RESISTING ERASURE. GENTRIFICATION IN WOODSTOCK

A qualitative study of gentrification and its effect in Woodstock, South Africa.

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Summary.

This master thesis in Social Anthropology is based on a literature study of the impact gentrification have had on Woodstock, South Africa. Woodstock is a neighbourhood in Cape Town, South Africa and have throughout history been a racially and ethnically diverse neighbourhood, despite the segregation in South Africa during colonial and apartheid times. The original plans of the study was to conduct an extensive field-work, and through ethnographic research methods, uncover the impact gentrification have had. Unfortunately, with the global pandemic of Covid-19, causing Norway and the rest of the world into a lockdown, the travel arrangements and plans had to be scrapped. As a result of this, I concluded to continue my study, by executing a literature study of the topic. Because of this, the study changed from an ethnographical study to a literature study.

Gentrification as first discussed by Ruth Glass in 1964, details the transformation of inner-city predominantly working-class neighbourhood suffering from urban decay. Through the influx of the middle-class, the neighbourhood would be rejuvenated and would eventually lead to the displacement of the local working-class residents in the area. As showed through the theoretical framework in chapter 4, gentrification can transform the both the social character as well as the physical landscape of the neighbourhood. With the theory of gentrification brought on by Glass (1964) , we can see that the changes that have taken place in Woodstock, can be the result of the government's attempt on lifting the neighbourhood out of from urban decay and poverty. Especially by implementing major benefits for investors, such as tax reduction and making most of Woodstock into Urban Development Zones (UDZ), they contributed into the process of gentrification in Woodstock.

The purpose of this study was originally to discover the impact gentrification have had on Woodstock, especially on the low-income working-class residents. During my research, I quickly concluded that the impact, goes beyond theories on gentrification, as a recurring theme was that gentrification can be considered a continuation of the state-lead forced removal during apartheid. This changed the whole perspective of the study, as i realized the implications and consequences of gentrification where far more severe than first believed. The focus of this study, therefore changed.

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1.0 Introduction.

Woodstock is a unique place in Cape Town, located between the harbour and the famous Table Mountain, with a charming architecture consisting of old Victorian houses painted in different colours. At first sight Woodstock appears to be an area that is simultaneously down-and-out and modern with developments of new high-rise apartment complexes. This study focuses on the people living in the "dilapidated" part of Woodstock, who mainly live in semi-detached houses. If you walk along the streets of Woodstock, you quickly become aware of the graffiti that fills the street, with messages of hope and inspiration. The graffiti gives an indication of what this community is about, and it tells the story of the people living in this neighbourhood. Even though it's easy to be drawn into a romanticised view of Woodstock, it is important to acknowledge the struggle the neighbourhood has in terms of social problems such as crime and poverty. As a result of the lack of economic activity in the area, it has become a breeding ground for crime, drugs, and poverty.

In spite of the crime and poverty in the area, Woodstock's proximity to the Central Business District (CBD) of Cape Town, combined with an appealing architecture, has led to renewed interest in the area. The combination of these factors has attracted the interest of artists and the creative industries, as well as investors and developers. This has led to noteworthy changes in the last twenty years of so, in the form of new businesses and new residential developments. These changes affect the low-income/working-class residents of Woodstock due to the process known as "gentrification". This process was first identified in the work of Ruth Glass, in her study of inner-city neighbourhoods in London. She discovered that areas suffering from urban decay were being rejuvenated by an influx of the middle-class, and that this subsequently led to the displacement of the poor local working-class community (Glass, 1964).

I begin this section by outlining my motivation for this study, and choice of both topic and place. In June 2018, during my bachelor's degree in international development studies, I completed a semester abroad in Cape Town. As I had previously been in Namibia conducting fieldwork, I had some experience of living in an African country for a period. However, I quickly discovered that Cape Town was a city unlike any I had experienced before. The people, the landscape and the culture were truly unique. In this intriguing context, one area

really piqued my interest: the neighbourhood of Woodstock. At the time, I was both a student at the University of Cape Town and a tourist, and thus, I experienced two different faces of this place. During my stay in Cape Town, I was visited by my mother, who was keen to get a taste of the city I was living in. I reached out to some local Capetonians, as they call themselves, asking for suggestions of places to visit. A recurrent suggestion was to go to The Old Biscuit Mill on a Saturday, a popular market with food and shopping. It was a great suggestion and we really enjoyed ourselves, but we quickly became aware of the poverty outside the fences; people were begging and children were entertaining on the street for money. This major contrast was the most stark impression of Woodstock we experienced that day. On the one hand you are enjoying good food, local art and design, and on the outside people are resorting to begging to make ends meet. This was my first encounter with was I would later understand to be signs of gentrification in the area.

My second encounter with Woodstock was as a student. In my class on "Contemporary Urban Challenges in South African Cities", we had several trips to places of interest within the context of the class. It was at this point that I learned the term "gentrification", the rejuvenation of an inner-city neighbourhood through the influx of the middle-class, leading to the displacement of the original residents of the area (Glass, 1964). My second encounter with Woodstock, through this class, left me with a different perspective on the area. The teacher had us do a walkthrough of the area and asked us to talk to people to find out about their living arrangements. From the lecture we had been given on gentrification, I presumed that it was natural process where areas of decay were rejuvenated; however, I quickly found out how severe the consequences can be. My group approached an older lady standing outside an apartment complex which was in a poor state of repair. She told us that she had lived there since she was a child and was now living there with her children and grandchildren. Suddenly the tone changed, and she described how she had received an eviction notice, since the owner of the building had sold it, and the new owner planned to demolish it to build new apartments. She went on to tell us that there was no place for her to go, and she feared becoming homeless. Even though this experience was back in 2018, when I began my master's in Social Anthropology, I immediately knew that this was a topic I wanted to pursue and research in greater depth. Therefore, based on my personal experiences and interests, I decided to investigate on the topic of gentrification and the impact it can have on communities and people. I wanted to understand it on a deeper level through a closer examination of Woodstock.

1.1 Doing fieldwork during a global pandemic

In the early phases of planning my research, I quickly understood that I had to engage with the literature on gentrification as well as the history of Woodstock. While I was preparing to start this fieldwork adventure, however, the whole world shut down due to the global Covid-19 pandemic. Very quickly, international borders closed, making travel to the other side of the world for 5-6 months impossible. At first, I was optimistic and hoped that the situation would last only for a couple of months, but as more time went by, my optimism quickly faded. The whole prospect of being in the field, practising ethnography, making observations, and conducting interviews with residents in Woodstock became impossible. As Hagen & Skorpen (2016) detail, facing difficulties at the start of fieldwork is common, but I can't imagine they ever envisaged the troubles being caused by a global pandemic, making it impossible to access the chosen field. This caused me to consider other ways to reach people in the field. I considered conducting interviews through skype, but that idea appeared to raise more problems than it solved. How would I get in contact with people? I tried reaching out to a few organisations working on the topic of gentrification in Cape Town, without any luck. With limited options, most of which would be difficult to complete, and without any chance of conducting a successful ethnographic project, the only option which seemed open to me in terms of obtaining information and material was through a library thesis. This choice means that I have based my findings on pre-existing literature on gentrification in Woodstock. Even though this was not the ideal, I felt there was a lot of information out there, due to previous research and the use of people's opinion and statements in newspaper articles.

As my research is based on the impact gentrification can have, I initially went into this thesis with the idea that gentrification is changing the social character and the physical landscape of Woodstock, but I quickly realised that there is much more to the process than that. It is impossible to discuss Woodstock and its resident without reference to apartheid. Apartheid was employed to enshrine white political domination and operated in all spheres of society. During apartheid, South Africa was impacted by racial and ethnic segregation, enforced through different governmental acts. These acts dictated where people could live, who they could marry, which school they could attend, their use of public transport and of public spaces (Bickford & Smith, 2002). In the context of Woodstock, one act played a major role into forming the neighbourhood, the Group Areas Act, as will be described in Chapter 1. In spite of the fact that apartheid has ended and there is democracy in South Africa, today the legacy

of apartheid has an ongoing and significant impact, and this evident in society through racially inequality, alongside numerous social and economic factors. This became very clear to me during my research, and it changed the perspective of the whole thesis.

The perspective of the thesis is based upon how we can identify gentrification, and what the consequences are. Through my research, however, I came across several articles and individuals asserting that the displacement of low-income groups from Woodstock, who are often people of colour, can be seen as a continuation of forced removal during apartheid. It is difficult not to draw comparisons between the displacement in Woodstock with the forced removal during apartheid. In both cases people of colour have been evicted to make room for new developments, causing identity of the community has changed. In particular, the government has engaged in the relocation from a central area to Temporary Relocation Areas (TRA) that closely resemble the townships created during apartheid. (Fleming, 2011).

Despite apartheid and colonialism belonging to the past, spatial injustice is still prominent in South African society. With ongoing evictions and forced removal to the periphery of the city, wealth, government investment as well as opportunities are concentrated in certain areas; this goes hand in hand with creating affordable low-income housing outside the city, for example in townships or informal settlements. This reinforces spatial injustice that was a feature of apartheid, rather than challenging it (Turok, 2001). This creates further economic and spatial exclusion for the low-income population in Cape Town, whose stories are presented in this thesis.

1.2 Research question

In this thesis, I adopt a qualitative methodology to conduct something which is rare in anthropology, a literature study. By applying theories from within different fields, such as anthropology, human geography, economics, urban studies and sociology, on gentrification and identity, I will try to shed light on the following questions.

- *What are the consequences of gentrification for the low-income groups in Woodstock?*
- *How do the low-income groups in Woodstock experience their displacement in post-apartheid South Africa?*

1.3 Outline of the thesis

This thesis aims to provide evidence of the process of gentrification in Woodstock and to explore the consequences of this for low-income groups. The study will be located through already existing research and media coverage, as well as through comparison of the process of gentrification with forced removals during apartheid. Chapter 2 will give a historical overview of Woodstock, as well as the evolution of apartheid, and the impact it had on Woodstock. Chapter 3 will offer insight into relevant theories within the scope of social anthropology, to understand fundamental points that are relevant in the context of gentrification. In particular, the concept of identity will be explored in this chapter. Chapter 4 presents the theories relevant to gentrification, and explores different genres such as human geography, economics, urban studies, and sociology. Chapter 5 locates the theories on gentrification in Woodstock, and presents the process of gentrification in Woodstock. Chapter 6 details the methodology used in this thesis, explaining my reasoning for the choice of methodology and exploring to the effect of Covid on methodology. In Chapter 7, I present the research findings, offering evidence of gentrification based on a model by Lees (2011). I demonstrate how new developments in Woodstock are in line with theories on gentrification, and how this process has affected former and current residents in the area. Furthermore, I look into how gentrification is regarded by many as a continuation of the spatial injustice and forced removals during apartheid. Chapter 8, concludes the thesis with a summary of my findings and their significance, and also presents some limitations of this study.

2.0. **Background of Woodstock**

In this chapter, I briefly outline the history of Woodstock, the establishment and changes through colonial time, apartheid and post-apartheid period. The history of gentrification that has taken place in Woodstock will be further examined and discussed in Chapter 2. The main issue of concern is the way Woodstock was not directly affected by the forced removals taken place in South Africa after the implementation of the Group Areas Act in 1950.

2.1. History of Woodstock

Woodstock is a neighbourhood within close proximity of Cape Town city centre in South Africa; it has beautiful views of the ocean on one side and the infamous Table Mountain on the other. Woodstock is split up into two smaller neighbourhoods, Upper and Lower Woodstock. Lower Woodstock will be the main focus within this paper, based on the understanding that the residents living within this part of Woodstock face the greatest threat of gentrification. Lower Woodstock mainly consists of semi-detached houses built on small narrow roads; historically, it had mostly been home to working-class families of coloured[1] descent. The nature of the buildings in Lower Woodstock give the sense that it is a neighbourhood in disarray, as it appears affected by poverty and lack of restoration. However, the social space in Lower Woodstock represents so much more than just the buildings it contains.

Cape Town is a city that has undergone over three and a half centuries of urban development, leading to rapid and drastic changes, consequences and challenges for a culturally diverse population. The history of Woodstock, Cape Town and the whole of South Africa from the colonial settlements until democracy in 1994 can be described as extremely chaotic and full of injustice based on culture and race. The colonisation of South Africa, and the whole of Africa, resulted in the fundamental political, economic and cultural structures that would later develop into apartheid, the institutional racial segregation which was imposed throughout

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[1] (*The term coloured along with white, Asian and native, will appear a number of times throughout this paper, since it was one of several terms that was introduced during the apartheid regime in South Africa to classify social categories of people. The terms introduced in the Population Registration Act in 1950are, to this day, still used by the residents of South Africa as a tool to describe themselves, and they contribute greatly to their sense of social identity. Bickford-Smith, 2002: 22*).

South Africa during the later parts of the twentieth century. Apartheid was, thus, not a new ideology, but rather rooted within the social hierarchy that was first implemented with the establishment of slavery (Eades, 1999). It is in the context of this concept of racial ideology and institutional social injustice that a neighbourhood like Woodstock is extremely interesting. It was one of the few areas that existed with a racially mixed population, and, as a consequence, the implementation of different actions by the state was not absolute in this neighbourhood.

(Photograph 1. Location of Woodstock compared to the city centre.).

Pieter Van Papendorp first settled the area that is today known as Woodstock, roughly three kilometres outside Cape Town's city centre. Several families went on to build homes in the area surrounding Van Papendorp's home, and the area became known as Papendorp; it had a population which consisted mainly of poor fisherman and farmers (SA History online, 2014). During the 1900s, it began to grow and infrastructure developments took place with the construction of both an Anglican church and a school, and by around 1860, the area was regarded as a fashionable residential suburb. Growth in the area accelerated with the construction of a railway which connected it to Cape Town city centre. With Papendorp expanding in terms of its geographical size and population, it became connected to Salt River,

a neighbouring village, and the two villages then became known as Woodstock. Later, throughout the twentieth century, both the social and economic nature of Woodstock changed with the introduction of a more commercial and industrial economy in the area, especially the construction of two biscuit factories which became a central part of the economy in the area (Garside, 1993). In 1865, records show that the population of Papendorp was made up of a mixture of white, coloured and Africans all living together in one community. In this context, a newspaper at that time expressed concern with regard to Cape Town because it may be "too late to separate the white and coloured population" since the area of Papendorp/Woodstock was racially mixed (Bickford & Smith 2001).

Immigration played a central role in Woodstock becoming a racially and culturally mixed area. As we can see in Garside's (1993) research, Woodstock received several waves of immigration from both Europe and other areas in Africa which led to its development as a neighbourhood with distinct varieties of people in race, culture, and ethnicity. Nevertheless, Woodstock did not escape the structuring in society in South Africa during the 1900s, with Upper Woodstock for the most part becoming the area where the white population resided and Lower Woodstock being the area where, predominantly, the non-white population lived (Garside, 1993).

As previously stated, the shape of both the social and economic character of Woodstock was starting to change during the 1900s, with several factories opening. This made it possible for Woodstock to gradually develop from a farming and fishing village to a more modern and industrialised town. Two biscuit factories in particular were important in changing the economic character of the area. During the 1940s, these factories closed and this had a large negative impact on the local economy. As a result, both the economic and physical state of Woodstock deteriorated significantly. However, Woodstock's location as an inner-city neighbourhood, offered its residents close proximity both to places of work and schools, as well as a predominantly working-class neighbourhood with affordable housing (Garside, 1993). Woodstock's geographical location was essential during this period of time, and still is. It made it far easier for residents to access the major employment, commercial, cultural and social opportunities in the city centre, compared to other newer neighbourhoods located further out of the city centre (Dewar, 1977). In 1970, Woodstock had established several new and improved facilities, two shopping strips of metropolitan significance along the main road, a large new industry within manufacturing, that would contribute to characterising Woodstock

in later years and many corner shops, which is typical for a city like Cape Town, where you can find small corner shops on almost every corner (Dewar, 1977). The development of new activities and facilities in Woodstock also attracted people from other parts of Cape Town. With people from other parts of the city coming to Woodstock, it created a meeting place for people from different cultures and racial hierarchies as well as creating new influences.

2.2. The effect of apartheid and The Group Areas Act in Woodstock

Segregation in South Africa can be traced all the way back to the times of colonial control of Africa, when it was introduced as a colonial policy with the goal of maintaining social distance between the indigenous locals and the new colonisers. During the colonisation of South Africa, but especially between 1850 and the Native Land Act in 1913, segregation of the black, coloured and Indian population of South Africa from the European colonists was increasing, with the creation of segregated settlements outside the cities (Mabin, 1992). Race and class, connected with power, have, from the beginning, heavily influenced the urban spatial landscape of South Africa, the segregation of the different racial groups (Nahnsen, 2006). Cape Town's city centre, which is the broader area referenced in this thesis was home mainly to the economic elite and businesses, and was a place where inclusion and urban citizenship Were hotly contended (Miraftab, 2012). During the period of colonialism, property ownership was closely connected to power, rights and citizenship in many ways that still endure today (Miraftab, 2012). Urbanisation followed on from the independence granted to the Cape Colony in the 1850s and this largely benefited already privileged wealthy people as well as property owners. The central areas such as Cape Town were the first places to receive both upgrades in society as well as investment, while the rural areas on the outskirts of the city received close to nothing. The people who influenced and impacted political decision-making during this period were predominantly white Europeans who owned property, while others did not have the same level of influence at all. To further racialize inequality, a "sanitation discourse" was created which regarded white Europeans as clean, civilised and global, while Africans were branded dangerous savages, and linked to crime and unsanitary conditions. Thus, white Europeans justified their policies through racial representation, which furthered the goal of racial segregation (Miraftab, 2012; Nahnsen, 2006). To determine their rights to the city, coloured people were looked upon and judged according to their so-called "social respectability". Factors such as being born in the city, or having a high social or economic status signalled their belonging. Coloured people could still live close to the city,

while the black groups had to build separate settlements far from the city, but close enough that they could be used as cheap labour by the Europeans. The settlements built for the black people of South Africa were very poorly constructed with close to zero sanitary conditions, leading to many outbreaks of diseases; these, in turn, strengthened the racial sanitary discourse (Miraftab, 2012).

In 1948, in South Africa, the National Party came to power and implemented their ideology of racial segregation called apartheid. This was a major social engineering experiment, designed to enshrine white political and economic domination and control over South Africa (Christopher 1997). Throughout this regime in South Africa, many laws and acts where implemented to further this ideology of complete racial segregation of the nation. One of the most notorious policies was the Group Areas Act in 1950. This act was created to put an end to racially mixed residential areas in South Africa. For many this is regarded as the foundation of the apartheid system. The Nationalist Party Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr D.F, Malan, at the time, stated: "*I do not think there is any other Bill affecting the relationships between the different races, the non-Europeans and the Europeans in this country, which determines the future of South Africa and of all population groups as much as this Bill does*" (Christopher, 1989: 255). This kind of "spatial apartheid" had such a great impact that we can still see evidence of it today.

Within the context of apartheid, the population of South Africa was divided into different population groups, based on the race and skin color of each person. Every population group was entitled to different rights and privileges; thus, the population of Cape Town was divided into a hierarchy of races. There were four distinct racial groups: white, coloured, Bantu/Black African and other. As stated previously, the rights extended to each group varied significantly and served as a tool to segregate the country; however, the Population Registration Act was not precise in its wording and many families were torn apart since members of the same family could be divided into different population groups based on their appearance. To determine which population group an individual belonged to, they had to undergo humiliating tests based on linguistic and physical appearance.

As shown below, the wording of the act was confusing and not definitive in terms of determining people's race and appearance, but it was applied either way:

"*A White person is one who is in appearance obviously white – and not generally accepted as Coloured – or who is generally accepted as White – and is not obviously Non-White, provided that a person shall not be classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or a Bantu...*"
"*A Bantu is a person who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa...*"
"*A Coloured is a person who is not a White person or a Bantu...*"
(Africanhistory.about.com).

The main goal of the Group Areas Act was to create total segregation between the population groups determined by the Population Registration Act (PRA). Cities were divided into different group areas to provide housing and for the use of each group. When an area was designated as being for one group, everyone belonging to a different group was forced to leave their homes and move to a new area designated for their racial group. The objective of the Group Areas Act was to create total segregation, instead of the "piecemeal results of colonial and Union segregationism" (Christopher, 103: 2001). The city centres were designated as white areas, while the outskirts of the city were zoned for the other racial groups, contributing to what are today regarded as townships, like Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga, townships located on the Cape Flats, outside Cape Town. We can look at the Group Areas Act not only as a tool of forced removal of people based on their racial profile, but also as a socioeconomic tool as it contributed to significant negative impacts on many peoples lives. Forcibly removing people from their homes, from their work, schools, friends and families, and also displacing them in terms of the connections and memories they had with their homes has obvious links with the eventual displacement that people have experienced as a result of gentrification in Woodstock. As we can see in figure 1, how the structure of the Apartheid city was planned. (Plessis & Landman, 2002).

