resilience. They extend their resilience through engagements with certain activities in the neighbourhood, and their decision to remain within the parameters of Jeppestown in a moment of cultural adjustment and issues of access prompted by urban regeneration. The capacity to be resilient in a moment of gentrification-related displacement affirms the participants' agency.

As expected, displacement undermines the wellbeing and autonomy of participants affected by gentrification-related displacement. Some of the participants that were forced to relocate from their previous dwellings found themselves in less desirable dwellings in other sections of Jeppestown, while others rent relatively expensive housing units in the same area. Consequently, some of the participants that experienced displacement succumbed to environmental, social and economic isolation. Therefore experiencing challenges that hinder their progress. The participants' experience of displacement in Maboneng differ. Nevertheless, a common trait emerging as a cause of relocation amongst the participants is re-sale of buildings and renovations. However, *Participant 1* expressed concern about the lack

of eviction notices in other buildings, thus depriving the residents' ample time to make proper arrangements for relocation.

Participant 1: **"**I used to live in the blue building over there [pointing to a residential building parallel her work place]. My mother and I had to move out after Propertuity bought the building because they wanted to dome renovations. Now we live on the other side of Jeppestown next to the new park."

(Participant 1 is a 20-year-old black female with matric and a former Maboneng resident, who has been living in the neighbourhood for 14 years, prior the precinct, was developed. She works as a shop assistant)

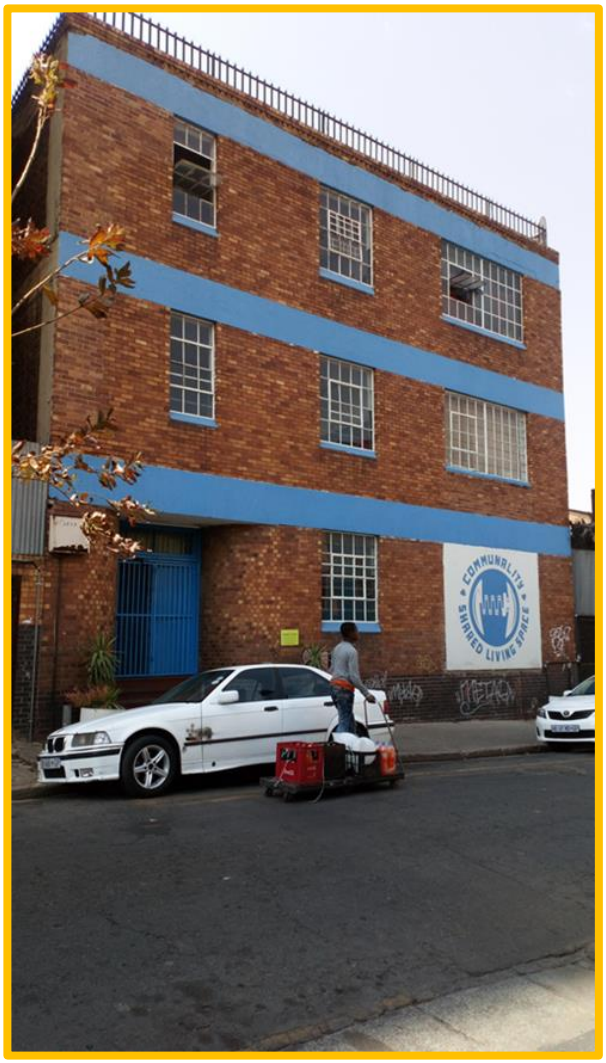

Figure 6: The building participant 1 relocated from due to planned renovations by Propertuity (Source: Author)

Participant 2: "if you chase someone out a building you have to give them three months' notice and give them a better place. But at Maboneng it was just like I vacate you with a notice given. Even the people that moved to Kwa Mai-Mai, they were not pointed to go stay there, and they just made a plan to go there because it's the nearest place"

(Participant 2 is a coloured, male former Jeppestown resident, who now lives in Bezuidenhout Valley. He used to work in Jeppestown and owned a shebeen in the neighbourhood. He lived in pre-Maboneng Jeppestown for 20 years. He had friends that remained in Jeppestown upon his move, that were eventually forced to relocate due to the development of Maboneng. He had already relocated to Bezuidenhout prior plans to create Maboneng Precinct in the 80s, however he kept in communication with friends that remained in Jeppestown, thus his knowledge of incidences in Maboneng Precinct.)