The Apartheid City
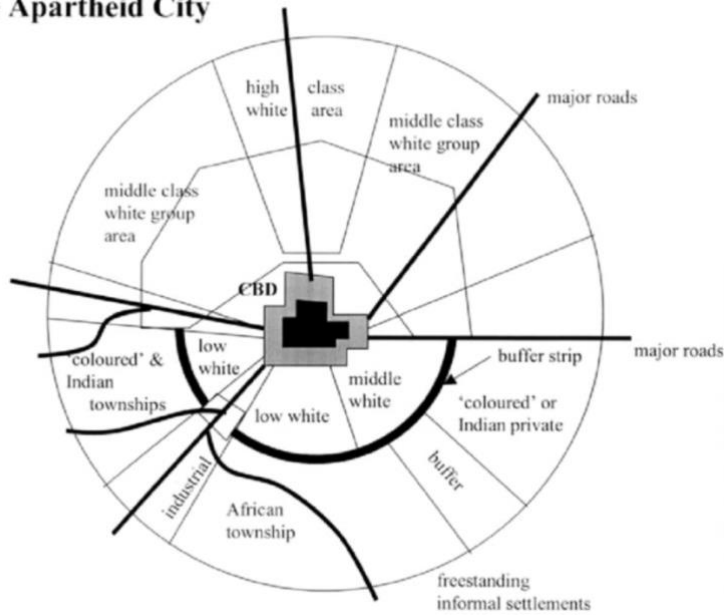
(Photograph 2. This showcase how the ideal city during apartheid where designed. (Plessis & Landman, 2002).

Although The Group Areas Act was passed in 1950, the real effects of the Act were not felt until the 1960s, after its amendment in 1957. In 1966, District Six was designated as a white group area and over the next 15 years, approximately 60 000 people were forcibly removed from this area. District Six was a neighborhood much like Woodstock, with a very mixed population and a strong sense of community and modernity in terms of people marrying into other cultures and practicing different religions side by side (Bickford & Smith, 1990; Soudien, 2001; Geschier, 2007). According to Soudien (2001: 118), the District Six area had historically been a place for new immigrants to Cape Town and the extremely poor who did not have the means to take care of themselves.

> *It was home therefore to the itinerant and the mobile seeking to establish themselves; but it was also home to religious fundamentalism, political vanguardism, cultural idiosyncrasy and artistic innovation... The district was simultaneously home to Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Apostolic, Catholic and Dutch Reformed and it presented itself in the garb, the architecture and the ambience of the disparate communities within its space.* (Soudien, 2001: 118-121).

2.2.1. District Six

With the Group Areas Act fully enacted, the neighborhood began to be demolished house by house, and residents in District Six were forced to move to the Cape Flats, far away from District Six and its close proximity to the city. People were disconnected from their friends and families, and the place they called home, and moved to a new unknown location that was both alien and hostile (Geschier, 2007; Hart, 1990; Geschier, 2007: 38-39). For many previous residents, being forced out of their homes and community by the apartheid rule was a physical violation of their identity as citizens of Cape Town. The consequence of forced removals was not solely the physical displacement of individuals, it left them feeling disorientated, enraged and powerless. This is a concern that will be considered further in the thesis, when examining the experiences of the residents of Woodstock (Geschier, 2007: 37). The case of District Six offers significant evidence of the unjust exploitation of the lives of black and coloured residents and how their presence in the inner city was erased. This has left a significant imprint on Cape Town for generations.

The Group Areas Act, as would be expected, has affected many neighbourhoods in Cape Town which were determined by the Act to be coloured areas. However, Woodstock was one of a few areas that managed to remain mostly unharmed by the legislation conceived of by the apartheid regime, in spite of several attempts to establish Woodstock as a "white" area. During the 1980s, the apartheid government then faced increasing internal resistance to its policies along with several changes to the application of the Group Areas Act to soothe Indian and coloured constituencies nationally (Christopher, 2001: 108). This was followed by a decline in the number of white group areas under the Group Areas Act; some of the white group areas were deproclaimed and very few new areas were proclaimed white (Christopher, 2001: 108). Several areas that had been included in the zones formerly proclaimed white were reproclaimed for the inhabitants originally resident in them (Christopher, 2001: 110).

2.2.2. Woodstock as a "grey" area.

Woodstock has historically been the place of residence for working-class white, coloured, black and both Europeans and African immigrants and refugees. Despite this unique diversity, Woodstock did not experience the same forced removal during apartheid as similar areas such as District Six (Garside, 1993). Woodstock had some parts zoned as white, and then later rezoned for coloureds, when the Act was repealed. However, there where areas of Woodstock

that were never designated for any specific group, and therefore remained undefined, or grey areas (Garside, 1993). As a result of this, coloured and black people were allowed to either rent or buy property there, and made up a large part of the population in Woodstock.

We can see early signs of resistance of segregation in Woodstock, through the The *Cape Times* in 1987, wrote an article on the topic of designating Woodstock as a group area entitled, "Forget colour, says Woodstock". The article contained interviews with residents, businessmen, priests and councillors who were all against the initiative to declare Woodstock as either coloured or white. *The Financial Mail (1987)* suggested to the local government that they should decide for themselves if Woodstock should become a racially integrated area or stay open for all with their article "Group Areas: Not for Woodstock". Likewise, the *Weekly Mail* stated:

> *The people want to live harmoniously as they have always done. They see no reason for government interference... A lot of the coloured residents say they have suffered from forced removals under the Group Areas Act and don't want their white neighbour to suffer the same fate* (Weekly Mail, 29 January 1987).

In response to this resistance, Woodstock was not declared an open area as the residents initially wanted, but the government instead decided against the forced removal of residents. Instead, the Group Areas Act as previously stated, was not enforced until the late 1980s, when Woodstock then was declared a so-called "free settlement area" (Wenz, 2012). Thus, the campaign was seen as successful by the residents, since Woodstock was still a racially mixed area in terms of demographics and it was also one of the few areas which managed to avoid the direct consequences and actions of the Group Areas Act. It became known as a grey area.

As I have previously discussed, Woodstock was one of only a few areas to be declared an open area during apartheid; consequently, it was a preferred residential area for coloured businesspeople who worked in the city centre and lived outside the city (Garside,1993). With the tense racial climate in South Africa during this period, the new coloured residents of Woodstock where hesitant and unwilling to settle down in the mostly white area of Upper Woodstock and instead ended up in Lower Woodstock (Garside, 1993).
Despite not facing a direct threat from The Group Areas Act, the coloured residents were not able to live in peace, however. Thanks to the legal uncertainty that came with being a more

open "undefined" area, Elder (1990) states that the coloured residents still lived under poor conditions and in constant fear of displacement. The coloured residents in Woodstock were facing racism, denied access to public services, and lived in constant fear of punishment from right-wing groups, as well as the fear of being exploited or evicted. However, the benefits of living close to the city centre and the job opportunities this offered still made living in Woodstock advantageous (Elder, 1990).

In contrast to most inner-city areas in South African cities, the "forced removals" from Woodstock were not as a result of apartheid and The Group Areas Act. They began, instead in the 1980s, due to gentrification. (Garside, 1993). Landlords began to eye the financial potential of their properties, with the ai of attracting middle-class renters who would pay more to live in the area. Many renovated their properties and got rid of their working-class residents. Businesses were also adapting to the needs of the new residents, a process that continues to the present day.

3.0. Anthropology of South Africa

Anthropology in South Africa can be traced back to the early 1920s, when it was first introduced into universities. Both social anthropology and an ethnology discipline unique to South Africa named "Volkekunde" developed and departments in both these subjects were formed. They will be described into more detail below. The interest in ethnography in South Africa can be traced even further back than the introduction of these disciplines, as the area has been the subject of several ethnographic works undertaken by colonial missionaries and researchers. Three ethnographic works are of particular relevance within the context of anthropology in South Africa: the research on San folklore in Cape Town during 1870 and 1884, conducted by Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd; research on the history of the Zulu culture and customs, conducted by Natal colonial James Stuart during 1897 and 1922; the ethnographic work of Henri Alexandre Junod on the Tsonga and Ronga peoples, leading to the publication of *The Life of A South African Tribe* in 1912 (Asnahome.org).

3.1. Volkekunde

A vital discipline in the context of anthropology in South Africa, is the development of the ethnological discipline known as "Volkekunde" which was developed by Werner Eiselen at the University of Stellenbosch. He is widely regarded in South Africa as the architect of apartheid (Gordon, 535, 1988). Eiselen based the principles of his discipline on his German missionary roots, and Afrikaner nationalism, but mostly he was influenced by his three years of studying African linguistics under Carl Meinhof in Hamburg. This programme was heavily conservative and racially structured, and it went on to have a significant influence on the direction "Volkekunde" took. As well as the political and social history of South Africa. Volkekunde would, today, be considered very backwords as it was exclusively male and focused on classification instead of participant observation. Furthermore, Eiselen lead and taught the men who would preserve and further Eiselen's Afrikaner-inflected ethnological discipline of "Volkekunde".

With the arrival of apartheid in South Africa, the "Volkekunde" approach informed the government's policies to a greater and greater extent. The Volkekunde practioners based their work and ideology on both German and American cultural anthropology, with the major

points of focus being on racial and cultural differences, a position that was strengthened by the colonial past. Volkekunde therefore became widely known for the influence it had on apartheid and the policies of segregation and separate development. The discipline was also heavily influential in the training of government officials and the armed forces, with people associated with Volkekunde being given positions within the Department of Co-operation and Development, as well as the Defence Force (Gordon, 1988). Thus, it is essential to understand the discipline of Volkekunde in the context of anthropology in South Africa, as it contributed to shaping the society we find today, which is still heavily impacted by the consequences of apartheid. Peter Coertze, one of Eiselen' students, went on to lead the most orthodox school of Volkekunde at the University of Pretoria, while at the University of Stellenbosch, the discipline of Volkekunde espoused more liberal thinking on separate development (Gordon, 1988).

In the words of Coertze, we can clearly see how the ideology of apartheid and Volkekunde are connected:

> *It is necessary for us to take all measures to ensure the diversity and the separate development of different ethnic groups in the future. All factors which may still exist to foster a growing-together and an integration into a greater unity in this country must be systematically removed, otherwise we shall not avoid a process of fusion .... The Whites still have a great calling in South Africa. There are millions of underdeveloped people of different ethnic groups in the country who are dependent on the help and guidance of the Whites. But we can only give this if we see to it ourselves that we do not descend into the sewer of integration.* (Translated into English by John S. Sharp in Sharp, 1981).

With the apartheid regime in control of South Africa, there were dramatic changes in social anthropology in South Africa, with many anthropologists forced to live and work in exile. The previously mentioned Schapera and Gluckman both moved to Britain. While some chose to leave the country, others were forced into exile within South Africa, such as the anthropologists Arnol Mafeje and Livingstone Mqotsi. Another major change in South African social anthropology during this period was the wave of research within the field of urban anthropology (asnahome.org). Apartheid brought about major changes and developments in South African cities and communities, with people being forced to live in

designated areas. Philip and Iona Mayers' *Townsmen or Tribesman: Urbanization in a Divided Society* (1961) focuses on the resilience of traditional Xhosa migrants in East London's townships (Mayers, 1961). Meanwhile, Monica Wilson and Archie Mafeje focused on new urban social identities and, like Mayers, on the topic of resilience, in this case on Xhosa tradition and "home boy groups" in townships (Mafeje & Wilson, 1963).

Thus, two different anthropological approaches to understanding South African society developed and they were both very different ideologically. A leading social anthropologist such as Radcliffe-Brown understood it as one social system, while Volkekundes ideology was based on the ethnos theory advanced by the Russian anthropologist Shirokogoroff. Shirokogoroff defined ethnos as:

> *A group of people who speak the same language, accept their common origin, master systematic customs, way of life, preserve, sanctify their traditions, differentiate themselves from other similar groups. (Shirokogoroff, 1922. P. 42).*

An example of this is the Catalan population of Spain, who have their own culture and language, within a country, and consider themselves as separate from other Spaniards. Eiselen and Coertze's interpretation of the ethnos theory is far from the contextual exposition that we find in Shirokogoroff's writings. In their understanding of the ethnos theory, "ethnos" means ethnic group, rather than the ethnic process that Shirokogoroff details (Coertze, 1966, pp. 4-11).

Eiselen's understanding of ethnos is thus based on a misinterpretation of the meaning of ethnos. Eiselen based much of his work on the German anthropologist Muhlman in whose view the term ethnos refers to ethnic groups, and this misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the ethnos theory has had a major influence on the political landscape of South Africa, with ethnic location and zoning being the main focus of attention Of its proponents (Sharp, 1981). Volkekunde therefore regards South African society as a collection of different racial and cultural entities, accompanied by the need to separate them to ensure better development for them (Sharp, 1981). Furthermore, there are differences in traditional social anthropology and Volkekunde in terms of the kind of methodology or fieldwork they involve. Normally participant observation, interview and social closeness are essential in order to understand cultures and social themes researched in social anthropology. This however was a major

problem in Volkekunde both due to the ideology on which it was based and the political circumstances in South Africa; as a result, the proponents of this approach kept fieldwork and social relationships to a minimum (Sharp, 1981). From my perspective, this offers a fundamental explanation for why they wanted to have segregated communities, as they were not willing to understand the culture and people of different ethnicities.

With the end of apartheid in 1994, and the subsequent shift to democracy under Nelson Mandela, a new phase began for anthropology. With a new government, the demise of Volkekunde and its students was rapid. With this change, there was a desperate need to alter and upgrade the curriculum, as well as the academic administrations and power relations, since many Volkekundiges held important positions. The change was becoming very visible for the Volkekundiges; with their younger academics gradually moved away from the misinterpreted ethnos theory. After many decades on opposing sides, with dangerous disagreements and ideologies, and can learn to co-exist. This does not however, mean that the beliefs in segregation, racism and oppression disappeared, as the legacy of apartheid still lives within every South African.

3.2. Anthropology of space and place

Many years ago, Clifford Geertz noticed a lack of research on one certain topic in Social Anthropology, the topic of place; it was a topic that had been taken for granted and not considered in any depth. However, since that discovery, culture, place and space have been some of the most central fields of research in anthropology. The relationship between how cultures and spaces are connected varies in important ways and requires a different theory and approach to research. Previously research focused mostly on localised cultures situated in certain places, such as Radcliffe-Browns study on the Andaman Islanders, (Radcliffe-Brown, 1922) and their experiences and interactions with the spaces have remained constant over a long period of time. This led to important knowledge of place and the politics of spatial order. However, in more recent times, anthropologists have started conducting research on societies where movement is more common, for many reasons. These cultures are being defined as "traveling and intermingling repertoires" (Lambek, 2011: 3).

With changes around the world in recent years, leading to a more global world and the development of new technologies such as computers, cell phones and satellites, it is now possible for anthropologists to conduct more so-called "mobile fieldwork", to understand how cultures interact with places and spaces (Aucoin 2017). During the many years of research on the topic of space and place in anthropology, several new terms have been introduced, such as deep geometry, architectonics, heterotopia, spatialised history, ethnoscapes and moving sovereignties, movement as spatial transgression, and dislocation and border regimes (Lambek, 2011: 396). These new topics have led to a development in theories about place and space, and the impact they have on cultures. New topics have contributed to a better understanding of what was previously only regarded as local. These new theories are starting to take into account power and spatial transitions, shifting boundaries, spaces for new sociality and meaning in a globalised world, and cultural displacement, which will be the most central topic throughout the thesis.

Space is viewed by anthropologists to be a major factor of social life, being one of three dimensions of space-time-culture in which human life is lived, where all three dimensions are, at the same time, universal but also differently experienced and conceptualised by cultures. Space can be both a physical and ambient dimension through distance, location or topography. Space is an idiom in which individuals and cultures think and organise their social, aesthetic, political, religious or economic spatial customs. When spatial components are embedded with cultural significance, it creates a meaning as part of a geo-symbolic order.

Thornton (2008, P. 10) defines place as a "framed space that is meaningful to a person or group over time". It is a presence that exists through human experience, dreaming, perception, imaginings, and sensation, and within this space a sense of being in the world can develop.

From an anthropological stance, this point of view is interesting, because it entails culturally meaningful sites, where the importance is based on the lived experiences of individuals, the cultural activities that people engage in over time, in order to give these places and spaces a meaning. This can include activities like naming, local events and conflicts, attachment to stories, experiences of affect, also the affixation of meanings and memory to location, landscapes, built environments and places of the body (Aucoin 2017).

Rodman (1992), in his text, argues that space can be seen as both multivocal and multilocal; multivocal in the sense that in one single place, a lot of voices which can be heard are included. The ability to hear these voices requires you to understand the narratives being expressed through different methods: sentiment, movement, sound, tactility and sight. Place is, however, multilocal in the sense that it "shapes and expresses polysemic meanings of place in different users". (Rodman 1992, P. 647)

We can see cities as more than just a place for residence and business activity. As research within several different disciplines indicates, both the social and psychosocial processes of life are often embedded in the city. Bailly (1993) argues that when people bring structural, functional and symbolic features to create a place, thereafter, they develop meanings of space beyond their functions. Space is given an existential meaning, within the consciousness and ideology of the people within this space, to become a "place", and for these people, places consist of both individual and collective memories and symbols through being the place we live in (Bailly, 1993). The sense of belonging to a place as well is an important aspect to consider when looking into the anthropology of space and place. As individuals often have a need to feel belonging in relation to a place, it is important to touch on subjects such as familiarity of place, attachment of place and place identity (Fullilive, 1996). Something that will become more evident in the context of Woodstock, which can only be seen as a unique place in Cape Town, is that it was one of the few areas left untouched by The Group Areas Act, and thus remained diverse during apartheid. Since people regard places such as Woodstock as their home and they feel a belonging to the place, place influences and shapes our human existence, as well as our relationships, and, likewise, can be shaped by human thought and action.

Actions such as fighting against gentrification together represent ways in which people can strengthen their sense of belonging to a place such as Woodstock (Fullilove, 1996). To further investigate the impact place has on social identity, a study conducted by Nowell, Berkowitz, Deacon and Foster-Fishman on young adults in a poor neighbourhood, where the individuals were asked to take photographs of places of importance and meaning within their community. Through research, they discovered that the characteristics of the place had a deeper meaning (Nowell, Berkowitz, Deacon, & Foster-Fishman, 2006). Since places have a connection with personal histories, the value and character of communities and individuals are connected, therefore helping to define social norms and contributing to reinforcing social identities

(Nowell, 2006). This is something that becomes apparent when considering individuals facing the threat of gentrification later in the thesis, as gentrification challenges the community and its members.

In regard to my thesis concerning gentrification in Woodstock, it is essential to fully understand the concept of space and place, and how it can affect and change within a culture. Also, it is important to take a deeper look at social inequality, since gentrification is one of the most palpable manifestations of social inequality. This is something I will continue to discuss further in the thesis.

3.3. The anthropology of property

The term property and the associated concept usually refer to objects that are owned and defined in relation to the rights of the individual/group; they can refer to material or immaterial things, including other beings such as animals or even humans. One especially notable example is when human beings were owned as slaves (Hann, 2005). The term involves legal claims and involves ramifications for the economy. However, property is much more than individual's rights to claim ownership over place and space with value, more than the right to own and use these spaces. The concept of property expresses relationships about the norms and values within a society or culture, along with values like equality, freedom, and justice. For example, Robben Island and the prison it holds, symbolizes the triumph over the apartheid regime, as well as the freedom and democracy of South Africa.

With gentrification transforming the physical landscape of neighbourhoods, the process also affects people's homes and properties to a large extent. Therefore, it is important to understand what property means for the people affected by gentrification, within the scope of anthropology. If we are to look at property from an anthropological perspective, property refers to the different ways in which rights and obligations, privileges and restrictions control human's emotions and interactions in relation to resources and objects of value. The value of objects is everchanging from society to society or between cultures, since the value of the property is determined according to a socio-cultural perspective and therefore the value can change or remain the same in terms of the social relations native to the property. For example, will the value of a small house change and be different in the eyes of the company renting it out in comparison with those of the family renting the house who consider it their home. The

difference in the value of property can be very large, as what appears desirable in terms of a property in one society can, in a different society, be deemed of low valuable. From an anthropological perspective, we regard property as a constitute of personhood, since individual valorisation can only take place within a social context. Another aspect that can contribute to strengthening the value of a property is the addition of symbolism or specific qualities, for example spiritual attributes that make a property more desirable. In this way, the concept of property incorporates and brings together aspects of different factors that people deem to be valuable or desirable, factors such as materiality, technology and sets of knowledge, with economic factors as well as those relating to intellectual, spiritual, symbolic and ideological dimensions (Hann, 1998; Benda-Beckmann, 2006; Moore, 2005).

Hann states that property emerges as a human universal and it relates to more than just the relationship between humans and valuables (Hann, 1998). In anthropology, the first observation concerning property is the character of the property, as different degrees of control and exploitation of the property happen over time; for example, we see very clear examples of this during the apartheid regime, when tens of thousands of people were forced out of their properties and relocated to designated places according to race, and their properties were given to other people. The specific history of the concept of property and the special role in the intellectual tradition within industrialised societies reflects thoughts on modernity and capitalism (Turner, 2017). Throughout anthropological history, one prominent argument is that private property may not be the most central or important factor in understanding property in most cultures or societies. This is since many societies and cultures don't conform to the same notion of property, possession and ownership and often conform to various concepts of property such as usufruct, shared access and other forms of ownership that do not include private ownership. In these forms, the term ownership becomes a loose term, as it's not easy to use in practice.

The idea of what is regarded as property varies and will most often change within different cultures and societies, as commonly determined by political, legal, and other factors, and the terms they make use of. Today, the importance and value of property differ with the connection between knowledge, the intellectual capacities of owners, the degree to which they utilise the property and further qualifications. The concept of property is not without access for certain people, and factors like entitlement, eligibility, membership, and responsibility is all factors that can contribute to people being allowed access to the property or the use of its

services. Therefore, we can see from an anthropological point of view that property must be regarded as a social, economic, cultural and legal institution. Property rights will therefore have to be seen as a human universal, with the broad perspective that such a concept entail (Hann, 1998; Benda-Beckmann, 2006; Moore, 2005).

With regard to this thesis exploring gentrification in Woodstock, the concept of property has to be taken into consideration. As will be shown throughout the thesis, the displacement of the working-class is an especially severe consequence of gentrification, and in this context, property plays a significant role. The owners of buildings such as apartment complexes and houses, holds the power over their tenants, as they have the power of property. Therefore, they hold control and power over their tenants. With evictions, increased rent and renovation upgrades all being aspects of the legal concept of property, the conceptualisation as a whole needs to be looked into. Also, changes in the neighbourhood, because of gentrification, have an impact on public spaces, which are most likely officially owned by the government, and this has an impact on people such as the homeless, the poor, and pre-existing residents.

3.4. Displacement and place identity.

Displacement takes place in both physical and psychological forms. Displacement can therefore happen in different ways. It can be direct, meaning that individuals are forced out of their homes because of reasons that make the home uninhabitable. The most common reason for this is an increase in rent, while other factors such as loss of services like electricity can be a factor (Marcuse, 1985). Exclusionary displacement however, happens when similar factors prevent an individual from moving to a new home or place. When an area has experienced displacement, it creates displacement pressure, which impacts the social fabric of working-class residents or their economic futures if they choose to stay in the same place (Marcuse, 1985). This has to be understood as a way in which people's sense of home, community resources and justice are marginalised by factors beyond the control of the working-classes (Slater, 2009). Segregation through racist spatial planning during apartheid led people in the marginalised areas to discover a togetherness and sense of community, more so than in the areas with better resources. And this was used as a resource to bolster strength and well being (Lohnert, Oldfield & Parnell, 1998). However, displacement can take away the social space that a community offers, which can destroy the social support network and attachments to space that would otherwise be found in a neighbourhood. Furthermore, displacement can lead

to feelings of loss and alienation from place, which can negatively impact on people's feelings of belonging and damage the mental health on individuals (Fullilove, 1996). Consequently, displacement has to be understood in more profound ways than simply as relocation from one place to another. The meaning of the place people are being forced from has to be taken into consideration, as places, more often than not, have meaning for the people who live in them and use them.

In considering Woodstock and the forced removal policies during apartheid, it's important to note place identity to further understand the meaning a place has for individuals. Place identity refers to the cognitive appraisal of the physical environment, and the impact this has on defining one's identity (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Just like displacement, place identity can be seen as both social and political. Place identity can be examined through a critical and discursive lens, to understand how it is created through language and talk, and how they function in terms of politics or ideology (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). By interviewing members of both the white and black populations of South Africa affected by apartheid, and focusing on the segregation of the beach, they could see how the place identity within beaches changed. During apartheid, the beach under discussion was designated as a whites only beach, and this kind of zoning made the beach a place of white identity. Despite this, white groups reported that they experienced the desegregation following the end of apartheid as a type of displacement. In contrast, black people saw this desegrated beach as a sign of liberation where both black and white people were welcomed. In this way, the place identity of the beach changed with the political changes. The white group of beachgoers felt empowered by the exclusionary white place identity on the beach, while black groups challenged this place identity, by the construction of an alternative place identity, the post-apartheid place identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004).

Another study from the Cape Town area (Lemanski & Staff, 2010) showcases how the construction of people in marginalized groups as not belonging to a certain area or denial of certain place identity can lead to their displacement. In Cape Town and Long Island's historically middle-class neighborhoods, the middle-class created strategies to exclude black and immigrant groups or "outsiders". The middle-class imbued certain spaces with value and abused the power relations inherent to property owners in the areas (Lemanski & Staff, 2010). Lemanski & Staff (2010) detail how the middle-class residents in Muizenberg, an area not far from Cape Town, known for its very long beaches and surfing, created the Muizenberg

Improvement District. Through this they instigated several legal, physical, and economic measures to remove immigrants and gangs from Muizenberg because they were terrified of changes to the hegemonical structure of the place, and were afraid of crime, overcrowding and damage; they were further concerned about their property values, as well as maintaining their socio-culture intact (Lemanski & Staff, 2010). This example offers evidence of how place identity and the fear of it changing can lead to the displacement of groups who are looked upon as "outsiders" and not belonging.

Displacement can be examined in different ways. Quantitative methods can help us to understand the bigger picture, in terms of how many people are displaced, as well as the spatial and economic patterns of displacement. On the other hand, qualitative methods can also be helpful in examining displacement by offering more details about how the process has begun, the different forms it can take as well as the experiences of the affected groups (Weller & Van Hulten, 2012). Both methods can be useful in terms of adding nuance to our understanding of gentrification and its consequences for the people affected by the process (Parizeau, 2017). By undertaking qualitative analysis of the housing crisis in Melbourne, Weller and Van Hulten (2012) demonstrated how gentrification impacted working-class families in Melbourne and led to their displacement. Furthermore, they followed the families to gather evidence of the problems they faced in trying to put their lives back into order (Weller & Hulten, 2012). Newman and Weely (2006), however, used both qualitative and quantitative analysis, and indicated how quantifiable displacement should be considered an important factor in understanding class inequality in the housing market in urban areas of New York. The qualitative part of their analysis indicated the political prominence of displacement for working-class residents who, at the same time, welcomed the investment which came with gentrification, though they opposed the changes in the housing market that eventually forced them out of their community (Newman & Wyly, 2006).

An important part of qualitative research on displacement relates to the psychological, political and symbolic aspects of it. It is important to consider, in displacement processes which are studied, how landlords have mistreated the working-class in order to make them move out. This comes through in the ethnographic study conducted in Istanbul by Sakizliougul (2014), interview studies from Melbourne by Atkinson (2015) and New York (Newman & Wyly, 2016). In these studies, it is apparent how landlords, in areas which are experiencing gentrification or urban renewal, such as Woodstock, have deliberately

contributed to displacement. Many landlords have stopped investing in terms of maintenance and upgrades for their buildings, resulting in deterioration and dangerous condition for the tenants. Additionally, many landlords have made it too expensive for tenants to keep living in the buildings, by increasing the rent, in order to make the tenants move out more quickly so they can be replaced by people of a higher economic class (Atkinson, 2015; Newman & Wyly, 2006).

Conditions created by this mistreatment by landlords also leads to a reduction in residents' ability to protect themselves from it. They live in constant uncertainty and fear, as a result of intimidation, threats and harassment from both municipalities and landlords, before eventually being evicted (Newman & Wyly, 2006; Sakizlioğlu, 2014). As detailed in the studies from around the world, in New York, people were told that there was no other affordable housing. This scared residents who then complained to their landlords and authorities, as they were afraid of ending up homeless (Newman & Wyly, 2006). In Istanbul on the other hand, Sakizlioglu details how people were living with a great deal of anxiety and feeling of being powerless, due to the lack of communication and the fact that buildings in the surrounding area were being bulldozed. The composition of these factors, led to people also feeling fear and anxiety, just like in New York. Similar happenings have affected the low-income groups of Woodstock (Sakizlioğlu, 2014). Through this empirical evidence from these two studies, we can see that psychological and practical obstacles exist which make it difficult for residents to fight displacement.

It is not always the case that gentrification leads to the physical displacement of the working-class; it can also work as a spatial manifestation of intersecting structural power dynamics in the sense that the group higher in the hegemony has more power in terms of place-making ability, and that can lead to the loss of place, both materially and emotionally, for the working-class group in areas such as Woodstock (Valli, 2015). People living in communities in New York and Melbourne were impacted when an influx of middle-class residents moved into the area as they began to feel out of place socially, economically and culturally. As described, gentrification leads to changes in the community it affects, and in Melbourne, it changed the symbolic spatial and social form of the area. New dress codes, social activities and establishments, as well as the feeling of being unwelcome and seeing how familiar places have been transformed or bulldozed, have an impact on the relationship with place for the working-class (Atkinson, 2015). The influx of middle-class residents who are a part of the

gentrification process contributes to emphasising social inequality and marginalisation for the working-class (Valli, 2015). As we can see from the Melbourne study, the working-class felt more and more excluded from the changing community as the local shops and meeting places disappeared or changed, making them also question their value. They also felt neglected and had their sense of belonging diminished as social services gradually decreased (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015).

As we can see, changes in the class identity of communities lead to a loss of sense of place, or in other words, a loss of familiarity, the sense of having a right to live in the community, as well as stability. Furthermore, the changes caused by gentrification and displacement often lead to the feeling of both loss and grief (Atkinson, 2015; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). The displaced working-class felt that their homes reflected their identity, and by being forced out, they lost this and their sense of self was eroded. Atkinson (2015: 384) refers to this as "A wider sense of ontological unease".

The feeling of exclusion, as well as being undervalued in the place you call home, impacts identity and subjectivities. In New York, the working-class residents who experienced a decrease in investments into their communities felt a sense of betrayal, as they were not receiving what they deserved. Furthermore, they became critically aware of how little investment the government was making, given their proximity to areas of wealth (Chahill, 2006). Consequently, the residents had the sense that they were surviving disinvestment, making them victims of injustice; additionally, they were living with a feeling of embarrassment because they lacked so much compared to the surrounding communities (Cahill, 2006). Looking into Vallis's (2015) research, we can see that the local working-class residents were not pleased with their landlords and the neighbourhood's new residents. The new wealthier residents were more appreciated and valued by the landlords, something that was evident when upgrades were not undertaken until after the working-class moved out (Vallis, 2015). Encounters such as these can affect one's personal identity, often causing feelings of pain and anger (Valli, 2015). What these studies show is that displacement takes many different forms and touches people in more ways than simply relocation from one area to another. It affects people's place identity, feelings of power, sense of place, feelings of belonging and the personal identity of those affected.

4.0. Theoretical Framework of Gentrification

In this chapter I will present the literature review on the topic of gentrification. It is a large topic and needs to be considered in context of Woodstock and so the chapter is divided into two parts. The first part offers a general review of the literature on gentrification, as well as touching on urban renewal and urban regeneration. The second part of the literature review concerns the history of Woodstock in terms of gentrification, as well as social integration, race and identity in conjunction with the developments which result from gentrification.

4.1. Definitions of gentrification

There is no generally agreed definition of the term "gentrification", and this further complicates our understanding of gentrification. Many different definitions focus on effects within the process of gentrification, creating confusion about what the defining effects are. For example, one definition may focus on the negative outcomes of gentrification in terms of displacement of the local residents, while other definitions will consider the transformation of the character of a neighbourhood. Others target changes in property values as the focal point for the effect of the gentrification process. Therefore, gentrification is a particularly difficult process to understand and summarise. However, in this thesis, I will focus on a definition that is more easily understood and general in terms of the process, and explore the different aspects within the process in the hope of explaining the underlying factors as well as their outcomes and not misunderstanding gentrification as other forms of neighbourhood demographic shift.

Lees (2001) established a simplified model to more easily locate and bring to light gentrification in cities. In this model, it makes it easier to structure and explore the different elements within a gentrification process, and this is relevant for researching the evidence in this thesis. The model is divided into four stages of gentrification: (1) investment of new capital; (2) an upgrade in the social class with an influx of people from higher income groups; (3) transformation of the physical landscape in the area as a result of upgrades; (4) displacement of the poor marginalised residents of the area (Lees, 2011). As will be discussed below, a gentrified neighbourhood will experience an increase in property/rental prices, since the area will become more attractive for the middle-class and lead to both renovations of

buildings as well as displacement of the local residents. This model will be essential for understanding and viewing the gentrification process in Woodstock.

Gentrification can be explained in fairly simple terms as a process of investments into the physical landscape and services in lower income neighbourhoods suffering from urban decay, transforming the areas into places that attract members of the middle class, both for housing and work. The consequence of gentrification is, more often than not, the displacement of local working-class residents, both physically and socially. Gentrification processes are taking place in major cities all over the world, making it a global phenomenon. However, it is still a complicated process, that needs to be understood in terms of the city under discussion. As in the case of Woodstock, gentrification has to be understood within the context of its unique history, especially the impact of urban polices both during apartheid and in the post-apartheid period.

4.2. Origin of gentrification

Gentrification is a very convoluted urban process that is affected by many underlying factors (Visser & Kotze, 2008). The term "gentrification" was first introduced by Ruth Glass, a British sociologist in 1964. Ruth Glass was a Marxist, and a refugee from Nazi Germany, and is considered by many as one of the initiators of urban sociology in Europe. In her works on the inner-city parts of London, she discovered some concerning processes taking place, where the result was significant urban change (Lees, 2007). The process that Glass identified and was struck by was the fairly sudden invasion of the middle-class into what was a predominantly working-class neighbourhood. Thereafter, the physical landscape in the neighbourhood began to be transformed as a result of many upgrades in the residences and commercial properties. The final outcome of this process was the displacement of the original working-class residents in the neighbourhood, as a result of finding it too expensive to stay in the transformed neighbourhood. These changes, Glass noted, were happening rapidly, with each neighbourhood's social character being completely changed (Glass, 1964). Since the publication of her work, these changes have been known as gentrification. She describes the process of gentrification in the following way:

> *One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by middle classes – upper and lower – and shabby modest mews and cottages – two*

rooms up and down – have been taken over when their leases expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period – which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation – have been upgraded once again. Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed (1964: 17).

Even though the middle-class in London was relocating to the suburbs, there was still high demand for housing in inner-city neighbourhoods. One example of the demand for housing was in the neighbourhood of Barnsbury, which is an inner-city neighbourhood close to the city centre, where many of the houses were subject to multi-occupation, whereby they became shared households with several households sharing facilities such as toilets and kitchens (Butler & Lees 2006). Over the years, the area of Barnsbury was more and more affected by urban decay, with people living in unpleasant and cramped conditions, with little access to basic services. Nevertheless, from 1961 there was a change in the neighbourhood's demographic as the middle-class started relocating back to neighbourhoods such as Barnsbury, even though the facilities and conditions in the area were not adequate for middle-classes needs. It is important to ask why the middle-class chose to move into a neighbourhood which was not up to their standards and regarded as a working-class area.

The first wave of gentrifiers in London has been described as being made up of "left leaning liberals" by Butler and Lees, and the professions of these gentrifiers were most likely to be "architects, planners, university lecturers, comprehensive school teachers, social workers, medical technicians and so on". The low property prices in Barnsbury, in combination with the improvements in the physical landscape of the neighbourhood, made the area very attractive and desirable. With the area being developed and the middle-class moving in, developers saw the opportunity to buy up properties with many tenants, to thereafter evict these tenants, and then sell the property to the new middle-class inhabitants. As Butler and Lees stated, "middle-class people moved into Barnsbury, property prices rose year on year" (Butler & Lees, 2006, p. 473).

Glass, in her work on London in the 1960s, described the city as one that shows the transformation of a city as a "juxtaposition of new and old, both in fabric and in structure of

society". (Glass, 1964). With areas of the city, such as the previously discussed Barnsbury, previously not having been accepted as areas suitable for the middle-class, all of a sudden, they were up to their standards. Glass observed that for the people that either could not afford the travel or did not want to travel to their respectable work, living in the inner-city areas offered great benefits for them. As well as the appropriateness of the commute, the inner-city areas also served as a place for diversity, with London in the 1960s being home to many sub-groups and sub-cultures such as the rich, the poor, the artsy, the religious, and those who were politically inclined. In Glass' own words, they lived "side by side and intertwined", in a city where people from different cultures could all co-exist. (Glass, 1964).

Glass also found that the people located in central London during this period lived in a very "crammed together" way with the population density in London increasing rapidly, as well as the cost of rent and numbers living in the inner-city. as Additionally, Glass observed that the immigrants in the area could not live in other places simply because of their race, and they were therefore often living in shabby living environments and more often than not sharing a room with others to be able to pay the rent and living costs. The process mentioned above, describing the gentrification process in Barnsbury in London is very similar to the process of gentrification that has been taking place in Woodstock.

4.3. The underlying effects that cause gentrification

In academia there have been ongoing debates for a long time about the causes of gentrification. Is it primarily caused by social/cultural factors such as changing family structures or by economic factors like job/housing opportunities, or a combination of both? To this day there is no definitive answer to the riddle of the cause of gentrification and there is empirical evidence for both demand-side and supply-side explanations. Listed below are some of the most widely acknowledged factors that play a part in causing gentrification.

4.3.1. Economic and preferences-based causes

In the 1970s and 1980s, researchers within the field of gentrification and urban planning saw that job growth in the city centre was a major cause of gentrification in the inner-city. Still, to this day, it is considered an important factor but not as significant as was previously thought

since not as much growth needs to take place for gentrification to happen. In contrast, we can see that job growth outside the city centre as well can trigger gentrification processes. For example, there is evidence of this in the Bay Area of San Francisco. Here there has been rapid job growth from the early 2000s, contributing to the gentrification of the Mission District, one of the poorer and more affordable areas in the Bay Area (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001).

Housing market dynamics have to be seen as one of the more crucial aspects causing a gentrification process, even though the dynamics vary from place to place. Gentrified neighbourhoods are often affected by very high metropolitan property prices, where there is a lack of housing compared to the growth in jobs and a situation where housing that is suitable for workers is not situated in close proximity to the jobs. Berry, in his work on gentrification in the 1970s and 1980s, discovered a factor he deemed essential for gentrification. As stated above in the case of London, large cities saw an increase in the suburban areas surrounding the city, leading to the middle-class relocating to the suburbs. This led to the housing in the city eventually becoming more and more dilapidated and opened the possibility for investors to invest and upgrade the neighbourhood (Berry, 1985).

4.3.2. The rent gap.

One of the most notable and commonly mentioned factors for gentrification is the theory of the rent gap explored by Neil Smith (2002). The theory explores the gap between the property value and underlying value of the land in the inner-city, and the implications are detailed below. This gap has been taken advantage of by actors in the property markets like realtors and property developers, as well as middle-class gentrifiers. The rent gap can be explained as the potential difference between the property value of an area such as Woodstock before developments and upgrades takes place, and the value after, in that way creating a "gap". The rent gap is described as "*the gap between the actual capitalized ground rent (land value) of a plot of land given its present use and the potential ground rent that gleaned under a 'higher and better' use*" (Smith, 1987, p. 462). If this difference is large, it encourages investments into that area. Smith argues that the government is contributing to this effect by zoning, financing, and fiscal policies. This is something that will be showcased further in the thesis, in relation to how the government of Cape Town has greatly contributed to causing gentrification in Woodstock (Smith, 2002).