Participant 2 was selected because of the historical knowledge he has about Jeppestown, particularly the section that is now Maboneng Precinct.

Involuntary relocation is often a direct reaction to direct displacement. The phenomenon can interrupt individuals' social and economic behaviours, either by bringing about employment opportunities or anxiety brought about by a shift in social capital. According to the participants' articulation of displacees' relocation pattern, it seems to be sporadic. The participants indicated that there are residents that remained (including some of the participants themselves) in Jeppestown after development-induced forced removals. However, according to the participants, others relocated beyond the inner city and Gauteng regional boundary.

Participant 2: "Some people moved to a place called Ematombazaneni, next to Jeppe police station where they recycle. Others moved to Onongononngo of which is a squatter camp. A few moved straight into town with family members that have a nice income. Some of the people made the streets their home, and some of them moved to Kwa Mai Mai"

Participant 3*:* "some moved to Booysens [a suburb south of Johannesburg] and other areas in Joburg."

(Participant 3 is a black middle-aged woman who is a street trader in Maboneng)

Booysens is a commercial neighbourhood situated south of Johannesburg inner city. Its socio-economic activities and social class composition are similar to what is operating in Jeppestown. The distance between Jeppestown and Booysens is 6.9km. It would take 15 minutes by car to get from one point to the other and 1 hour 25 minutes by foot.

Participant 4: "Some of my friends were evicted during the early phases of Maboneng development, due to developers buying the building. Some moved to cape town because of work"

(Participant 4 is a 32 black, male, foreign national from Malawi He was forced to move from a building on Main Street. He has been in Jeppestown for 10 years. He is self-employed tailor and currently stays in Maboneng)

The participant claimed that the renovations were prompted by the apparent social and spatial transformation in the neighbourhood. By virtue, the success of Maboneng Precinct prompted neighbouring old buildings to upgrade aswell, by doing so, expanding on economic opportunities via increasing their property market value.

Ironically, the participants' engagement with the social and economic activities in Maboneng indicate a certain level of inclusion, however, that is not entirely integrative. Through my observation of the participants' interaction with the environment, they have exerted a degree of agency to retain their right to the city. The noticeable effort the participants have made in regards to exercising their agency is via the way they employ skills and seek opportunities to develop a way to continuously make and sustain their livelihoods. There latter phenomenon involves the participants developing mental and emotional (consciously); social and economic

(through action adaptation) resilience. Some of the participants turned to improvisation to foster alternative methods to cope with changes affecting their social and economic wellbeing.



Figure 7: the "Puma" building that some of the participants were forced to move from due to planned renovations, on Main Street and Kruger Street, Jeppestown. (Source: Author)

S***ocial Networks***

There has been a loss of social capital and there has been a creation of new social capital between remaining working-class residents and *the gentry*. The latter is accomplished through participants' independent economic enterprises. The realities of displacement in the neighbourhood include displaced and remaining working-class residents consequently loosing friends and clientele in the neighbourhood. Often, psychological distress (Ah Goo, 2018) and emotional surfaces as an effect of separation. Nevertheless, the participants' formulation of new relationships with the transformed environment and interactions with *the gentry* and remaining class members informs their resilience.