However, this theory is not without its critics, as Ley argues that there is no such thing as the concept of the rent gap. The concept of the rent gap has faced criticism for two main reasons. The first criticism is based on the fact that implementing or applying the rent gap theory to an empirical example is difficult as it is considered to be an abstract concept that is deemed difficult to measure, and the complications with implementing the rent gap theory are backed up by the very few examples where it has actually has been used (Bourassa, 1990). Not only that, but the judgement of what would be the best use has to be considered a highly subjective decision. The other main criticism of the rent gap theory is rooted in the observation that the theory does not properly review what transpires in an area in question. Ley applies this criticism in his work to the downtown east side of Vancouver in Canada (Ley, 1996). If we are to rely strictly on the basis of the rent gap theory Neil Smith proposes, this area should have a large rent gap. Parts of it are known as "no flyer zones to most direct marketers as some of the poorest areas in all of Canada" (McCullough 1994, p. 25), and they are located right next to the downtown city centre which is, on the other hand, described as "one of the most functional North American central cities in existence" (Bula and Ward, 2000). The east side area should therefore be destined for gentrification and undergo rejuvenation and redevelopment. However, this has not happened. In this case, the theory does not take into consideration other factors such as, in the case of Vancouver, city planners who track the land available for development in the entire city. With the city of Vancouver using their own measures for the potential for gentrification, it reduces the need/usage for a theory such as the rent gap. With the Vancouver strategy for developing the city, despite the large rent gap that exists in the east side of the downtown area, their model determines that this place is not a place in need of development and it will therefore be developed at a later stage (Ley, 1996). However, not all cities work within these development strategies like Vancouver, and thus the market and possibilities are more open, and in such places, the rent gap theory is more adaptable for locating areas for gentrification. In a city such as Cape Town, which is run in a completely different way, investments into areas of decay close to the city centre re encouraged through different government policies and incentives.

4.3.3. Living preferences.

All people and demographics have their own living preferences, but certain demographic groups prefer to live in an urban environment with a vibrant culture, diversity, easy access to the city's amenities, unique architecture, and close proximity to the city centre and its entertainment. If these elements are present in an area or neighbourhood, it drastically increases the chance of gentrification taking place. The people who fit this demographic group are often depicted as "cultural creatives" and are usually young professionals, artists and people who are able to live with the worry of higher crime rates (Berry, 1985). This is characteristic of the process of gentrification in Woodstock, where the crime rate is high, and the newly established businesses are often galleries and cultural establishments.

According to Ellen and O'Regan (2010) there are two explanations for why this demographic group chooses gentrified areas. Firstly, with the jobs that young professionals desire located in cities, nearby areas draw the young, wealthy workers towards them. With the city usually offering more white-collar jobs such as those in law firms, finance and high tech to mention a few, such areas become more appealing. as Additionally, the neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification offer a short commute and lower property prices (Ellen & O'Regan, 2010). The other explanation touches on the theme of culture and preferences in lifestyle as mentioned previously. As a neighbourhood undergoes a gentrification process it not only transforms the physical landscape of the neighbourhood, but also the identity and therefore, it becomes more attractive for people who have the same identity. As new types of businesses, social ventures, entertainment as well as the style of the houses change, the character of the demographic changes with it. A good example of how people within the same identity and lifestyle find their way into the same neighbourhood is given by Lees, Slater & Wyly, who talks about the high concentration of wealthy gay people in some neighbourhoods of San Francisco; he states that gentrified areas attract like-minded people and this can lead to a tempo increase in the gentrification process (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

An interesting factor raised in a research paper on gentrification and neighbourhood change is the impact that the length of the commute can have. Kennedy and Leonard (2001) describe this in their case studies on the topic; 75% of the informants stated a long commute and traffic as a reason for gentrification in their case studies. As they state in their paper, a long commute can have a big negative impact on people's quality of life. I find this interesting in the context

of Woodstock, especially with the impact gentrification often has on the local residents, facing displacement, which results in them perhaps relocating to an area with a long commute compared to Woodstock.

> *As metropolitan populations rise and infrastructure ages, commutes (and therefore hours away from home) lengthen, congestion increases, and overall quality of life declines. Some new residents clearly desire the opportunity to walk or take a short subway ride to work, and some support "smart growth" policies that include "transit-friendly" housing. Even those who reverse-commute to suburban jobs may have quicker commutes from in-town neighbourhoods than they would from a suburban residence.* (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001: 12).

While gentrification is often driven by economic forces and different preferences by demographic groups, it can also be aided into existence by policies or action by the government. There are many different policies cities can apply to contribute to the willingness to increase investments in certain areas to revitalise these areas. These include direct investments, tax incentives and zoning regulations, factors that are very visible in Woodstock.

4.3.4. Governmental and political causes

In some cases, even years after implementing certain policies, unintentional gentrification can be the consequence (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001), in many ways this can be compared to Scott's "seeing like a state". Here he brings forwards the argument that state policies can lead to unintentional consequences (Scott, 1998). This demonstrates how the gentrification in Woodstock, due to neo-liberal policies of urban planning, has failed for the people already living in the designated areas. The actions taken by the government have been taken in order to make Cape Town a "world-class city" by developing certain parts of the city, especially the inner-city areas (Watson, 2009). This plan, however, has backfired for the people already living in Woodstock, as the political and economic forces do not benefit them, when we consider their position in society in the context of their hegemonic position in society inflicted during apartheid. This way modernist schemes, such as urban rejuvenation, have led to failure for the low-income class, resulting in displacement into designated areas, as I will showcase later.

With many cities such as Cape Town looking to revitalise certain areas that can be considered as distresses communities, they look to implement certain policies to attract the middle-class or to encourage the original residents to upgrade their homes. With the government offering considerable tax incentives for new investors, it incentivises new investments into the area. For example, in Woodstock, the government offered new investors a tax incentive of 20% in the first year, and another 20% in the following four years to push new investments into Woodstock (National Treasury, 2004), making Woodstock an especially attractive business possibility. In Cape Town alone, there have been several policies implemented by the government since 2000 to attract new investors and residents into Woodstock; these include the establishment of the Cape Town Partnership (CTP), Central Improvement District (CID), Central City Improvement District (CCID), Urban Development Zones (UDZ) and the Woodstock Improvement District (WID). All of these are policies created by the government to improve certain inner-city areas in Cape Town such as Woodstock, and they have had a great impact on the process of gentrification.

David Ley offers several different explanations for why the middle-class may decide to relocate to a working-class neighbourhood. The explanations Ley gives include "urban sprawl, escalating energy costs and the problems with commuting … [which all draw] households closer to downtown jobs; the spiralling cost of suburban housing encouraging new households (in particular) to re-examine cheaper inner-city locations" (Ley, 1986: 521). Another explanation, according to Ley, relates to exploring a different way of life compared to the cultural sterility of suburban life. As he explains, this involves a "pro urban ethos of changing preference rejecting the perceived authentic homogeneity and cultural sterility of suburban landscapes in favour of inner-city character neighbourhoods with distinctive architecture, social and cultural diversity, and proximity to downtown amenity and leisure opportunities" (Ley, 1986: 521). This description of a desirable place to live and an explanation of what the middle-class gentrifiers look for is an accurate description of the neighbourhood of Woodstock and corresponds directly with Ley's argument, as Woodstock is a vibrant community with unique architecture for Cape Town, and an inner-city neighbourhood with social and cultural diversity that has remained intact from before the apartheid regime. One other interesting point Ley discusses is the lifestyle that the inner-city allows people to have. Instead of conforming to "suburban familism", the inner-city areas allow non-traditional living arrangements, as well as a gay subculture, allowing people to embrace different lifestyles without facing discrimination and judgement (Ley, 1986, 521).

4.4. Consequences of gentrification

The major consequence of gentrification is the displacement of low-income/working-class groups from a neighbourhood or area. It is vital to understand how this impacts people's lives, in the context of Woodstock's gentrification; as will be seen, the consequences are more severe than in other parts of the world, in many ways because of the lingering effects of apartheid.

4.4.1. Displacement

Hartmann defines displacement in the following way: "Displacement means moving from a supportive, long-term environment to an alien area where substantially higher costs are involved for a more crowded, inferior dwelling" (Hartmann, 1979: 23).

One of the most serious and well-known consequences of gentrification is displacement, and it is central to the process of gentrification in Woodstock, where displacement has been heavily visible. Displacement because of gentrification happens when the pressure from the middle-class on the housing market causes the property prices and rent in a certain area to rise, and therefore pushes poor marginalised people out of the area (Atkinson, 2000). One important question that is incredibly difficult to answer is, what happens to the displaced people? Where do they go? How does it affect them to be forced out of their homes and neighbourhood? As they no longer live in the gentrified area, it is difficult to locate them, and therefore the research on displaced people is very limited, as most of the research and theories relate to the changes in the neighbourhood and ignore the topic of displacement.

The most vulnerable people to displacement in this study, is as Atkinson says, is the single people, as they stand alone and can find it hard to find affordable housing (Atkinson, 2000). This is something the study will go on to show, that especially single mothers, are vulnerable to displacement. Furthermore the intersectionality of being both black/coloured and a women affects them. The people vulnerable do not own their houses, they don't have the security or power of property ownership and are depending on their landlords' decisions. As will be shown through the study, displacement not only affect the physical location of ones home, but it also affect in great detail their life in terms of living condition and overall standard of living when displaced. A major problem when studying displacement, is the fact that it is incredible

difficult to find out what happens to them, as it usually is a lack of sources on where they go. As Atkinson describe displacement as being considered "near invisibility" because "where it happens, not indicators remain". (Atkinson, 2000). In Woodstock on the contrary, there is a great deal of information where they are forced to live. As it will be shown through several accounts of people forced to relocate to Blikkiesdorp, a "Temporary Relocation Area), close to the airport of Cape Town. As reported by Development Action Group (DAG), who are an NGO working with urban challenges in Cape Town. (DAG.com).

4.4.2. A change in the characteristics of the area

The consequences of gentrification are not limited to displacement as discussed above, but also more severe consequences for the poorer marginalised people in an area or neighbourhood. Since gentrification results in changes in the social and geographical characteristics of an area, it can lead to the need for public services like public library and other sources of entertainment decreasing with the influx of the middle-class residents into the area. The local government now can argue that these services are no longer needed and is seen as "self-serving legitimating for the loss of such public services" (Atkinson, 2000, 320). Another consequence we can find in areas experiencing gentrification is the negative impact it can have on the already established shops and services in the area. As discussed above, with an influx of the middle-class into working-class areas, it changes the needs of the residents in the area. Therefore, this leads to replacement of the previous businesses and services which attended to the needs of the working-class, and the neighbourhood is transformed to accommodate the needs of the middle-class (Atkinson, 2000).

4.4.3. A change in the economic demographic

When an area undergoes gentrification, it changes the economic demographic of the area. People with more resources who belong to the middle-class contribute to give the neighbourhood a more mixed income and deconcentrate poverty. According to Turner and Ellen, cities intentionally try to attract middle-class households, as they can often be necessary to reduce the high concentration of poverty in certain areas. As we can see in Woodstock, it is one of the areas within the city centre in Cape Town with a high concentration of poverty.

Lowering the poverty concentration, improving the income and establishing a greater income mix in an area has a great impact on families and children in the area (Turner & Ellen, 1997).

With the middle-class moving into working-class areas, we see this as a possibility for social mixing in terms of class, culture and nationality. However, the extent of the social mixing that actually happens between these different people may be limited, as Glass discovered and described in her observations. Even though people from various classes, cultures and races live together within a neighbourhood, it does not automatically result in social mixing; in contrast, people still live in a way which is very estranged from each other. This can be seen in Woodstock, with the clear separation in the neighbourhood between Upper Woodstock and Lower Woodstock. The lack of social mixing or a coming together is described by Glass as a visible phenomenon: "A conglomeration of groups who move, so to speak, on separate tracks, even if they do meet occasionally at a station" (Glass, 1964).

New residents moving into areas such as Woodstock do bring with them many negative effects, but they also bring positive effects for the neighbourhood. New members of the community bring with them higher purchase power, and new potential customers for existing businesses. They also stimulate the need for new businesses in the area, as well as the needs for the future of the community.

Lees also discusses the problematic idea that when people from different classes, cultures and nationalities live together in the same area, successful social mixing occurs naturally. As stated by Lees, cities that have undergone state-led gentrification are doing so based on the idea that difference and diversity are crucial to the process of gentrification and that it will lead to a more diverse and tolerant city. Even though the issue of whether gentrification leads to displacement, segregation and social polarisation has been debated, gentrification is still promoted and supported by politicians as a solution that will eventually result in "more socially mixed, less segregated, more liveable and sustainable communities" (Lees, 2008: 249). Lees is unsure whether social mixing through middle-class residents moving into working-class areas is positive and if any social mixing is happening between the different groups. Even though the process of gentrification can be viewed as a path by which to bring people from different classes, cultures, and nationalities together, it may also not be the answer, as Glass suggests as people within a neighbourhood may only be more or less coexisting without becoming more socially integrated with each other.

4.5. Gentrification around the world

The improvement of inner-city neighbourhoods such as Woodstock that have experienced long periods of poverty and urban decay is important for any city, and in this regard, both the public and private sectors play a role in this process. Loretta Lees considers this point in her article concerning policies in the UK, the USA and Netherlands concerning the topic of making the city a liveable space for people from different social classes, cultural groups and nationalities. In the UK, the New Labour Government was working towards social diversity and mixing. At the time, the government's policies were 'pro-urban' and 'pro-social mixing' and it was maintained that the resettlement of the middle-classes in central areas of cities could possibly lead to reductions in "socio-spatial segregation and strengthening the 'social tissue' of deprived neighbourhoods" (Lees, 2008). In the US, urban renewal has been seen as a possible answer to the problem of poverty in inner-city neighbourhoods. Hackworth & Smith look into the onset of gentrification in the US in 1973, before the economic recession that affected the global economy. They look in-depth at how gentrification occurred in the major cities like New York, where inner-city neighbourhoods' value diminished as a result of the middle-class moving from the inner-city out to the suburbs. As a result of this, property developers and investors took advantage of this and become the catalyst for the gentrification processes which happened in the 1980s (Hackworth & Smith, 2000).

In the Netherlands, however, gentrification is considered from a different angle. Here, the government looks at the gentrification process as a way to attract the middle-class, since they believe it will increase the taxes from the area, support local businesses and strengthen the governability of the area (Lees, 2008). As Lees states, the basic idea of this is that, simply speaking, "well-educated, middle-class urbanites are less of a burden on social services and are likely to play an active part in neighbourhood revitalisations." However, what happens to the working-class residents in the area? A case study by Huisman (2013) concerning gentrification and displacement in Amsterdam found that in Amsterdam, several thousand people have been displaced from their homes as a result of both the state-led upgrade of affordable rental buildings into new apartments as well as free-market rentals to attract more middle-class residents to the city (Huisman, 2013).

In his paper, "Spoiled Mixture: Where does state led 'positive' gentrification end?" (2008), Mark Davidson makes the argument that gentrification has been regarded by policy-makers as a possible solution for urban renewal. We can see this with various examples in the UK, the

US and the Netherlands which Lees mentions. Davidson agrees with Lees, and reiterates the arguments offered by Lees, the main argument being that social mixing activities are seen as a solution to major urban social problems, by "deconcentrating the poor and working-class communities through attracting the middle-classes back to the city" (Davidson, 2008: 2387). The UK, the US and the Netherlands look upon these policies of social mixing as win-win scenarios according to Davidson, where the low-income communities in the area undergoing renewal will reap the most benefits from the policies. However, what seems to be the reality and what actually takes place is that many of the low-income residents are being displaced as a result, and that there is limited success in terms of promoting social mixing as planned (Davidson, 2008: 2388).

Gentrification is, as we can see, a phenomenon taking place all over the world, but often under the guise of different terms, such as "renewal", "reinvestment", "revitalisation" or "smart growth", along with many more terms; this is entirely relevant to how gentrification in Cape Town has taken place (Winkler, 2009). These terms provide a distraction from the issue of displacement of the poor, which is distinctive in a gentrification process. Displacement occurs most often through increased rental and property prices but can also occur in more drastic ways. Atkinson discusses different approaches to displacement, including how landlords have been known to use different "shady" ways of removing their tenants. This include but is not limited to offering them money to leave the property, harassment, violence and intimidation, as well as eviction notices (Atkinson, 2000). The people who are displaced are forced to move out of their homes, resulting in them either becoming homeless or having to buy/rent a different property. This inevitably leads to the displaced person/persons having to move out of their area into a more affordable area, usually further away from the city centre. As Atkinson shares in his results, the displaced are forced to move to a place they can afford, or rent with family/friends if that is possible. Displacement is a perpetual problem in working-class areas since exclusion in the form of price and rental increases is accepted, because it relates to the market logic that property relations are usually determined by (Atkinson, 2000).

Lees discusses the problematic idea that when people from different classes, cultures and nationalities live together in the same area, successful social mixing occurs naturally. As stated by Lees, cities that have undergone state-led gentrification do so based on the idea that difference and diversity are crucial to the process of gentrification and will lead to a more

diverse and tolerant city. Even though it has been debated whether gentrification leads to displacement, segregation and social polarisation, gentrification is still promoted and supported by politicians as a solution that will eventually result in "more socially mixed, less segregated, more liveable and sustainable communities" (Lees, 2008: 249). Lees is unsure whether social mixing through middle-class residents moving into working-class areas is positive and if any social mixing is happening between the different groups. Even though the process of gentrification can be viewed as a path by which to bring people from different classes, cultures and nationalities together, it may also not be the answer. People within a neighbourhood are also often coexisting without becoming more socially integrated with each other. In the case of Woodstock, we can see that this is not the case, as it has been segregated between Upper Woodstock and Lower Woodstock. Whereas Upper Woodstock have been predominantly white, and Lower Woodstock mostly black and coloured.

4.6. Resistance to gentrification and displacement.

When gentrification eventually leads to displacement, it is usually the marginalised groups that are affected – the low-income residents, that either can't afford to keep living there or are forced out as they are no longer deemed welcome. Despite this, the residents in danger, in many examples around the world, are displaying innovative ways to resist their displacement. Creative ways that challenge the economic forces pressuring them out of their homes. For example, in New York, the low-income residents that were forced to leave their homes found ways to resist their displacement in a housing market that had very little affordable housing, and a decrease in rent-controlled buildings (Newman & Wyly, 2006; Pearsall, 2012). These trends are very similar to the changes in Woodstock. The strategies implemented by these residents to adapt to the changing dynamics in the neighbourhood were to accept housing of a lower standard or to share rent by living with more people under one roof (Newman & Wyly, 2006: Pearsall, 2012).

Another strategy was to live informally, in co-operation with the landlord, who then didn't have to report his income to the tax department, although the residents where living in constant risk of changes in the market, as well as depending on a good relationship with the landlord (Newman & Wyly, 2006; Pearsall, 2012). In both these New York studies, the community came together to challenge the unfair practices used by landlords, and campaign for more affordable housing, protest evictions, and find alternative options to displacement.

Even though the community came together in many ways, resilience in the face of gentrification was, according to Pearsall (2012), still manifested most strongly in the individuals or households which used the strategies mentioned in their research (Newman & Wyly, 2006; Pearsall, 2012). The strategies mentioned above do not stop gentrification from happening, but they do resist some of the effects caused by gentrification, and, significantly, the displacement of local people from their community. It also goes to show how much damage gentrification can do to communities, as it can disrupt them entirely (Pearsall, 2012).

The discussion of resistance is taken further by Brenner, Marcuse, and Meyer (2009), who argue that we need to restructure cities to adjust to human needs, rather than economic needs, making the case for spatial justice. This refers to the relationship of reciprocal construction between space and social processes, so that both are characterized by justice (Marcuse, 2009). Spatial injustice, on the other hand, is characterized by inequality, exclusion, and discrimination in terms of both social and spatial spaces, based on topics such as race, class, gender, or an intersectionality between more than one (Soja, 2009). As we can see from early colonial days, with apartheid, spatial injustice has had a large impact on how South African cities are today. Displaced groups can be seen fighting against this spatial injustice through grassroot practices. The Western Cape Anti Eviction Campaign is an example of a grassroots practice which aims to fight against eviction in Cape Town, by asserting the rights of evicted people. However, when this fails, the group tends to implement more creative actions, such as protests and invasions, and restoring services that have been shut down by the state. Furthermore, they go beyond the law, sometimes breaking into houses from which people have been evicted, to return them to their homes (Miraftab & Wills, 2005).

Holston (2009) employed the term insurgent citizenship, to describe when marginalised communities come together to use their rights in ways that fight the activities resulting from neoliberal urban policies. This term refers to citizens using their citizenship collectively to challenge the marginalised form of citizenship they have (Holston, 1998). One kind of insurgent citizenship, in the context of gentrification and displacement, is "squatting" or "occupation". This refers to the illegal occupation of a building, whether public or private property (Aguilera, 2013). Through research, squatting can be seen as a very useful tool for resisting gentrification, as it has been proven to achieve certain goals. Occupation creates new housing for displaced and vulnerable people, but also contributes to challenging reductions in affordable accommodation and the policies that drive the process of gentrification, as well as

challenging the privatisation of space (Abellan, 2012; Aguilera, 2012; De Carli & Frediani, 2016). Occupation can, therefore, be seen as disrupting gentrification processes, as groups reclaim their spaces as well as being highly visible and fighting for their sense of belonging within a city. An example of this can be seen in Bucharest, where an evicted community came together against their eviction. They did this by putting up tents and shacks all over the street as a protest to demand social housing (Lancione, 2017). By doing this, they resisted the agency of the "evicted subject", who is often considered to rely on other people and to be helpless. They asserted an autonomous, political subject, that did not fit into tropes of typical political repression (Lancione, 2017). This made them feel a sense of possibility beyond the status quo (Lancione, 2017).