Participant 5: "there were some challenges [when forced to move] there because where I was staying before, we were staying like we are at home because of the caretaker. He was a person

that has life. He could see people problems and try to help. It was much like home. It was much better than where I am now"

(*Participant 5 is A 55 years old, male foreign national from Malawi who migrated to South Africa for employment opportunities, He has been living in Maboneng for 12 years. He was displaced from a building in the process of refurbishments on Main Street in Maboneng and relocated with his family to another building in the surrounding area)*

Participant 4**:** "Where I was living, I was having a lot of customers form the same building and around Jeppestown. [I]and other residents having to move cost me my customers. I lost a lot of customers due to the move"

Income and Employment opportunities

This theme identifies the effects of gentrification-related displacement on individual financial health and the capacity for people to access and afford residential rent, amongst other challenges faced due to changes imposed on their expenditure. The development of Maboneng Precinct involved property developers buying decaying buildings with commercial tenants, consequently replacing their services with other commercial services together with residential units. The disadvantage is that those whose businesses were replaced left their employees economically excluded. Therefore, their livelihood is compromised and the stretch to when they can secure new employment is uncertain.

There are cases of reconfigured domestic roles in-suite of individual competence to financially support their household. However, this is not necessarily induced by uneven development; rather gentrification has provided a platform for individuals to make a living. However, some of the participants raised concerns that the employment opportunities accessible to the locals can barely cover for medical insurance, leisure and other essential household expenses. Some of the participants that were forced to relocate from their previous residential buildings live a walkable distance to work in the Maboneng Precinct. *Participant 1* raised that other displaced persons who frequent Maboneng because of work have to use transport, which ends up being

more costly thus having a reducing effect on their wages.The proximity between Participant 1's current residence and to her place of work allows her to walk to work time-efficiently, also avoiding the incurrence of additional costs on transport.

Maboneng Precinct has inspired tourism and as a reaction to the opportunities it brings small working class businesses are pronouncing themselves around the precinct.

Participant 1: "Jeppe is full of everyone. All African cultures are here, most people here have their own businesses, probably because this side of Fox Street has more attractive things."

Jeppestown is classically characterized by working-class residents, typically occupying semi-skilled positions in the work force some-what attributed by lower educational attainment such as high school which typically result in smaller wages. However, Maboneng's creative economy has presented an opportunity for some of the residents who employ their hands and artistic forms to make a living, such as tailors, welders, recyclers, technicians and many others. There is evidence of population migration from other African countries and regionally. They settle in Jeppestown in pursuit for economic prospects.

Participants 2: "They [displaced residents] were recycling. There was few who was having jobs. You know, education was not there, because we were coming from different places. So it is as if, if you have a brother you can bring him to stay with you so that you can help him look for something to so to get an income around. They were struggling."

Participant 4: "Before I was conducting my business at my place of residence, since opening a shop here at Maboneng I have gotten more customers. There are people here that know me so sometimes they refer people to me who want the products and service I offer"

Participant 5: "I work as a profession and I've been doing this job when I was still in home [Malawi], since I came to South Africa I've been doing the same job"

Participant 6: "I am a welder; I just learnt what I'm doing now since living in South Africa. Before I was not doing anything"

(Participant 6 is a 33 years old black male originally from Malawi. He was displaced from a building on Main Street, where he was staying with two friends)

Participant 7: "I've had businesses in natal, Pretoria…I only moved to Jeppe in 2012 because the business became available."

(*Participant 7* is *a white, male, business owner In Jeppestown. He resides in Kensington a suburb in close proximity to Jeppestown. He has operated is business in the neighbourhood for 6 years now*)



Figure 8: A recycler hauling a recycling trailer crossing Commissioner Street in Maboneng Precinct, Jeppestown (Source: Author)



Figure 9: A street trader selling fruits in Fox Street, Maboneng Precinct (Source: Author)

Gap between renter income and rental price

Rent increase in upgraded neighborhoods typically results in the original residents moving involuntarily. It is quite a similar situation in Maboneng, however participants that relocated expressed that their involuntary move is due to planned renovations. Considering that the renovations are complete and new residents have moved in though the previous residents were informed that they could return, it hints to exclusionary displacement, because the occupation of new residents has deprived residents who moved out involuntarily the option to move back in.

The gap between household incomes and residential rental costs create serious rental affordability problems for many families. Working-class families who pay high rent for housing

are at risk of financial depravity, which will require them to make certain compromises on household essentials and personal leisure. According to South African Property Owners Association (SAPOA, 2018) rent, especially in working-class neighborhoods should not be more than 30% of one's monthly gross income in efforts to sustain financial health. For instance, a shop assistant in South Africa would typically earn R4, 800 (Pay scale website), 30% of R4, 800 is R1600. This mean that the expected rate would range from R 1440 (25%) and not go beyond 30% of a typical working-class salary. In the context of Maboneng, Propertuity does have low-income housing on offer; however, for a typical working-class household salary in the neighbourhood it may be slightly above the suggested 30% bracket. Nevertheless, rent rate is also dependent on the size of the housing unit.

Interviewer: "How much is rent for your flat?"

Participant 1: "R3500. My mom rented out the other room to another person, so she and I share the other room. The money that comes from renting the other room helps with the household expenses"

Participant 5: "it was cheap. In the beginning, I was paying R600. The year I moved out I was paying R 1800" [from 2003- 2015 the rent went up by R1200]

Participant 8: "I pay R1700. I used to pay R1500 at puma house"

(Participant 8 is a 35 years old foreign national from Malawi, currently living in Maboneng. She was displaced from a building on Main Street due to refurbishments. She works as a domestic worker and she stays with two family members)

Interviewer: "How much was rent at your previous residence?"

Participant 1: "Back then rent was cheaper, but what I know now is that a very small room is R1500"

Interviewer: "How much is rent in your current settlement?"

Participant 5: "R2275" [there is a R475 difference from his previous settlement]

The participants challenged the rise in residential rent by expending on alternative strategies to cope with the pressure on financial health. Such strategies include sharing rental costs with relative household members or co-tenants, getting second jobs and using their business paces as the residence to cut costs. Regardless of the costs of living in Maboneng endured by the participants, some of them voiced that they want to return to their previous residences.

4.2. **Accessibility**

Gentrification is thought to bring about safety and security, particularly against street criminal activities in a neighbourhood. The retrieval or access of spaces with potential for housing units is a prevailing gentrification stimulus. From the developers' perspectives, it is a viable investment. Nevertheless, from the local's point of view, it can affect their social and economic situation, either progressively or regressively. The latter would determine the winners and losers in terms of access to urban resources. Some of the participants who were forced to move from their previous residences resisted the pressure to leave the neighbourhood entirely. They maintained their agency to remain within the borders of their choice of settlement.

The working-class, the private sector, and the creative class are all agents of contestation within Maboneng Precinct and its immediate surrounding areas. According to Wiener (2014: 1), contestation is "a social practice that entails objection to specific issues that matter to people." In the case of Maboneng Precinct, contestation has enabled conditions that allow for the community and developers to engage with norms that manage their source of income. The working-class apply different skills to make a living within a space that supports middle-class engagements, wherein private developers (Propertuity) erect infrastructures that expand on the safety of the community, which can result in a beneficial reconfiguration of socio-economic activities. The park (next to where participant 1 lives) developed by Propertuity outside the familiar boundary of Maboneng suggest an expansion of the precinct. The residents however believe that it was an intervention to deal with the crime epidemic in the area. An example of

contestation of space of through invention of space. This phenomenon projects a novel community depiction with the use of the invented space.