Another example that is highly relevant to the case of Cape Town, is the case of the occupation of an empty closed hotel in Sao Paulo which came about because of the displacement of predominantly black low-income groups, strengthened by urban renewal measures by both the private and public sectors. This occupation involves 237 mostly black low-income families and has lasted for over 10 years, with the help of a strongly organised collective of people (Paterniani, 2018). Paterniani (2018) provides evidence of how the tool of occupation can be seen as providing a solution not only for the present, but also in terms of reimagining the future (Paterniani, 2018). In the occupation of this hotel in Sao Paulo, the residents are resisting gentrification and displacement through organisation, occupation and protest. By using the Brazilian constitution in their favour, which states that all buildings must serve a social function, they are reclaiming public policy from the state (Paterniani, 2018). In the meantime, while living in this hotel, they are creating the life they want, in the community they want to live in, in a certain part of the city that they couldn't actually afford. By living like this, they are not only challenging the injustice of the past and present, but also challenging the future of the city by shaping their own desired accommodation (Paterniani, 2018).

In the following chapter, I expand on the theoretical framework for gentrification within South Africa and more specifically Woodstock to demonstrate how it has evolved and become a significant part of urban policy.

5.0. Gentrification in South Africa

Since the 1990s, several urban renewal programmes and projects have been launched by the government, urban planners and private developers to work against urban decay in South African cities like Cape Town. Visser & Kotze state that these projects and programmes were instigated due to different urban processes like "accelerated decentralisation" in South Africa from the 1970s, "white flight" from the inner-city areas, institutional capital disinvestment and the suburbanisation of high-order service functions over the past three decades. All of these processes have given rise to the "physical decay that has, until recently, defined South Africa's central business districts (CBDs) and surrounding inner-city areas" (Visser & Kotze, 2008; 2565). Even though the processes concerning urban renewal in Cape Town are largely similar to those in other cities around the world, Visser & Kotze, in 2008, maintained that there was a lack of literature on the topic of gentrification in South Africa with only a few proper research projects and studies having taken place. However, some studies had been undertaken on the changes that were happening in Woodstock (Garside, 1993; Kotze, 1996, 1998; Kotze & van der Merwe, 2000). Kotze's detailed study on gentrification in Woodstock is an important work, in which he constructed a profile of gentrification that could be applied to other parts of the city. Within this research project, he identified two other neighbourhoods within the inner city of Cape Town that were simultaneously undergoing the process of gentrification, namely De Waterkant and Lower Gardens, while other neighbourhoods like Green Point and certain areas in Sea Point and the infamous tourist attraction of Bo-Kaap already had experienced gentrification (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

In Cape Town, post-apartheid, the first public sign of gentrification was in the neigbourhood of Bo-Kaap, with a demonstration by angry coloured, local residents. Visser & Kotze describe angry press releases from the residents that reflect their anger at the changes which were taking place in Bo-Kaap, as well as the threat it posed to their community. These included statements like "We don't want you, Bo-Kaap tells city rich", "Bo-Kaap's character 'being lost to gentrification'", "historical Bo-Kaap sinking under torrent of money" and "commercialisation and gentrification threaten the great qualities of the Bo-Kaap". On the other side of the city centre however, in Woodstock, the gentrification processes had already started, but was allowed to begin without any visible signs of public protest in the late 1980s (Visser & Kotze 2008).

5.1. Gentrification in Woodstock

As disclosed previously in this thesis, gentrification relies on the premise of certain elements in order for a process of urban renewal to be considered as gentrification. Firstly, there must be a significant influx of middle-class residents into a neighbourhood that was previously regarded as a working-class neighbourhood. Secondly, it must involve the renovation of properties and a change in the physical landscape of the neighbourhood. Thirdly, the working-class residents have to be under the threat of displacement or have already been displaced. As previously discussed, a gentrified area will have experienced a rise in property prices and rentals as a result of becoming an attractive area for the middle-class to reside and/or work in. This influx of middle-class residents causes the neighbourhood to undergo transformations and changes in the physical landscape of the area. The result of these elements of the gentrification process is that working-class residents already inhabiting the area are victims of financial pressure and, as a result of the gentrification happening, can no longer afford to live in the area, therefore increasing the chance of them being displaced. The neighbourhood, thereafter, is transformed from a neighbourhood often affected by poverty and urban decay into an area of commodification and reinvestment (Ley, 2003).

(Graffiti in Woodstock. Theculturetrip.com).

The whole process of gentrification, with the help of investors and developers, leads to a working-class area being redefined as a middle-class area. New accommodation and

businesses develop that please the lifestyle of the middle-class, in order for them to live, work and enjoy activities and entertainment. Woodstock is an area of Cape Town that is currently undergoing this process; there are clear signs of it, with many buildings, both commercial and residential, undergoing transformations from a state of physical deterioration into modernised new buildings more fit for middle-class needs, and public spaces being renewed (Visser, 2008). Later in the thesis, I will thoroughly showcase several changes in the physical landscape in Woodstock, and the change in the social class in the area, and prove that the working-class residents live under the threat of displacement.

5.2. Early signs of gentrification in Woodstock

Various studies on changes in Woodstock in the 1980s and early 1990s show that these processes were already at work, though unevenly, during this period, when Woodstock was able to hang on to its mixed-race character as already described. The 'first phase' of gentrification in Woodstock can therefore be understood within the context of the historical developments discussed in the previous chapter. According to research conducted by Garside (1993), Woodstock was changing its demographic profile during the 1980s, with the middle-class slowly replacing the working-class families in the area. In her research, she showed, through her findings, that both Upper and Lower Woodstock were experiencing displacement, and both white and coloured households were affected by these changes (Garside, 1993). With Woodstock being declared as an open or grey area from 1987, it opened the gates for middle-class families to relocate to Woodstock, especially for more affluent people from coloured communities (Visser, 2002). Garside describes how local residents first started to notice the trend for middle-class families to relocate to their neighbourhood, as they noticed that the renters from the working-class were replaced by new houseowners from the middle-class. Woodstock was also an attractive area because of its architecture and views of Table Mountain; as a result, it attracted more creative entrepreneurs and figures.

Thereafter they started to refurbish the houses to be able to rent them out or to sell them for a higher price. The rental prices increased 400-500% because of the new influx of middle-class people and this naturally led to a displacement of some of the working-class families in Woodstock. According to Garside: "long established working-class residents were evicted due to economic circumstances and forced to try and find affordable housing either in other parts of Woodstock or adjacent inner-city slums" (1993; 33). She goes on to state:

The trend of invasion and succession by middle class families into working class areas of Woodstock gained momentum through the late 1980s and into the 1990s. The pattern repeated in Upper Woodstock where working class white and immigrant groups became displaced by white professionals, who again were attracted by proximity to the CBD. In addition many artists, architectural businesses, and small advertising enterprises were attracted by Woodstock's Victorian architecture, its close proximity to Table Mountain, and hotchpotch mixture of residential, retail and warehousing activities which was markedly different to the bland uniformity of much of suburban Cape Town. (Garside, 1993: 33).
Wenz (2012), in her works, agrees with Garside that the first process of gentrification was brought about by the desire of the cultural entrepreneurs mentioned above to make Woodstock their home. She makes the point that the first cycle of gentrification was the result of individuals' own location decisions, instead of a top-down political intervention. She also agrees that factors like the opening up of Woodstock as a grey/open area, allowing people across all races to habituate the area, as well as the very close proximity to the city centre of Cape Town were key factors contributing to the accelerating gentrification in Woodstock (Wenz, 2012).

Visser (2002) also studied the gentrification process in Woodstock, and focused mostly on the underlying causes of the physical decay that were predominant in Woodstock before the redevelopment of the area. The "white flight" from the inner-city areas in South Africa during the apartheid years could be one important reason for this, as it may have been one of the reasons for why Woodstock was determined a grey/open area, and therefore led to an influx of affluent families from different races moving into the area (Visser, 2002). Apart from the white flight from the city centre, other factors as well were important in terms of the gentrification of Woodstock, factors such as institutional capital disinvestment which led to clear physical decay in the area (Visser, 2002).

During the 1980s, Woodstock had become a neighbourhood clearly struggling from physical deterioration, because of the closure of important factories such as the two biscuit factories Baumann and Pyott Biscuits. In the 1990s, imports from the Asian textile industry killed many industries in Woodstock, and physical decline started to become apparent since these factories had been important for the economic life of Woodstock. With these factories being unused and empty, surrounding areas started to deteriorate, and the residents of Woodstock

lost an important source of employment. As people where left unemployed and factories decayed, the degradation of the neighbourhood was in full swing (Wenz, 2012; Visser, 2002). As the conditions in Woodstock deteriorated, drug abuse, criminal activities and vandalism escalated, according to Mammon (2003). Poverty became more and more problematic in the area, evident and visible in the form of increased homelessness, beggars and people resorting to vagrancy (Mammon, 2003). With the factories and commercial spaces being left empty, as discussed above, it created spaces for criminal activity, especially along Albert Road that separates Upper and Lower Woodstock, and some people resorted to becoming squatters, and building shacks in the backyards of people's home or next to them. These kinds of structures are still visible to this day and resemble the homes of people living in townships (NM & Associates, 2002).

However, Woodstock was soon to experience many changes in the neighbourhood, as South Africa become a democracy after the election in 1994, opening the floodgates for new investment into the country. The property sector particularly found Woodstock to have massive potential as it was an area suffering from neglect and was considered a dilapidated area soon to be upgraded (Wenz, 2012). To emphasise how quickly the investments started affecting Woodstock, by 1995, 32% of the buildings in Woodstock had undergone renovations, igniting the second phase of gentrification in the area (Kotze & Van der Merwe, 2000).

5.3. Gentrification after the end of apartheid

The second phase of gentrification in Woodstock began in the post-apartheid period in South Africa, after the election in 1994. As mentioned previously, some areas in Woodstock had undergone renovations, upgrades and rejuvenation, while most of Woodstock was still experiencing urban decay and considered to be a dilapidated area. Gentrification in Woodstock increased in pace during the late 1990s, and 2000s, especially in the areas around Albert Road, with large market developments like The Old Biscuit Mill, The Bromwell, The Woodstock Exchange and The Woodstock Foundry. There was also an increase in the development of new modern apartment blocks from old commercial spaces. In addition to this, there were several cultural developments in form of restaurants, nightclubs, markets, comedy clubs, clothing stores and "lifestyle" stores. All these developments took place in

buildings that were either dilapidated or empty buildings, and were now attracting the middle-class residents of Cape Town.

During the 1990s and 2000s, the middle-class of Cape Town saw and took advantage of the benefits they could access from living in Woodstock (Du Plessis, 2012). According to Turok (2011), having a higher density of residents in urban areas means it can support more productive economics, and thereafter create more vibrant and inclusive communities. With people living closer together, the idea is that it improves opportunities for interaction as well as exchanging ideas across cultures (Turok, 2011). This is confirmed as an objective by the Regeneration Programme of the City of Cape Town (CoCT), where it is stated that city-wide densification is a goal and is viewed to be "necessary to support more compact, transit-orientated mixed use developments" (Department of Transport and Public Works, 2010; 6). Even though urban integration and densification have been targeted as government objectives ever since the election in 1994, the average population density is still considered to be low in most South African cities. (Turok, 2011).

This could be considered to be a hangover from the apartheid regime, when the majority of the population was forced out of the city centre, to the outskirts of the city. Turok states that today, however, there seems to be a renewed interest in Cape Town in terms of prioritising densification in the city and resisting urban sprawl (Turok, 2011). This is, however, not popular with the residents of Cape Town, as they are concerned about overcrowding. Turok, on the other hand, proclaims that densification can be seen as a positive tool with the benefits including convenience, connectivity and a strengthened sense of community (Turok, 2011). He further argues that with proper planning and execution in terms of urban planning and management, an increase in the urban density, in inner-city neighbourhoods like Woodstock, can lead to improved housing, amenities, job opportunities and public services (2011). The state is devoted to increasing densification in Cape Town, as the population pressure, resource constraints and environmental concerns also put pressure on the topic of redevelopment in inner-city areas such as Woodstock (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2008; Turok, 2011). As a result of this, Turok argues that the density in low-income areas could fall, and be replaced by high-income households, as they are able to afford more space (Turok, 2011; Pirie, 2007). The focus and effort on densification in Woodstock can lead to unintentional gentrification in the area (Pirie, 2007). If the gentrification process is completely ignored by

the government in Cape Town, it will lead to an increased and accelerated process, with the end result being the displacement of the poor residents in the neighbourhood (Turok, 2011).

5.4. Changes in Woodstock

Inner-city neighbourhoods suffering from a poor economy are dependent on capital reinvestment for rejuvenation, and therefore, they are often victims of urban policies that seek to bring about economic regeneration (Winkler, 2009). According to Winkler (2009; 363), these policies tend to focus mainly on making the city more "economically competitive while bypassing issues of social and spatial justice in neighbourhoods earmarked for rejuvenation". By implementing these urban policies and practices, the hope is that it will result in inner city challenges like unemployment, lack of opportunities and social exclusion no longer being a feature of the neighbourhood (Winkler, 2009). The changes which often taken place in such areas in need of regeneration include, according to Winkler, "street-level spectacles, trendy bars and cafes, social diversity and funky clothing outlets" (Winkler, 2009; 363). to the hope is that this will attract investors, residents of higher economic class, the "creative class" and bring in customers for the new cafes, galleries, and other rejuvenated businesses as well as the new residential buildings that have appeared in the areas formerly seen as lacking "creativity" and being dilapidated (Winkler, 2009).

One of the most notable changes in Woodstock, as a cause of gentrification, is the famous Old Biscuit Mill that was established in 2005 on the site of an abandoned biscuit factory. The owners transformed this into what Wenz describes as a "creative centre housing a mixture of businesses such as studios, offices, retail spaces, restaurants and its popular food market" (Wenz, 2012: 24). Since the establishment of The Old Biscuit Mill, many other similar business ventures have been established along Albert Road and Victory Road in Woodstock. The Woodstock Foundry, the Salt Circle, The Woodstock Exchange and Palm Centre are examples of this. There are also several designer retail stores, new restaurants, art galleries and furniture stores, all of which contribute to making Woodstock the so-called "creative hub" of Cape Town. The establishment of The Old Biscuit Mill must be seen as an important contributor to economic growth in Woodstock, since investors and business owners saw how successful it was and therefore were willing to invest themselves. In one sense, it can be seen as the beginning of the process. Another notable changes in Woodstock is the drastic increase in gated communities alongside decreases in the crime rate. The increase in high-rise walls, gates and parking areas is typical of gentrification and these "enclaves of wealth" further lead

to social exclusion of the community's poor residents. These high-rise walls, barbed wire and more security measures to separate the new residents from the community result in a disconnection between the different residents of Woodstock.

The uneven development and urban exclusion during apartheid, is further sustained through the neoliberal urban planning in Cape Town post-apartheid. In post-apartheid South Africa, the racialized politics, and actions, are replaced by other economic contraptions, that achieve the same end results. (Miraftab, 2012). Through neoliberal urban renewal, that supports free market capitalism of land and power, as well as a privatisation of public services. The urban renewal strategies and implementations that follow neoliberalism, sustain "revanchist" focus, by reassessing areas considered working-class, and redeveloping it for the middle-class, similtounasly causing the displacement of the working-class. (Rodriguez, & Di Virgilio, 2016). We can see signs of this in Cape Town as public spaces in urban areas, have been sold to the private sector for it to be redeveloped, causing both eviction and displacement and the exclusion of the new developed areas. (Spocter, 2017).

(Graffiti on houses in Woodstock. Theculturetrip.com).

Over the years, since Woodstock first started experiencing urban renewal processes or gentrification, there can be no doubt that it has led to a change in the cycle of decline to

renewal in the area. Implementations like the City-Centre Improvement Districts (CCID), as well as significant infrastructure investments have contributed greatly to turning Woodstock from an area of decay and decline into an area with large economic growth and social transformation as well as renewal (Visser & Kotze, 2008). By applying economic incentives as a tool to attract investments into designated areas of residential and economic significance, and creating urban rejuvenation, it can be seen to further the spatial inequalities already established during apartheid. (Lemanski, 2007). The CCID areas are compared to the colonial era, where access to municipal services was exclusive to the elites of property owners. In similar fashion, in the CCID, property and business owners can pay additional rates to access better municipal services, such as improved security and cleaning services. The CCID can therefore be seen to maintain the connection between property ownership and power, as only property owners, not tenants, can vote and decide how the CCID project goes forward with their initiatives. (Miraftab, 2012). The CCID can be argued to preserve the sanitation discourse during colonial times, by connecting poverty as result of crime and dilapidation, and will abolish this form inner-city areas such as Cape Town. (Miraftab, 2012. Nahnsen, 2006). This form of urban planning by the government in Cape Town, have been critiqued by Miraftab, they have "allowed their imagniations to be captured" (Miraftab, 2012. P.29). What he mean with this is that they have adopted the practices of the Global North, without consideration or reflection. Furthermore, by considering these practices and policies in Cape Town as new and innovative, deteriorates the potential of imagining urban planning, renewal and rejuvenation beyond the practices created during colonial and apartheid times. (Miraftab, 2012).

What once used to be an area suffering from urban decay, which was considered to be dilapidated, is now considered to be a creative hub of Cape Town, which is especially attractive to the middle-class, not only in terms of accommodation, but also entertainment, work and business opportunities. Even though large parts of Woodstock's old abandoned and empty spaces have been bought up by investors, renovated and renewed, there are still signs of the old spaces too, with cafes, fast food shops and some taverns between the new gentrified spaces.

5.5. Reclaim the City

As detailed in the previous chapter, even though gentrification and displacement usually affect the less marginalised groups in society, there are ways to resist it and fight for one's rights. In Cape Town, there are organisations like Reclaim the City (RTC), which was founded in 2016 by domestic workers in Sea Point in Cape Town, as well as a Ndifuna Ukwazi, a non-profit research and law organisation in Cape Town (Reclaim the City, 2018). It started as a campaign to prevent the sale of prime-provincially owned land in Sea Point, making the argument that it could be used for social housing (Reclaim the City, 2018). Today, RTC has become a proper grassroot organisation fighting against gentrification and supporting people evicted and other low-income residents by organising politically, engaging in research and litigation, with the support of Ndifuna Ukwazi (Reclaim the City, 2018). With the slogan "Land for people, not for profit", the organisation's goal is to increase the access that low-income groups have to affordable housing, as well as disrupting the power that owning property can bestow, and put an end to the relocation areas outside the cities (Reclaim the City, 2018). The organisation works under a formal constitution that advocates inclusivity, non-violence, equality, dignity and respect, justice and transparency (Reclaim the City, 2018).

The organisation has become well known in Cape Town for creative forms of protest, which match many of the previously depicted forms of resistance. These forms of protest include demonstrating outside the houses and offices of people with power regarding housing policies, such as politicians and property developers, public statements, using social media, trying evicted people's cases in court, and the occupation of abandoned buildings (Reclaim the City, 2017). In 2017, for example, RTC occupied an empty building in Woodstock that is owned by the government but had remained empty for several years. The building is former hospital, and is known now as the "Cissie Gool House" or "CGH; when they occupied it, the movement made a statement clearly describing their action and stating the goals they hoped to achieve:

> *We are residents of Woodstock, Sea Point, Marikana informal settlement, Blikkiesdorp*
> *and Khayelitsha. We are from communities at the forefront of the housing and*
> *segregation crisis in our city. We stand in solidarity with the struggles of all poor and*
> *working class people who still live homeless under bridges; in shacks and informal*
> *settlements at the edge of our city; in backyards and wendy houses on the Cape Flats;*

and in store rooms and domestic quarters in former white suburbs. (Reclaim the City, 2017).

The occupation was an act of protest, in order to try to force the local government and politicians to meet their demands for affordable accommodation (Reclaim the City, 2017). These demands included building more affordable housing on public owned property in the inner city, constructing temporary housing closer to the city centre, compared to existing dwellings on the periphery, upgrading informal settlements such as the townships in the Cape Flats and making an effort to engage in meaningful discussion with the low-income groups (Reclaim the City, 2017). After a year of occupying the former hospital, the number of people living there had increased from 50 to over 400, as more and more people were facing eviction from their homes in Woodstock. The protest and occupation are ongoing today, but in February of 2021, the court ordered the eviction of what now amount to over 900 residents (witz.ac.za). During this period, the pressure which the RTC and Ndifuna Ukwazi have put on the government has forced them to identify places in the inner-city for developing affordable housing. Some of these areas have been planned for both Woodstock and the neighbouring area of Salt River (Democratic Alliance, 2017). Support for the actions and protests of RTC come mainly from South African civil society, while their methods and actions have been vociferously denounced by powerful people within the government and property investors (Adriaanse, 2019; City of Cape Town, 2016; Zille, 2017). The impact that RTC has had on the area will be further discussed when presenting the findings of the research on gentrification in Woodstock.