Participant 9: "Since I started staying here I feel like there is too much robbery sometimes. But, when there was stallion security, robberies were not there. But when they changed the security company the situation started to be bad"

(Participant 9 is a black female and an existing resident and employee in a business situated in the precinct. She has been in Maboneng for over 6 years)

Participant 1: "How I see it five years from now, the whole Jeppe will be Maboneng. It is expanding further into town. They are buying, buildings and refurbishing so many buildings. There is even a park. I think where they put the park is the most dangerous area in the neighbourhood. I think they put it there to eradicate criminal activities in the area"

Contestation presented by the existing working-class residents is subtle. Many studies have portrayed gentrified neighbourhoods as created spaces with an exclusive access by the middle to upper class. Some of the participants redefine themselves and their social spaces by developing skills and taking on work that determine the level of their social and economic well-being. They improvise to expand on the resources available to them to manifest their right to the city. In regards to the effects of gentrification in Maboneng, the participants have mixed feelings about it. They celebrate the physical upgrading and economic opportunities it has presented some of the locals, while they are dissatisfied with how certain activities are exclusionary.

Participant 1: "I feel that with this development there are advantages and disadvantages. The good part is that people will be working, especially the youth. The bad part is when people have to go to places where they end up living in unpleasant conditions. People are moving back to the villages and townships because they can't afford rent."

Harrison and Todes (2013: 3) argue, “access should, indeed be a foregrounded as the key objective for spatial transformation as it most directly links spatial policy to key national objectives of eliminating poverty and reducing inequality” thus inciting socio-economic growth. This comes with special attention on “realizing the co-benefits of access” (ibid.) for displaced people. The consideration should reverently be in alignment with the right to the city agenda for the urban working-class. According to (Harrison and Todes, 2013: 4) in South Africa, the execution of policy that gravely supports spatial access can attribute to the promotion of comprehensible “social integration and cohesion by producing a mix of various social class with their own sectoral contribution to the economy” as a co-benefit. As intelligible policies are formulated they can address the UN habitat (2004: 20) sustainable development agenda by producing access to better jobs, enhanced livelihood opportunities, reduced travel costs and better household accessibility to services, a greater support to resource distribution and efficiency in households, the moderating use of private cars and more efficient use of land which can lead to a socio-economic growth.

The concept of access as explored by (Harrison and Todes, 2013: 4) identifies it as “the opportunity that an individual at a given location possesses to participate in a particular activity or set of activities” (Odoki et al, 2001: 601), or to situate it into the context of gentrification and displacement, the concept of access could be defined as “the opportunity that an individual at a given location possesses to” (ibid.) overcome the pressures of forced displacement on their socio-economic activities To have access to means that will prevent physical displacement. Typically, this form of access would be validated by the provision of sustainable income and development that is considerate of heterogeneity (in regards to household composition, income, and use of basic services) within the working class. “International studies show that spatial elements are often significant in shaping access, and are especially important where spatial isolation correlates with social isolation”. This is evident in some of the respondents who participated in this research study. It resulted in them suffering social costs in the form of relocating further from their social networks and people who support their livelihoods. It also

resulted in having to move away from their comfort zone, even though it may not appear as glamourous as a middle-class setting.

Park (2009) communicates the spatial mismatch hypothesis, which suggests that the time and distance it takes for an individual to get to a place of work disturbs the changes of one being productive and securing a job. This can be reasoned by the inconsistencies between wages and commuting costs. A respondent mentioned that there are many other who have been displaced from Maboneng, however their employment is in the precinct; therefore, they commute regularly from their place of residence. The costs for commuting often affects their budget.

Participant 1: "The money that people get that work in the shops here in Maboneng is not a lot. It's like money for transport to work and back home"

Normatively, debates in terms of spatial accessibility have revolved around "bringing jobs to people" or "people to jobs" (Gobillon et al, 2007). With the extent of gentrification and the reality of displacement in South African cities, the acknowledgment of framing spatial accessibility in the context of displacement is required, and an uncompromising participation by all good governance actors is essential.