Urban renewal and gentrification are considered by many to be a positive process, as they lead to social, economic and physical improvements in an area. According to Kotze and Van der Merwe (2000), buildings that are dilapidated and abandoned, primarily undergoes renovation and upgrading. As well as businesses that not meet the needs of the middle-class are prime targets for improvements. These improvements to an area/neighbourhoods, however, more often than not, bring with them challenges for the existing residents, who are often poor and working-class. Since many of the local working-class residents are not home owners, but instead tenants, they are very vulnerable to the price changes gentrification brings with it. More often than not they are priced out by new tenants who are seeking to move into the neighbourhood and therefore live under the threat of displacement as a result of their financial status or suffer the consequences of displacement. It is important to ask what

happens to these people.. Do they receive any help from the government? Are they left on their own? What rights do they have? All of these questions will be examined in Chapter 4.

In this thesis, the main aim is to examine the views and experiences of people living under both the threat and the result of gentrification in Woodstock. As they struggle to continue to live in their houses and their community, the major changes happening in the neighbourhood will be examined and presented. In Chapter 4, this important aspect of inner-city gentrification in Woodstock will be explored.

6.0 Research Design and Methodology

6.1 Literature review as the solution to problems arising from the global pandemic

From March 2020, the global Covid pandemic has had a great impact on this master's thesis. Certain difficulties arose with obtaining data since I, along with my class mates, was unable to travel to conduct fieldwork, the most common to collect data in the field of social anthropology. With the whole world living with isolation measures, I had to consider ways to obtain data without in-person meetings but that would achieve similar ends. Since both the topic and field of this thesis were set in stone in my eyes, and involved something I had already invested a lot of time into, changing either the topic or field of site was out of the question, even though I knew that this would make the data collection even harder. As I explored the options in terms of how to conduct data collection in order to write a satisfactory thesis, I considered the possibility of conducting netnography, following on from discussions with co-students.

However, even though we live in a digitalised and globalised world, making contact with people from the field of site turned out to be close to impossible. I reached out to several organisations to try to locate someone who could be of assistance but was unsuccessful. Therefore, I made a decision to conduct the fieldwork with a qualitative methodology using existing online materials such as research papers, newspaper articles and ethnographies in order to support both the theoretical foundations of the paper, as well as being able to extract findings based on the topic of the thesis. In one way, this could be regarded as the evolution of anthropology, by working within the concept of digital anthropology.

6.2 Qualitative methodology

In the field of anthropology, the most common choice of methodology is qualitative and this was chosen for this thesis. The most common method to use to support this is ethnographic fieldwork of a designated place, where data are collected over a period of several months, sometimes years (Eriksen, 2010). The purpose of fieldwork is to understand both the individuals and the community that exist within the social universe of the topic under study. For my thesis, as detailed above, I had plans to conduct fieldwork for 5-6 months in

Woodstock, in order to properly understand the people living there, and observe the changes with my own eyes. I do believe that this would have been the ultimate way to conduct a thesis on the topic of gentrification, through a social anthropological lens, but given the circumstances, this was not possible. Therefore, I was confined to working with other sources relevant to qualitative methodology, such as secondary data like ethnographies, newspapers, social media, research articles and documentaries. This allowed me to construct a theoretical framework on the topic of gentrification in Woodstock, and all the surrounding sub-topics such as the history of apartheid and the impact that has had, but it also allowed me to draw on how gentrification affects the lives of Woodstock's residents.

A qualitative approach is a scientific methodology that describes how the researcher has conducted their research to answer the research questions asked (Ringdal, 2007). While a quantitative methodology is based on a description of reality in terms of concrete numbers, charts and large units, qualitative research, on the other hand, describes the reality through few units and through written data. Qualitative research offers a foundation for understanding social, cultural and economic phenomena through thorough data on the people, places and situation it is concerned with (Thagaards, 2009). In the case of this research, this is the low-income residents of Woodstock. The research method is characterised by a focus on process and meaning, textual analysis, a closeness to few carefully chosen informants. This research method is useful for studies on topics which there is not much previous research on, and can involve large degrees of both flexibility and transparency as it often involves working closely with individuals (Thagaard, 2009). According to Postholm (2005), when using qualitative research methods, the goal is to understand the perspective or point of view of the individuals in question. However, the research will often be affected by one's personal experiences and standpoint. Therefore, a methodological tool that can be useful is culture relativism, in order to develop an understanding of the community being researched without prejudice (Eriksen, 2010).

As previously mentioned, since it was impossible to conduct ethnographic observation through fieldwork, my source material is based around second-hand literature on the topic. This includes ethnographies, research papers, reports from the government, reports from the police and reports from organisations. The criteria for source material can be varied in qualitative research. Instead of being considered in terms of validity, sources within qualitative research are considered in terms of their reliability and realness (Bettany Saltiko &

McSherry, 2016). Consideration of the quality of sources is of great importance, as it can quickly impact the research results (Bettany Saltiko & McSherry, 2016). As there is a large amount of source material in this thesis, there was a lot of work put into making sure it was of importance and relevant to the questions being asked; additionally, a checklist was used for research papers (Attachment 1).

6.3 Ethical considerations

Ethic considerations are an important aspect of all research, and it is necessary for every study to have conducted an ethical assessment of their study (Johannesen, 2017; Malterud, 2017). For fieldwork on site, it would be normal to secure the consent of all informants as well as collecting data in an ethical way (Johannessen, 2017). In the source material used in this thesis, however, there are no informants, but I have taken time to make sure that the authors of the research material I have collected were ethical in their collection of data. When the basis of a study relies on research conducted by others, it does not require any formal applications for research, such as the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). There is also no need to notify the authors of the research I have used in my research, as it is published material, and therefore the author have effectively agreed to the use of their work. However, it is a responsibility of the researcher using the research and conducting the new study to preserve the integrity of the original study (Johannessen, 2017). When writing a research paper such as this, based on secondary sources, it is important to respect the work undertake by others, by properly referring to the sources and quotations used to understand the research question. Because people have shared their reflections and personal experiences in the source material, it is most ethically sound to present the results correctly, while still making sure of their relevance to the research question in this thesis.

6.4 Positive and negative sides

This method has both strengths and weaknesses. The strength is that it seeks to identify previous results and findings, and it is beneficial to combine current research with what has previously been discovered, as well as making it possible for others to build on it. By basing the research on previously discovered findings, it can therefore be easier to identify shortcomings and weaknesses in the former research. A weakness however, with this method

is that important research articles and source material can be left out, without the researcher being at fault, leading to an inconclusive conclusion. Another weakness is the fact that the source material used in the research can be biased, indicating that the author has chosen literature that supports his point or view, or favours a certain hypothesis (Bettany-Saltikov & McSherry, 2016). To reduce the risk of this happening, it is common for multiple people to conduct systematic literature studies. This thesis, however, was undertaken by one person only, and therefore, there is a possibility that this is a weakness.

Another weakness in the way I have conducted the research is that I was unable to be in communication with the community of Woodstock, although their thoughts and experiences can be understood through other sources. As stated previously, the ideal way of obtaining the research material would be through proper fieldwork, which would be helpful in understanding that social universe, and the effects of the process of gentrification on them.

7.0. Research Findings

To research and discover the findings concerning gentrification in Woodstock, as discussed in the chapter on methodology, I have mostly used second-hand literature, which I will further outline in the following chapter.

As a direct consequence of the ongoing global pandemic, I was unable to conduct proper hands-on fieldwork as would be ideal. However, through research articles, newspapers, reports and other documents, I have been able to research how the gentrification process has affected the neighbourhood of Woodstock. The results of this research will be presented in this chapter. As mentioned above, Lees (2001) model on how the gentrification process works, and which elements need to be in place will be applied to the case of Woodstock. The elements Lees brings forward in her works will be helpful as a model to explain the process transparently. Thus, I will consider:

- 1. An investment of new capital into Woodstock, guided towards redevelopment or revitalisation of the area, from private investors, the government or as a partnership between these actors
- 2. A considerable influx of middle-class residents into Woodstock
- 3. A renovation, upgrade and redevelopment of buildings and businesses
- 4. A process of eviction or direct/indirect displacement of the local working-class residents

As I will present in the following chapter, Woodstock has been affected by major changes in both residential and commercial renewal over the last twenty years or so. Following on from commercial renewal came residential renewal shortly after, due to the success and economic potential of Woodstock. As articulated in the chapters above, Woodstock has been described as a diversified and modern neighbourhood from the beginning, and this remained consistent even throughout apartheid unlike other neighbourhoods in Cape Town. However, in the last twenty years or so, Woodstock has been changing consistently as new development projects have arisen in the area and as new investors have taken an interest in the area and begun to fulfil its economic potential. This change in the neighbourhood has led to an increase in rent in the area and several forced evictions of residents, leading to the displacement of a

significant portion of the low-income residents of Woodstock, especially those on Gympie Street.

7.1. New capital investments into Woodstock

The first element Lees refers to is the investment of new capital into the designated area targeted for gentrification. In one way, I can see this as an essential part of the gentrification process, because, in many ways, it starts the process. Woodstock had been previously viewed by many as an area suffering from poverty, crime and deterioration (Mammon, 2015), and, as such, the area was not suited for the lifestyle and needs of the middle-class and therefore, certain upgrades were needed to attract them, such as better accommodation and different businesses.

7.1.2. Governmental actions affecting Woodstock

Within this spectre of new investments into Woodstock, I believe it is necessary to review official actions taken by the government in Cape Town to support investments into Woodstock. There are several official measures which have been taken by the government to support not only investments, but to focus on urban regeneration in Cape Town, which has trickled down to areas such as Woodstock. If we are to look at these measures, we can see that they compare with global urban development trends. We can see similarities in measures such as the Central City Improvement District (CCID) and strategies in Britain, with their Business Improvement District (BID). Both strategies are a collaboration with the government and private actors where the focus is on renovation, security and a cleaner city centre (Cook & Ward, 2017). One of the main criticism of measures such as the CCID is that its advantages are very positive, though it seems like the local communities have not been considered (Briffault, 2011). Below, I present the main measures that I believe had an impact on gentrification in Woodstock, or at least can be seen as a precursor of it.

- 1999: The creation of the Cape Town Partnership (CTP), a non-profit management agency with the purpose of rejuvenating the inner-city areas of Cape Town and promoting it for global investments, in addition to stopping the recurring capital flight that was happening during this period, by making the inner-city a more secure place.

- 2000-2010: CTP's activities to restore the business and retail opportunities within the inner-city areas with the focus being on reducing crime.
- 2000: The establishment of the Central City Improvement Districts (CCID).
- 2003: The National Treasury creating the Urban Development Zone (UDZ) to incentivise developers to invest within these zones, by offering them major tax reductions, making certain areas of Cape Town much more attractive for investors and developers.
- 2005: The establishment of the Woodstock Improvement District (WID), a tool created by the local businesses and residents in Woodstock, making it more secure, clean and greener, in addition to improving the basic services in the neighbourhood offered by the City of Cape Town.

Through the actions of the CTP, the organisation was a partnership between the state and private actors, and was represented by a member of the City Council, Cape Metro Council, the South African Property Owners Association and private businesses. Their goal was to further urban regeneration in Cape Town, as well as promote it for international business opportunities, and make Cape Town a global city after many years as a closed city due to apartheid (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2575). As stated by the former CEO of the CTP, "We are building a globally competitive city for residents, investors and visitors to enjoy" (Lemanski, 2007: 451). The CTP's largest measure taken was the establishment of the CCID in 2000. Through the implementation of this, they were able to secure large amounts of revenue, through the property owners in the area, who were charged a fee for the services the CTP and CCID provided. It was through this income that the CCID was able to properly lower the crime rate in the inner-city areas, through the appointment of security managers, security officers, mobile patrol vehicles, mounted patrol officers, parking marshals and a CCTV network that works closely with the police forces of the city. This made the city more attractive for investors and new businesses (Miraftab, 2007; Pirie, 2007). This is something I witnessed first-hand during my semester abroad in Cape Town, and hoped to familiarise myself with more during my cancelled fieldwork. However, I do remember my prejudice and thoughts about Cape Town before going on my semester abroad, especially concerns regarding crime and security. With my friends and family all concerned as news of the crime rate had even reached Norway. However, this concern quickly disappeared as I wondered the streets of Cape Town on my own; on every other corner I saw security officers who were very

helpful if you needed directions or if something did occur. I remember one particular incident during one of the first days I was there; a few other students from America and I were going to the market at Greenmarket Square. On the way there, one of the many security officers reached out to one of the girls in the group and told her that she was being watched by two men and was told to put away her phone. I remember instantly thinking that it was a good thing that the security officers were paying attention, as she could quickly have had a frightening experience.

Within the first seven years of the CCID, the central parts of Cape Town were subject to many changes as large private investments rolled into the area, leading to upgrades, new development projects and new businesses as the growth in the area attracted them. To put it into context, during the period 2000-2007, more than 15 billion rand (2 billion USD) was invested into an area of 4 km^2 (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2575). Lemanski described this switch in business trends in Cape Town: "This is a significant change from the late 1990s era when businesses and residents were fleeing the decaying and crime-ridden city center that had become dominated by street-hawkers and vagrants" (Lemanski, 2007: 451–452). As stated above, according to Lees (2001), the first element that must be in place is the investment of new capital, guided towards redevelopment and revitalization of the area. This is a clear sign of new investment, from either private actors, the government or as a collaboration between these. In the beginning, Woodstock was not a part of the CTP project and CCID measures, but after successes the CTP adjusted their plans and expanded further into areas such as Gardens, Green Point, Sea Point, Oranje-Kloof, and, more importantly, Woodstock.

Speaking of Woodstock and their measures to lower the crime rate, the establishment of the Woodstock Improvement District (WID) in 2005 must be seen as an important measure. The goal and objective of the WID is to make Woodstock a more desirable place to live, work and play. The WID was established by several business owners, as they grew more and more concerned about the increasing urban decay in Woodstock. In particular, the safety of their commuting employees was of importance. The owners established what was known as the Woodstock Upliftment Project, and shortly after, with the support of the City Council, this grew into the WID (WID.co.sa). The WID is another example on how the private and public sector can serve as a collaboration, with its focus on security and cleaning of Woodstock.

At first thought this seems only positive, to reduce crime and make the area a safer place, but as will be shown by further details, this brings with it consequences for the local community, that have not taken into consideration. As mentioned above, this programme has been constructed to restore the neighbourhood of Woodstock, making it a secure and desirable place to live and work. The WID, however, is funded by private investors and companies in the industrial and commercial sectors, not by the City of Cape Town. The WID works as a tool to ensure the residents of Woodstock have a safe environment, as well as creating social upliftment activities for the residents. This includes installing security trailers with security guards. This creates a sense of security for the residents, as well as acting as an information tool for visitors. What we can see from a tool like WID, is that it creates a safer environment for the residents, make them feel safer and makes Woodstock more appealing and attractive, as it grows more and more into a middle-class neighbourhood.

As I have mentioned previously, the city of Cape Town introduced several measures within the city centre, also referred to as the CBD (Central Business Town) with the aim of upgrading and rejuvenating the city centre. One of the measures they took, was to rezone large parts of the city as Urban Development Zones (UDZ) (National Treasury, 2004) which greatly affected Woodstock.
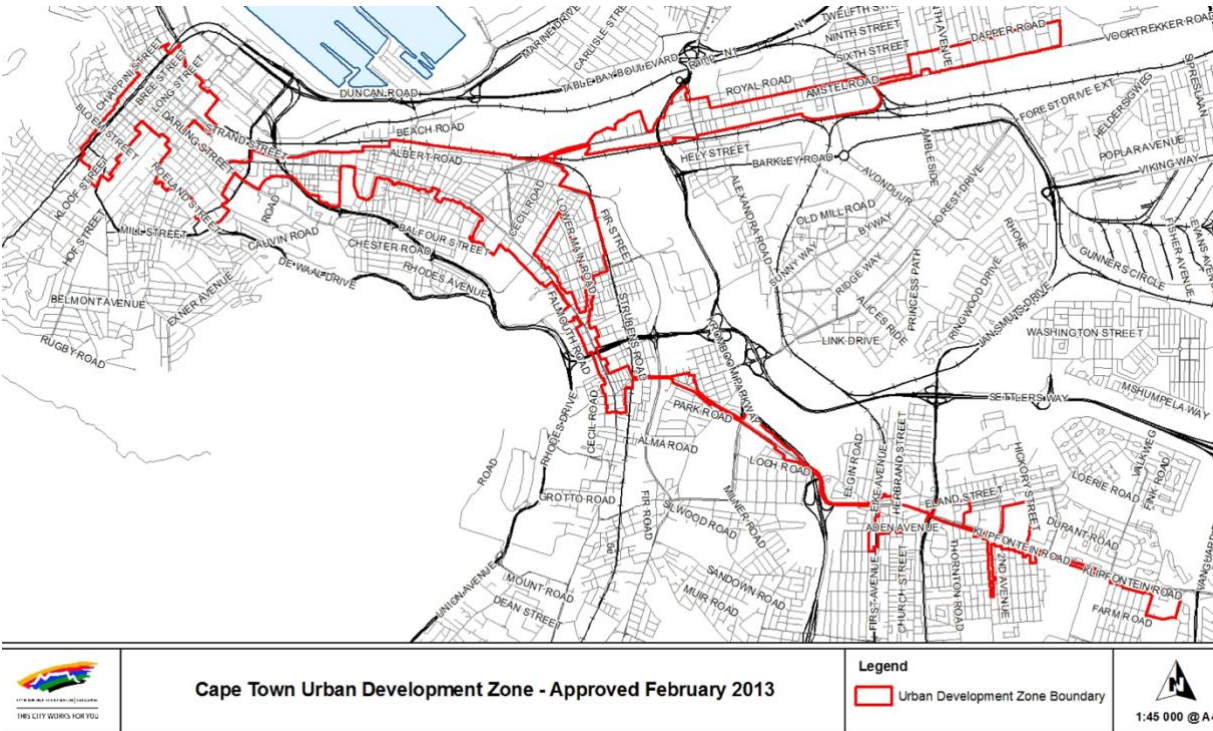
(The Urban Developmetn Zones in Cape Town).

As we can see in the picture from Cape Town's UDZs above, the majority of Woodstock is confined under the UDZ. As previously stated, Albert Road and Victoria Road are the main roads going through Woodstock, and we can see that the UDZ covers all of these. The UDZ further covers much of what is known as the city bowl with the infamous Long Street, Bree Street and Bloom Street, an area which is known for both the nightlife and the many restaurants and shops.

The National Treasury implemented the National Treasury tax incentives programme as a tool to "encourage the refurbishment and construction of commercial and residential property in inner-city areas" (National Treasury, 2004). The UDZ brings with it great tax savings and benefits for the businesses and investors, with the purpose of changing the physical landscape of the area with building developments. The UDZ offers property/business owners and developers tax deductions for taxable income over a period of eleven years, and also offers a deferment of tax until the unit is sold (Wex.com 2021). To be more specific about how the UDZ works, it allows businesses within the UDZ zones, such as Woodstock, to benefit from significant tax savings for building developments that fall under these categories:

- "The erection, extension or improvement of or addition to an entire building;"
- "The erection, extension, improvement or addition of a part of a building representing a floor area of at least 1 000 m²;"
- "The erection, extension or improvement of or addition to low-cost housing; and/ or"
- "The purchase of such a building or part of a building directly from a developer." (City of Cape Town, 2021)

The UDZ offers major benefits for investors willing to invest into these areas, and with the Cape Town UDZs being such central zones, as they are, it seems unlikely that there would be any shortage of investors. We can see this on the website of the WEX development, a unique development of both apartments and office spaces, that advertises itself with having everything one would need under one roof. Shops, restaurants, gym etc. On their website both the existing WEX 1 development, and the coming WEX 2 development project are completely sold out. To give an example on how much could be saved by the developers, the WEX developments, a development that in their own words is a "new way of living in the heart of funky old Woodstock". This development is a great example of the changes Woodstock has been experiencing. On their website they give an example of how much

money the UDZ can save not only for property developers, but also purchasers of apartments in their project. In this way we can see an example of how they advertise the UDZ benefits to their potential buyers.