4.3. **The extent to which the IUDF addresses gentrification and displacement**

The Integrated Urban development Framework (IUDF) is informed by the National Development Plan (NDP) objectives, for cities to be engines for the nations' economy through improved spatial efficiency and inclusion" (COGTA, 2016: 12). The IUDF is a framework put together after a deliberation of urban realities in South African cities in order to foster spatial transformation that is integrative and inclusive of marginalized people so that they may "have access to social and economic services, opportunities and choices" (COGTA, 2016: 39). It suggests that urban areas can maximize their potential through the alignment of socio-economic activities. Displacement is an occurring urban reality in South African cities incited by urban regeneration, an initiative that is identified within the IUDF strategic goals to affirm urban growth in urban areas that have experienced disinvestments and decay. It is an issue

worth considering when developing policy that assist in good governance and a sustainable urban development. This chapter reviews the extent to which the South African IUDF addresses gentrification related displacement within its strategic goals.

The IUDF proposes policy levers to achieve its strategic goals. It provides an all-inclusive itinerary for the management of urban areas, enlisting both the rich and poor's basic need in integration. Its vison is comprised of livable, safe, resource-efficient cities and towns that are socially integrated, economically inclusive and globally competitive, where residents actively participate in urban life (COGTA, 2016). The IUDF application takes context into its urban plans. It is appointed within the National Development Plan, it requires participation, and trade- offs from all governance actors and different sectors of society (civil society, public sector and public sector) to achieve the country's over-arching development goals. It will assist municipalities to manage spatial transformative processes in a space of rapid urbanization in South Africa.

The IUDF strategic goals are interpreted to contribute to achieving its transformative vision (COGTA, 2016). When framing necessary policy to ascertain an integrative development, the IUDF articulates the need to develop and strengthen instruments for creating compact and connected cities, which are believed, will promote efficient services and access to resource. Urban regeneration adopting a New Urbanism design is perceived as a key instrument. The reality of displacement in private sector regenerated urban settings elicits a compromise between capitalist intentions (profitability) and the value of a social class to their developments, thus bringing about limitations on achieving the strategic goals laid out by policy levers included in the IUDF. It is indicated that displaced people need access to jobs and services and other opportunities available in an urban setting. Their inclusion in urban spatial transformation projects ascertain the goal to achieve integrated sustainable development.

COGTA (2016: 64) recognised regeneration as a key instrument to achieving social and economic goals. There are social justified conditions set for the deliverance of urban regeneration indicated in the IUDF. In addition, there is an assertion that the government

should take responsibility to “prioritise to proactively acquire properties” in the inner cities “and design models that address gentrification” (ibid.). It is the national and provincial government’s responsibility to set budgets for municipal urban regeneration initiatives. Thus for improved spatiality efficiency and inclusion, COGTA (2016) suggests the prioritization of regeneration of the inner cities. “This must be accompanied by” specific and elaborate programmes that “protect poorer residents from displacement and exclusion” (2016: 64). Advisably, the programmes would be efficient and effective through sensible partnerships between the public and private sectors. It would require both sectors to have political will for an effective and efficient outcome of spatial transformation. This form of planning thought invokes a shift away from a broadly Utopian strategic framework and moving towards a more realistic and context-based strategic plan that addresses real social and economic dynamic on a practical level.

5. CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The wellbeing of the participants is demarcated by social arrangements (such as families, social networks, institutions, economies) within their locale. The findings indicate a social and economic change amongst the displaced and remaining working-class, portraying different strengths of resilience. According to the participants, the process of gentrification in Maboneng resulted in the displacement of some residents. However, the participants experiences of gentrification-related displacement cannot be generalized for the entire working-class population in Jeppestown. It is evidence of the effect of gentrification in the neighbourhood. Considering Nevin's (2014) indication that residential evictions occurred in the outskirts of Maboneng Precinct, the participants articulated that residential displacement also occurred in the precinct, mostly caused by planned renovations by building owners. Therefore, bringing to light that both evictions of informal businesses (Nevin, 2014) and residents took place in Maboneng.