"On a residential unit with a cost of R(Rand) 2 million, the purchaser is entitled to claim a tax allowance of 55% of the cost of the unit, which equals R1 100 000 over eleven years. The R1 100 000 tax allowance is claimed over eleven years at a rate of 20% in the first year and 8% in the succeeding ten years which results in an annual income tax deduction of R220 000 in the first year and R88 000 in the subsequent ten years" (Wexliving.co.za 2021). If we investigate the effects this has had on Woodstock, these strategies implemented by the government have led to several new developments. Below I will present several of these developments, and thereafter investigate what kind of effect it has had on the residents of Woodstock. By looking at articles, different reports and interviews with residents in Woodstock, it is apparent that gentrification is certainly present.

7.2. Changes in the physical landscape of Woodstock

7.2.1. The Old Biscuit Mill

The first major development exemplifying gentrification is The Old Biscuit Mill. This is a perfect example of what gentrification is. As the name states, it was previously a biscuit mill, that has now been transformed into an open space with many workshops, designer stores, restaurants and farm stalls (Capetownattractions.com). The Old Biscuit Mill started as a factory for the company "Pioneer", then "Standard Mills" and lastly for "Pyotts", before closing and becoming a new development in Woodstock. We can still see evidence of the past to this day with the lettering of Pyotts down the side of the chimney, maybe to maintain a sense of nostalgia and history.

(The Old Biscuit Mill. Theculturetrip.com).

When I lived in Cape Town for six months in 2018, I visited the Old Biscuit Mill on several occasions, as it serves as a popular place for both tourists and the people of Cape Town. Situated at the end of Albert Road, The Old Biscuit Mill can be seen from afar from the sign "The Old Biscuit Mill" on the wall of the mill. The Old Biscuit Mill is known as a creative hub where art, food, wine and socialisation all come together. With this image, the space can attract designers as it is a place where it makes sense for them to be, and more importantly helps them to sell their work. With the old restored buildings, combined with the creative individuals that are situated within the walls of The Old Biscuit Mill, there is something old and something new. When you visit The Old Biscuit Mill, it feels like you are entering a different place, as it takes you away from the busy and loud main road. From my observation of the people going there, it seems like it was mostly middle-class residents; however, they were diverse in terms of race and gender. Another interesting observation is that, on a busy Saturday, you will observe and hear many different languages, as it is a popular place for tourists. This is something you can clearly see in the items for sale, which are primed for people visiting Cape Town. Candles with Table Mountain on them are a good example of this. You can see a typical example of gentrification while visiting The Old Biscuit Mill according to the documentary *Not in my neighbourhood* that documents gentrification in Cape Town, Sao Paulo and New York. In this we hear, "Attempts were made to forcefully remove residents of Woodstock and Salt River from their homes to make space for middle-class

capitalists, to drink matcha-tea lattés at a weekly market, and glorify the living conditions of working-class families" (*Not in my neighborhood, 2017*).

This matches my experiences with the market, as you can see young people sitting cramped together on hay balls eating overpriced street food and drinking cocktails, older people checking out the stores before enjoying a meal at one of the restaurants. From first impressions, The Old Biscuit Mill seems like a place to have a good time; however, this is not a place for everyone.

While middle-class people are enjoying what The Old Biscuit Mill has to offer, on the other side of the fence, the reality of life is apparent. Based on my own observations, as well as reports on gentrification in Woodstock, we can find evidence of poverty on the other side of the fence at The Old Biscuit Mill. Even though The Old Biscuit Mill has to be looked upon as a financial success for the new owners, it still stands in the middle of a neighborhood crippled by poverty, something that is evident went you walk outside the market. The visitors to the market are asked for money by children who are singing and dancing, by mothers carrying their babies, as well as some unemployed individuals working as car guards and assisting in securing a parking space (Theguardian.com). Within a few metres, the economic differences that both South Africa and Cape Town are suffering from are on full display. It begs the question whether the high walls and fortified façade is deliberate, to hide the reality surrounding The Old Biscuit Mill. As highlighted in the documentary mentioned above, one of Woodstock's residents is asked to leave The Old Biscuit Mill: "What are you doing here? If you are not buying anything, you need to leave". This is interesting, as it proves that the new businesses brought about as a result of gentrification are not meant for the local population but for the future population.

(A typical Saturday in The Old Biscuit Mill. Facebook.com).

This notion is further strengthened by local business, on the other side of the street to The Old Biscuit Mill. According to the article in the Guardian, Lorna Thompson runs a frame shop, where she sells frames made by her husband Eddie. Lorna and Eddie have lived there for over 35 years, with Eddie growing up in the same house. Their kids will be the fourth generation of Eddie's family to grow up in this house. In this article, she details her story from the time The Old Biscuit Mill was being renovated for the new developers, and she had an interest in moving her store there.

> *About five years ago, after the Biscuit Mill was sold and they started renovating it, I went to inquire about getting a place to sell our frames, it looked very white, but I put my name down for a place anyway. We heard nothing more. That place is not for people like us and few, if any, of the goods sold there are from around here.* (Theguardian.com).

In her interview, she adds that Woodstock is undergoing a transformation, in terms of both business, people and culture. In the years following the opening of The Old Biscuit Mill, more and more businesses "owned by outsiders" have been established in Woodstock. She further

adds what can be described as a summary of gentrification, and showcases that residents in Woodstock are not blind to the change:

> *Rich people have been buying up buildings, shops and houses in the area and rents have gone up. Businesses that were here for years have closed and many people have been forced to move out of Woodstock, because they can't afford to stay here any more. We were always a close community, we looked out for one another, but that has all changed.* (Theguardian.com).

What Lorna describes as the change Woodstock is going through is transparently the process of gentrification which Lees discusses. The investment by owners of The Old Biscuit Mill guided renovation and led to the opening up of new business. Furthermore, she brings up the fact that many of the local businesses have been shut down, bought up and redeveloped. Additionally, the people who used to live there can no longer afford it, and are forced to move out of Woodstock (Theguardian.com). This is all related to the process of gentrification identified by Lees, and can therefore be seen as evidence of the impact gentrification has for the local residents of Woodstock (Lees, 2011).

As Lorna Thompson describes in my eyes, she is describing The Old Biscuit Mill as a "fortified enclave" described by Caldeira (2000). Where the redeveloped space of the factory is created in such a way that it is exclusive and closed off for some people. With high walls, one entrance and security guards, it serve as a tool to exclude certain people, in the case of Woodstock, it is reasonable to assume it's people such as Lorna Thompson. These fortified enclaves is defined as:

They are private property for collective use, and they emphasise the value of what is private and restricted at the same time that they devalue what is public and open in the city. They are physically demarcated and isolated by walls, fences, empty spaces, and design devices. They are turned inward away from the street, whose public life they explicitly reject (Caldeia, 2000.p.258).

These places further contributes to segregate and polarize communities, by segregating peoples access to places of class.

"Enclaves are not simply a response to social difference and fear, but actually create and deepen segregation and polarisation, based on excluding difference and reinforcing fear. By separating oneself from those that are 'different', fears related to the unknown mass of 'other' or 'them' are increased, thus social divides widen and tolerance of , or interaction with, diversity becomes increasingly rare" (Caldeja, 2006. P. 398).

7.2.2. The Woodstock Exchange

Another development that is a point of interest when discussing new developments in Woodstock is the Woodstock Exchange and the WEX1 and the student accommodation WEX2 proper living and the upcoming WEX green, all operated and established under the same umbrella. The Woodstock Exchange and their projects have been discussed a little above, to explain the major tax reductions developers can receive as part of the state's goal to rejuvenate inner-city areas. The Woodstock Exchange opened in 2001 and is described by itself as:

> *a multi-purpose space where Capetonians flock to work, play, interact, exhibit and flourish. More than just a hip office complex or retail centre, WEX as it's affectionately known, is an incubator for young fledgling businesses as well as a home to international market makers and acclaimed artisans. The common thread throughout is – and always has been – creativity and inspirational exchange.* (The Woodstock Exchange.com 2021).

(The Woodstock Exchange, before and after. Twitter.com & Kbarchitects.co.za).

As described in the theory of gentrification chapters above, the description sounds very similar to what kind of businesses and professionals gentrified areas usually attract. These people generally fit the description of "cultural creatives" and are usually young professionals and artist (Ellen & O`Reagan, 2010). To further emphasise the impact gentrification has on

areas undergoing it, as I stated previously, it manages to change and transform the culture and identity of the neighbourhood. The Woodstock Exchange is home to several different businesses which all stand out in their own way. They may be a fashion brand, a bespoke shoemaker, designers who focus on African-inspired clothes, vintage stores, or manufacturers of leather and furniture. It may even be something unique such as the Fatsak, the most comfortable beanbag in the world. However, do all of these businesses satisfy the needs of people living in poverty and struggling to pay rent of R5 500 (Dailymaverick.co.za)? I believe that this is a sign of the transformation of Woodstock into a different place.

(Picture taken from http://wexliving.co.za. 2021)

As The Woodstock Exchange emphasises, with the WEX1 and WEX2 project, "WEX is a lifestyle. An attitude. It's about living car-free in a creative vortex" (WEXliving.co.za.2021). With the success the developers had with The Woodstock Exchange, the same developers, who were, in fact, behind The Old Biscuit Mill went on to develop new projects in the vicinity. With the WEX1 and WEX2 they are creating their own new precinct in Woodstock. The WEX1 development project is what they call the "mothership" with many apartments, shops, and a boutique hotel all under the same roof, as well as a gym, pool, lounge and bar, so that you hardly have to leave the building to cater for your everyday needs (Wexliving.co.za). The WEX2, which is on the other side of The Woodstock Exchange, is a smaller project, consisting of many micro-apartments over three floors, and the residents here will also be allowed to enjoy the amenities the WEX1 offers. With prices starting from R 3 445 000 for the Wex1 project and around R1 100 1000 for WEX2 (property24.com 2021) the working-

class residents in Woodstock certainty can't afford this. Unfortunately, because of the global pandemic, I have not been able to undertake a proper investigation of these places and the impact on the people; it has also been a struggle to find literature on the topic. Ideally, I would have wandered the streets, talking to and interviewing people living in the area, as well as businesses. However, since Woodstock is quite famous for gentrification within fields such as human geography and urban planning, there is data to be found. We now move forward from the new developments that have arisen in the last 20 years in Woodstock, into the more important areas of interest. How has this affected the residents of Woodstock?

During the apartheid regime, the structure of Cape Town was changed in order to promote the Afrikaaner population's interests, and to demote the black population. Through apartheid, the government wanted to separate the people of South Africa through racial ideology and urban planning to prevent mixing, ensuring that the different races were segregated (Turok, 2001). The government of South Africa under the apartheid regime "inscribed deep divisions into the geography of the city through population controls, forced removals and separate, unequal governing institutions" (Turok, 2001; 2350). Today however, the government focuses on integrating the cities, but they struggle with the challenges brought about by the "economic and social forces that emerged under apartheid" (Turok, 2001; 2350). The Group Areas act forced tens of thousands of black people from their homes in central areas such as District Six, and made them relocate to the outskirts of the city in inhuman living conditions. This, in one way, was the first displacement of people from inner-city areas to make way for a so-called "higher" class of people. This caused several social and economic consequences which people still suffer from today.

Given o the unjust history of South Africa, it could be expected that the country would learn from its own history, but, as Winston Churchill once said, "Those that fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it" (medicalconfidence.com; 2021). Lessons from the past can be a way to gain insights into the future and prevent the same mistakes. In the context of gentrification in Woodstock, however, it appears that the government has failed to learn. Although it is hard to claim that it is as intentional as during apartheid, it is an important observation that the people suffering the consequences of gentrification are the poor working-class residents who rent their homes (Fleming, 2011). They are the people most at risk of displacement as they are dependent on the owner of the house or apartment block, and the willingness of the landlord to keep rent to a reasonable level or renew their contract. During

this part of the research, I came across some articles including interviews with people who are living under the threat of displacement as well as people who have lost their homes and been forced to relocate. Some of these people have decided to live in informal housing in the Woodstock area or occupy a building with others. However, most of the people who have been displaced have moved out of Woodstock. There is an area outside of Cape Town called Blikkiesdorp, where many of the residents have ended up. This is an important place in the context and needs to be looked at.

The two developments above, The Old Biscuit Mill and The Woodstock Exchange, resemble fortified enclaves, both in structure and function. This spaces, are with its walls, gates and security measures physically enclosed from the public space and therefore excluding people they don't want to enter the premises. This is even emphasized by the developer of The Old Biscuit Mill, the purpose of having one entrance is in order to have control over who has access/enters. (Wenz, 2012. P 24). He further argues that they did this in order to "isolate" the property form the surrounding environment of Woodstock, which is known as being a dodgy area. Wenz, 2012. P 24). Ironically, in many ways, it is the fact that the are have been considered dodgy, they where able to buy the property and develop the business more affordable than in other areas. Not to mention as , Lorna Thompson says, that the development seems very "white" and not for "people like us", the service that both the Old Biscuit Mill and The Woodstock Exchange offers, are for the middle-class. In this way, the two developemnts of many in Woodstock contributes into the alienation of the working-class in Woodstock.

7.3. The consequences for the people of Woodstock

The next section focuses on the above-mentioned topics, where I will present both people who are living under the threat of displacement, as well as people who have already suffered it.

7.3.1. Amina

The first example is from an article from the news agency Ground Up, where we meet Amina, a 63-year-old woman who has called Woodstock her home for 18 years. She depends on her pension fund, and she also takes care of four children, while the mother is at rehab. Amina is

now facing the threat of eviction with her landlord increasing her rent by a staggering 37%. The landlord is therefore willing to risk that an old woman and four children becomes homeless. Her rent at the time of the article was R6 800 a month (GroundUp.org.za). This goes hand in hand with Atkinsons's (2000) description of how the working-class are being displaced and how the process of gentrification works. The landlord believes he has the right to increase Amina's rent because the landlord believes Amina is paying below the market value. This is an example of how displacement can be caused by increased rent (Atkinson, 2000). As her lawyer states, this isn't a single episode, however.

> *He's using gentrification as a justification for increasing the rent. This case is an example of the property crisis and eviction crisis in Cape Town. Landlords are increasingly using increased property prices, which is slowly and systematically displacing members of the Woodstock community. This is a classic case of gentrification, eviction, and displacement, Evictions are a crisis.* (Thegroundup.org.za)

From my research, I was unable to find out how this episode ended, but from the article, as well as a Facebook post in a group against gentrification in Woodstock, on 16th January 2020, Amina was still living in her house (facebook.com).

7.3.2. Delia Adria, Theresea Wattson & Sedick Harris

In particular, Gympie Street and Albert Street have been affected by the trend where property value increases, new businesses move in, and people can no longer afford their rent and are facing eviction. In Ground Up's article by Masixole Feni, she meets and photographs a few of these residents. The first people presented in the article are Delia Adria, Theresea Wattson and Sedick Harris who live in 53 Albert Road. All three of them are facing eviction orders from the local governments. An interesting thing to note here that is of importance is what Delia Adrian says: "The eviction reminds her of her childhood when her parents were forcefully removed from their home at 29 Horsley Street in District Six" (Theguardian.com). As previously stated above, District Six was a neighborhood much like Woodstock, that was totally bulldozed and from where racially mixed people were removed and relocated to the periphery of the city.

The new buildings and developments that now stands where these people used to live, will contribute to the economic growth of Woodstock. It may make Woodstock feel more secure and increase the safety as well. Despite this, none of the people evicted from this building will reap the benefits of this development. Instead, they are forced out of Woodstock, where they have lived for decades, and most likely to places such as Blikkiesdorp. This an example of how the low-income groups and working class are suffering from the urban processes pushing gentrification, and they are not allowed to take part of the further development of what was their neighborhood.

7.3.3. Kasiefa Watson, Labieba & June Peterson.

Another example that is typical of the threats people of lower income live under in gentrifying areas, is Kasiefa Watson and her three children. They have lived in Woodstock for 13 years after relocating here to start a new and better life. She states that Woodstock is a great place to live, because her children go to school here and her husband works in the nearby harbor. As she and her family are facing displacement like many others, we can see how their lives could be affected negatively, which makes her anxious about being forced to move: "If we have to move to Wolwerivier it would be a setback in my life and for all my children" (Groundup.com) she says. These statements confirms the theories on gentrificaition, and the displacement that follows, as described in the theoretical framework of the thesis, the working-class people of Woodstock, such as Kasiefa and the others that are the victims of gentrification. (Lees, 2001. Atkinson, 2000. Glass, 1964) Similar to Kasiefa, we meet Labieba, a previous local of Woodstock for 17 years. In the article, she is visiting her grandchildren and tells that they still live in Woodstock, because of the location, as it is only a short distance to their jobs in the city center (Groundup.com). June Peterson, on the other hand, a 64-year-old former resident, now lives in Blikkiesdorp, but still works in Woodstock. Her commute to work is roughly 30km, instead of a few hundred meters. June and her commute go to show the importance of Woodstock's location, as it brings with it an increased job opportunities, compared to Blikkiesdorp. As Kennedy & Leonard (2001) describe, the reduces commute makes areas such as Woodstock attractive areas for people of the middle-class, understandably so. This is a consequence of gentrification, making it so that people such as June, no longer can simply walk to her job, but instead are forced to travel a distance on roughly 30km.

(Photograph: . People living in shacks in Woodstock. (iol.co.za))

7.3.4. Maggie Solomon

The last example from this specific article is Maggie Solomon and her son Gavin. She grew up in District Six, and before moving to her current rental unit, when we meet her in the article, she is homeless. We hear that: "their water has been cut off by the landlord, so they decided not to pay rent. They share their unit with ten other people" (Groundup.com). This leads to Maggie and the other residents being pressured to move, as the property becomes unhabitable and unsafe for the residents. This mistreatment matches the findings from the studies of displacement caused by gentrification in New York, Istanbul and Melbourne which have been previously mentioned (Atkinson, 2015; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Sakizlioglu, 2014). Where the landlords are directly trying to force their tenants to move out, in more drastic measures than increasing the rent. The example of Maggie, shows how gentrification and the thought of the rent gap the property may poses, can affect the living conditions on many people. Now this is one of the cases where an ethnographical fieldwork would be more sufficient, in understanding not only the economic principle of gentrification, but also in more detail describe how it affects peoples life and psyche.

7.3.5. Faghmeeda Desiree Ling

There are many examples of people living under the threat of displacement in Woodstock, and to emphasise the struggles and affect the stress of this can have on a person, it is put into words by Faghmeeda Desiree Ling. She has received notification that she and 81 other people, between the ages of eight months and 75 years, living in an apartment block in Albert Road have eight months to leave the property: "I was overwhelmed with emotions. I cried for a while and now I worry a lot. Every night I lay in bed and worry about where the heck I will go with my children. I understand that we have to go but don't throw me to the gutters in Wolwerivier. We are just asking for simple, decent housing" (Groundup.org.za). Here we see that gentrification not only leads to people being forced to relocate, but it also puts them under a lot of mental stress and anxiety. As the article says, most of the residents in this apartment block belong to the lower-income bracket, and the highest household income is no higher than R8 000, which is equivalent to 413 USD (Groundup.org.za). In the quote, Faghmeeda mentions a place called Wolwerivier. This is a Temporary Relocation Area (TRA) offered by the government; Blikkiesdorp is another such area. These are two important places, as they represent the type of living conditions available for low-income households forced out of their homes. However, just as with Amina, the residents in this apartment block have gone to court to fight for their homes; unfortunately, the court ruled in favor of the landlord. One thing that is interesting to note in the case of this eviction is that the judge, who ruled in favor of the landlord and the eviction of 83 people, said the eviction is one of the key factors here: "The [families] have been living in the Woodstock area for decades and have formed a community within a community. Woodstock is undergoing a process of 'gentrification' whereby poorer members of the community are evicted and forced from the area in order to make room for the middle- to upper-class" (Thegroundup.org.za).

As Faghmeeda mentions above, she does not want to be forced to the "gutters" of Wolwerivier. As mentioned above, Wolwerivier is one of the alternative Temporary Relocation Areas, along with Delft Symphony Way, more famously known in Cape Town as Blikkiesdorp, or "Tin Can Town" in Afrikaans, speaking to the living conditions in these camps. Blikkiesdorp is the camp of focus in this study, as it seems that this is the location offered as an alternative for the residents of Woodstock it seems. Blikkiesdorp is located around 30km away from the city and Woodstock (Millstein & Teppo, 2015). These TRA areas are described as having terrible living conditions as well as being both inhumane and

unjust for several reasons. The location of the TRAs is far away from Woodstock. This cause people to either lose their sense of community, their work, educational possibilities, and their social network or being forced to travel far to maintain it. As we saw with the case of June Peterson. Furthermore, the living conditions are massively overcrowded, with non-secure, small, leaking, and uninsulated shacks, with high levels of crime and low levels of sanitation. There are not official amenities such as police or medical care (Cirolia, 2014; Pillay et al., 2017; Ranslem, 2015). This means that the lives of their residents are highly unsafe and unpredictable, in major contrast of their previous lives in Woodstock.