Some of the participants that were forced to relocate remained in close proximity to Maboneng Precinct. Richard et al. (1986) mentioned that there are studies that found that out-movers are likely to settle close to their previous neighbourhood and in less desirable dwellings. Nevertheless, the participants retain access to the space and available resources to a certain extent. In addition, this somewhat challenges the anticipation that gentrification-related displacement would stretch the capacity to access resources that sustain the capacity to create avenues for continuous social interactions and income. According to OECD (2013), "income allows people to satisfy their needs and pursue many other goals that they deem important to their lives, while wealth makes it possible to sustain these choices over time" this is indicated by the participants capacity to engage in economic ventures and employment within the neighbourhood.

There is a dichotomy of "losers and winner" amongst the displaced and remaining working-class in Maboneng. This is demonstrated by challenges and opportunities presented by regeneration. There right to the city concept substantiates the population's resilience as a

reaction to gentrification-related displacement. The resilience comes in as a negotiating strategy to seek out opportunities that allow them to persist. The participants' resilience goes beyond unplanned, temporary "coping mechanisms and make-do survival- the latter of which can be seen as merely absorbing and obscuring state abandonment and thus putting off much needed transformative change" (DeVerteuil and Golubshikoy, 2016: 148).

According to DeVerteuil and Golubshikov (2016: 148) resilience can be an ongoing practice, therefore it can be "understood as a social and spatial foundation, an anchor for future resistance and reworking, its essential underpinning and precursor." In the context of employing urban regeneration initiatives without the process of gentrification-related displacement, municipal planning should deliberate on Resilience-oriented urban planning (Sharifi and Yamagata, 2018). Resilience-oriented urban planning would assist urban systems with the capacity to continuously develop shot-term and long-term strategies that preserve a population's well-being. According to DeVerteuil and Golubshikov (2016: 148), resilience should be actioned as a "precursor to resistance and transformation for defending previous, current and future socio-economic gains" (DeVerteuil et.al, 2016: 148). It advocates for a move beyond "coping" as a reality of resilience and it inspires urban communities to envision situations where they can develop and prosper through both social and spatial design to "sustain certain social orders and absorb crises" (DeVerteuil et.al, 2016: 149).

The findings analysis demonstrates that though there was an occurrence of different forms of displacement in Maboneng as explained by AhGoo (2018), displacement in Maboneng has not inhibited the capacity for the working-class to thrive in a moment of spatial, social and economic transformation. The development of Maboneng development has attracted and influenced further development in its immediate surrounding areas. Patterns of displacement remain difficult to capture, thus a limited interpretation of displacement experiences.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Displaced and existing residents

1. Please tell me a brief history about pre-Maboneng.
2. How did the previous residents that occupied some of the buildings in the neighbourhood leave?
3. Did the same moving process take place at your previous residence?
4. Are your friends still around Jeppestown?
5. Where the residence occupying the buildings living there legally?
6. Where there any businesses in the neighbourhood pre-Maboneng?
7. What type of businesses were available?
8. Where did you live pre-Maboneng?
9. Where do you stay now?
10. How long have you been living in Jeppestown?
11. How would you describe the conditions of Maboneng?
12. How has the move affected your way of making an income?
13. Did you encounter any challenges while moving out?
14. How much was rent at your previous building?
15. Do you leave with anyone?

16. Where is your place of origin?

17. How old are you?

18. What is your first language?

19. Do you keep in touch with some of the former residents of Maboneng?

Business owner

1. Please tell me brief history of Jeppestown before Maboneng

2. How has the development of Maboneng affected your business?

3. Where do you live?

4. Do you know have displacement occurred due to the development of Maboneng?

5. What were you doing before buying this business?

6. What made you buy this business?

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP050/06/2017

PROJECT TITLE:	The impacts of displacement on people in gentrified urban spaces: The case of Maboneng Precinct, Jeppestown
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Mudzunga Neluheni (Student no #881650)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	Master of Science in Development Planning (MScDP)
DATE CONSIDERED:	15 August 2017
EXPIRY DATE:	15 August 2018

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE: APPROVED

CHAIRPERSON A Williamson
(Professor Daniel Irurah) pp A. K Williamson

DATE:

cc: Supervisor/s: Brian Boshoff

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature **Date**