7.3.6. Sara Jones

Sara Jones is a former Woodstock local who must now try to adjust to life as a new resident in Blikkiesdorp. Her story illustrates the struggles of the people relocated from their homes in well-established places like Woodstock. Sara's story is not unlike many others. She and her family lived in Woodstock, more precisely in Gympie Street, a street infamous for drugs, crime and poverty. However, South Africa was chosen to host the football World Cup in 2010. During the national preparations for this massive event, Cape Town underwent improvements, and a rich doctor from Johannesburg took the opportunity to purchase the building Sara, her family and roughly 60 other people lived in (Theguardian.com). This is in line with the process of gentrification detailed above, where investors see potential in a run-down area, to refurbish and attract people who can afford a higher rent (Glass, 1964; Lees, 2011). In the apartment building, the place was in poor condition as families often shared a single room, and there were only shared toilets and a shared kitchen. The doctor's plan was to renovate the building and make more money from renting out rooms to the influx of foreigners coming to Cape Town to watch the World Cup (TheGuardian.com). Following this, the doctor increased the rent, in such a way that people could no longer afford it and were falling behind. Thereafter, he had them evicted with a court order; this story is similar to that of Amina. However, Sara was evicted during the harsh Cape Town winter, with no place to live anymore, and all her furniture left on the street. They tried to fight the move, but eventually had to give up and relocate to Blikkiesdorp. The landlord sweetened the deal by offering them R10 000 to leave, a figure that, in the long run, was not much for him but represents a lot of money for families such as Sara. As she states herself: "We did not realize how little it was, although at the time we thought it was a lot of money". "It was [used] up in

no time and now we are stuck out here, where there is no work and we battle to put food on the table" (Theguardian.com).

When describing her new place of residence, the conditions that Cirolia highlights are emphasised, along with the real effect the displacement has had on a person's life. As described in the interview with Sara, the first thing encountered by the reporter is blocks of iron shacks, where people are standing on the pavement and almost fighting over bags of second-hand clothes, donated by a charity: "Look at what we have been reduced to; we fight over other people's cast-offs" (Theguardian.com). The article goes on to detail the perception of Blikkiesdorp as a human dumping ground that is largely characterised by poverty, illness, crime and drug abuse. With over 20 000 people living there, most of the residents are either black or coloured, and it does sound eerily familiar to the segregated communities created during apartheid. Sara and her family are not the only ones from Woodstock living in Blikkiesdorp. When describing which block she lives in, she emphasises that many people forced out of their homes in Woodstock end up 30km away. "That's Block P; it's where the Woodstock people stay," Jones says. "We were a community, we had lives, we could walk to the park and the shops, and the clinic was close by. Then a rich man bought our house and we were thrown out like dogs" (Theguardian.com).

(Buildings for sale in Woodstock. (Theguardian.com).

Fleming's research on gentrification in Woodstock is useful for me in this chapter, as it gives me more examples of people suffering from gentrification and living under the threat of displacement. As stated by one of his informants, rooms in houses that are repainted and "renovated" are being rented out for R 3000 per month (Fleming, 2011). In these houses, there are usually about four or five rooms, and all the rooms share one toilet and one kitchen. However, there are no restrictions in terms of how many people can live in one room, so sometimes up to twenty people are living in one room at the same time in order to cover the rent (Fleming, 2011). On top of the overcrowding and the lack of sanitary amenities in the houses, the renters also live under the constant threat of increased rent, or constant anxiety as described by Fleming. According to his interviews, the landlords in Gympie Street usually increase the rent every three months and way above the level of inflation. However, even with the bad living conditions and increased rents, the need to live close to Cape Town's city centre is more important, as the reduced transportation costs and job opportunities still make it worthwhile (Fleming, 2011). The informants further detail howthe informality of it all, attracts immigrant workers, who need landlords and housing not requiring formal citizenship papers (Fleming, 2011).

7.3.7. Marie & Mosilla

Even though the supply of low-income housing is high as described by Fleming, the ongoing gentrification process in Woodstock is making low-income options slowly disappear, with the construction of more and more large apartment complexes (Fleming, 2011). This leads to great competition between the people who need to live in affordable housing close to the city, with the "losers" having to live in informal living conditions, such as shacks (Fleming, 2011). I remember this from my time in Cape Town, visiting Woodstock in one of my classes at the university. You would walk along the street in Woodstock through art galleries, new shops as well as new apartment complexes and construction sites, only to turn around the corner to see people living in shacks in a backyard, making the contrasts with the gentrified area highly visible. This is reminiscent of the living conditions in the peripheral townships but located in the city. Fleming details the story of Marie and her family. Her story is similar to that of many other people facing gentrification and displacement. She and her family live in a small two-bedroom house with two other families, making it a tight squeeze in terms of personal space.

With so little space, and so many people, she says that "the two twin beds necessitate rotational shifts for sleeping with little time in between for the children to use the space to play" (Fleming, 2011: 15). In the backyard next to the house, there is a small community of informal housing as people are living in shacks. As has been seen as a trend throughout this chapter, Marie received an eviction notice, as the building had been sold to later be demolished and then rebuilt. With this eviction notice, Marie and her family had no other choice than to become homeless or move to Blikkiesdorp (Fleming, 2011).

As evident from the people mentioned in this chapter, we can clearly see that the constant fear and threat of eviction affects the low-income class of Woodstock. Furthermore, construction sites, empty lots where houses have been bulldozed as well as the new developments in the area all act as a constant reminder of the change happening. With these elements in the area, there is a constant reminder that an eviction can happen any day. This was apparent in Fleming's interview with Mosilla, who had lived in the same building for over 13 years, and suddenly received an eviction notice for no reason (Fleming, 2011). She tried to negotiate a new deal with the landlord, without success, and he stopped accepting her current rent as a tool to justify a legal eviction through a court order by making it seem as if she had not paid rent. Unlike many others, she decided to fight this eviction, only to see how the legal system in South Africa works against her. As has been the case since the beginning of colonial days in South Africa, the legal system works in favour of the economically privileged and property owners such as the landlord. As the landlord had many more resources, he acquired professional and experienced lawyers, while Mosilla had a law student without any experience on her side (Fleming, 2011). Like many others, she too is afraid of eventually being evicted, and ending up in Blikkiesdorp. This would have major consequences as she works in Observatory, a neighborhood close to Woodstock, and her children would be forced to quit their education at a local-government funded school in Woodstock (Fleming, 2011). This emphasizes the consequences of gentrification brought forward by Atkinson (2000), and reveal the socio-economic consequences for the low-income population of Woodstock.

7.3.8. Charnell

Charnell quickly became aware of the changes taken place in Woodstock, and placed her and her family on a waiting list for housing 11 years ago, when they began to understand the gentrification happening in Woodstock. By doing this she has lived in hope of eventually

having her own permanent home, instead of living dependent on landlords for housing. She has realised through the evictions and displacement of the working-class, how important it is to own a home, and to build homes for future generations. She stated: "Even that time gentrification was already starting. A lot of us didn't know what to do. We were always renting these houses. It's not nice, because sometimes you feel like one day you also want your children to also have their own home. Just look at what happened" (mg.co.za). Charnell has dreams for her future and dreams of owning her own house but because of the high prices caused by gentrification, it seems as if it will be hard to become a permanent resident of Woodstock in the future. This is in line with Atkinson (2000) who observed that gentrification can lead to displacement of the working-class, because of the increased prices in an area.

As detailed by Atkinson (2000), displacement hits single households hardest, since it increases the difficulty of finding affordable housing; as seen from the people mentioned throughout this thesis, it is mostly females with children who are affected. Furthermore, Atkinson describes how the people displaced will "buy or continue renting", but he also found that as the rent in the area increases, they will most likely move out of area, as they no longer can afford to stay (Atkinson, 2000). With the lack of both income and cheap housing, people tend to share homes, something described above, with up to 20 people sharing a room (Atkinson, 2000). Furthermore, Atkinson points out how a lot of displaced people will eventually end up homeless, or be forced to live in the cheapest place they can find (Atkinson, 2000). This turns out to be true in Woodstock, as we can see from the interviews that almost everyone talks about the TRAs of either Blikkiesdorp or Wolwerivier as the only options they have.

7.3.9. The residents of Gympie Street

(The process of gentrification in Gympie Street. (Twitter.com).

Gympie Street is home to many and there are many examples of people displaced because of the gentrification occurring in the area. Even though the street has been labelled as one of the more dangerous places in Cape Town, it is still home to many people. The people living in Gympie Street have, for a long period, fought for their homes and fought eviction by new property owners. One of the buildings, as detailed by Teppo and Millstein (2011), was bought by a new owner who immediately increased the rent, in order to push the residents out. As a result of this, just as in the case of Amina, people could not afford this, and received an eviction notice. The residents in this case, however, decided to fight the eviction, and eventually went on to win the case when it was tried in court. They were allowed by a judge to remain in the building, so the new owner decided to implement different tactics to get rid of them. One of the interviewed residents stated:

> We won the court case, but at the end of the day, we were getting tired of the owner, because he then started making the houses inhuman/uninhabitable for us. He switched off the electricity and he switched off the water, so it was as if we were saying in

shacks. But we were staying in shacks in the suburbs. Because you can't live without water and you can't live without power (Millsteinn & Teppo; 434, in Lees, Shin & Bang, 2011).

These actions by the owner eventually started to affect the residents more and more, and many of them gave up and decided to relocate to Blikkiesdorp, while others were not willing to leave on their own. Still, they were eventually forced to move, as a judge decided to evict them, and they were forced to relocate to Blikkiesdorp as well (Millsteinn & Teppo, in Lees, Shin & Bang, 2011). As in most of the cases of the displacement of the people of Woodstock and Gympie Street, the goal is to get rid of the "poor" tenants, and attract tenants who can afford a higher rent. The original residents of this particular building were not given the chance to buy their apartments before the new owner bought it at auction (Millsteinn & Teppo, in Lees, Shin & Bang, 2011).

"Before we moved here (To Blikkiesdorp), we found out that the house, the whole block of flats of 11 houses, was 5,000 rand each when he bought it. Somehow, something was wrong, because we didn't even get first privilege. Nobody asked us: "are you interested in buying the house or what?" Nobody asked us, so we didn't get the opportunity to even make a plan. If they had asked us 5,000 rand for a house, we could have gone in, taken our salaries, bought the houses and fixed them, but we didn't get the opportunity" (Millsteinn & Teppo 434-435, in Lees, Shin & Bang, 2011).

The evictions mentioned above are closely linked to the developments which took place before the World Cup in 2010 according to the Woodstock Anti-Eviction Campaign Press Release:

> *What is the owner going to do with the property once he evicts the tenants? Sell it to the highest bidder and make a nice profit on the building. This is part of a continued process of World Cup gentrification in Woodstock which is forcing more and more poor people away from the city centre and away from jobs.* (Woodstock Anti-Eviction Campaign Press Release, 26 May 2009)

For the residents in Gympie Street, gentrification led to displacement and exclusion, as well as what can be seen as a recurring theme, they are denied a right to the city, as well as access,

by being excluded and forced out to the periphery. There is a lack of proper guidance and assistance from the city of Cape Town, which only offers temporary accommodation such as the camps of Blikkiesdorp, which is far from Woodstock, their community, their job opportunities as well as their education.

7.4. Gentrification and displacement as a continuation of apartheid

The legacy and history of South Africa is greatly impacted by racism and segregation, with separate development where the white population gained the most. This legacy still impacts the everyday lives of South Africa's citizens, in terms of their self-understanding and worth. Even though Woodstock managed to escape the forced removals during apartheid, its diverse population started to shift in the late 1980s, to be more characterised by the middle-class (Garside,1993). Today, the working-class residents of Woodstock are becoming more and more displaced and slowly vanishing from the neighbourhood. They are replaced by the middle-class and what can be described as creative professionals, tourists as well as students in the area. The Woodstock Exchange and The Old Biscuit Mill are two great examples of this. The working-class people of Woodstock are being displaced from an area close to the city centre and relocated to the outskirts of the city. This is happening in ways that people deem to represent a deprivation of people's rights, as well as illustrating the logic of peripheralisation and dehumanisation in ways that are closely connected to and resemble racial segregation during apartheid. In other words, the displacement of the black and coloured working-class in Woodstock can be seen to be a continuation of the spatial imaginary of apartheid.

7.4.1. Apartheid's white spatial imaginary

By spatial imaginary, I draw on the works of Lipsitz (2007) and Bates (2018). In his work, Lipsitz (2007) argues how race, place and power all are interlinked with cultural ideals and moral geographies. In particular, the term "white spatial imaginary" is of importance here. This term describes how whiteness is a structural privilege of white people, because of historically racist systems, such as apartheid (Lipsitz, 2007). Within the concept of "white spatial imaginary", property ownership is of great importance, as it is considered a primary means of participation in space and society. Furthermore, property ownership is important because houses and properties are considered to be assets, not homes, and are assets that

constantly have to be upgraded in order to maintain the exclusive wealth of the neighbourhood (Lipsitz, 2007). This "white spatial imaginary" taking place in a place such as Woodstock and Cape Town, or South Africa even, places where racial segregation in space have taken place to a huge extent, further the ideal of "purity" in space. This takes place by removing people deemed "undesirable" and creating exclusivity, as happened during apartheid with racial segregation and forced removal by The Group Areas Act (Lipzits, 2007).

(People demonstrating against evictions, thegroundup.com).

This concept of purity and exclusivity in place intersect, therefore, with research on spatial and social patterns in South Africa by Nahnsen (2006) and Miraftab (2012), the "sanitation discourse" developed during colonial times, to depict and create an image of blacks and coloureds as unclean, criminal and unsanitary. as additionally, the association of property ownership that has existed since colonial days, greatly benefited the white population and property owners in urban areas such as Woodstock and these factors can be seen affecting South Africa and Woodstock today. The white spatial imaginary is largely embodied in the neoliberal urban framework, and connected to race, space and power (Lipsitz, 2007). Bates (2018) argues that people connected to the urban space, like urban planners and geographers, as well as politicians, need to "imagine otherwise", by decolonising and reimagining space within new aspects and frameworks.

To put White Spatial Imaginary in the context of Cape Town and Woodstock, we must look at apartheid spatial imaginary. This is the norm that maintains the psychological, social and spatial features that are connected to apartheid today, in terms of physical space, as well as within people's imaginations. As shown throughout this chapter, it encompasses working-class residents' mistreatment by both landlords and the government and how they have been removed from central areas to the outskirts funded by the government. These are features that were prevalent and important during the apartheid period of South Africa.

There is an unjust distribution of power and rights, benefiting property owners, and additionally, the government encourages privatisation of space, rather than creating places for the greater good. Furthermore, the apartheid spatial imaginary strengthened the link between urban belonging and race, class, and the notion of "decency". Within this concept, there is a logic of areas contained or prohibited for certain people of certain races, or socioeconomic status, as well as the forced removal or relocation of groups with fewer resources from the centre to the outskirts and how people with power in property abuse their power over the people who do not own property. This should not simply be seen as a critique of the white property owner and black tenant trope, but rather an intersectional consideration of several topics such as race and class.

7.4.2. The Temporary Relocation Areas

In Cape Town, the Temporary Relocation Areas of Blikkiesdorp and Wolwerivier can be seen as a continuance of the spatial planning of apartheid that greatly affected the people of Cape Town. As discussed in the news article "Evictions in Woodstock and the resistance against apartheid spatial planning", evicted people from Woodstock face the same fate as people affected by the forced removal of apartheid. In the article, we meet a woman named Charnell Commando, who has lived in Woodstock for 29 years, in Bromwell Street close to The Old Biscuit Mill. She details how, during the last two years, many of her neighbours have been fighting eviction, and forced to relocate to Blikkiesdorp (mg.co.za).

"The gentrification just took away everything. It took away the livelihood, the community. There's nothing left. It's just a facelift and that is it," says Charnell, to summarise the changes happening in Woodstock. She is very concerned for both her and her family's future, as relocation to Blikkiesdorp would affect their lives in terms of both work and education.

Furthermore, she compares the changes in Woodstock, especially the area where people are pushed out of their homes and forced to move to the outskirts of the city in line with the experiences of black and coloured people during apartheid.

"It's because we are coloured people that people think bad of us," Charnell says.

> *Why don't they go and stay in Blikkiesdorp for one day? Why don't they take their family or their dog or whatever they have and go there just for one day so they can see how it is. They don't understand because they don't know what it is. That's why it's easy for them to just throw people out onto the streets.* (mg.co.za)

(The living conditions of Blikkiesdorp. (Groundup.org.za).

The apartheid spatial imaginary previously discussed involves both the social and individual imagination. The evictions and displacement we find in Woodstock are simultaneously individual and collectively experienced as forced removal. The treatment of the people evicted from their homes is justified because the people in this case are treated more as objects, rather than people. And therefore, they are forced out to the outskirts of the city, or in one way they become hidden or disposed of, as a result of their so-called market value.

Charnell can be understood to compare today's evictions with forced removal during apartheid.

The Blikkiesdorp TRA, or as it also is known "Tin Can Town", was seen as a temporary solution for people needing housing, but people have lived here for over 10 years now, meaning that the term temporary is not accurate in practice. The people that have relocated to Blikkiesdorp are often forced to take on a massively increased commute to work, their children are moved from a safe environment and from their schools, and they end up living in houses built of tin, compared to the solid houses or apartments they lived in in Woodstock. The people in Blikkesdorp can be seen as removed from the city and the benefits it has, and end up in a "dumping ground" for people who are no longer "worthy" of city living. Additionally, even though Blikkiesdorp is supposed to be temporary, it is considered a permanent move, making it hard for its residents to re-enter the city. Hartman gives details about displacement and the costs it brings with it: "Displacement means moving from a supportive, long-term environment to an alien area where substantially higher costs are involved for a more crowded, inferior dwelling" (Hartmann, 1979: 23).

As was seen in the case of Jane Roberts, Blikkiesdorp can be seen as an alien area. As Hartmann (1979) states, a resident of Blikkiesdorp for eight years, when interviewed, details the struggles of Blikkiesdorp, where she lives in constant fear of the crime in the area. Her story indicates that Blikkiesdorp is not a place for temporary housing, but should be seen as a permanent.

"You can't go out. You can't leave your house," She says "People want to get out of here. They don't want to live here. They say they don't care where they are going to live, so long as they can get out of Blikkiesdorp. After eight years it's not temporary, it's permanent" (groundup.org.za).

Another resident of Blikkiesdorp, Maureen Philanders, further strengthens the argument that Blikkiesdorp is a dumping ground where people live in terrible conditions: "I'm so worried, because I think, where are the grandchildren and the children going to grow up? You are not safe in your own shack". With the dangerous and unsafe living conditions in Blikkiesdorp, the consequences of gentrification are extremely serious, and go beyond simply relocating from one community. Additionally, Blikkiesdorp lacks necessary amenities such as a police station and hospital (Cirolia, 2014; Pillay 2017; Ranslem 2015). Blikkiesdorp as a Temporary

Relocation Area has been designed as a place to facilitate evictions, since legal evictions demand the availability of alternative accommodation for the evicted. But, the area has also been used as a means to relocate people from areas such as Woodstock, that has undergone gentrification. As we can see from the fear experienced by people living under the threat of displacement, they all fear Blikkiesdorp (Newton, 2009; Ranslem, 2015).

Unfortunately for the people mentioned in this part of the thesis, they and many more have become victims of forces beyond their control, political, cultural and economic forces that have ignited the gentrification process in Woodstock. The inner-city areas of Cape Town, such as Woodstock, have experienced years of urban decay and deterioration, and needed assistance. With the Central City Improvement Districts being implemented in the early 2000s, and with several more inner-city initiatives targeting development in line with neoliberal urban policies, that led to significant urban change and new capital being spent on these areas, which attracted the middle-class of Cape Town (Pirie, 2007). In 2003, the National Treasury designated Woodstock as one of Cape Town's Urban Development Zones (UDZs), offering investors significant tax deductions for projects targeting development in and rejuvenation of designated UDZ (Lemanski, 2007). Shortly after the tax incentive, Woodstock started experiencing a great increase in the number of developments and upgrades, without any concern for the local community. With urban development policies increasingly focusing on urban renewal in areas like Woodstock, it led to major developments such as the aforementioned Old Biscuit Mill and the Woodstock Exchange. With increased interest in Woodstock, more investors considered buying in the area and spotted its potential which caused the property prices to increase and the "rental housing stock for the low-income population, further decreased" (Wenz, 2012: 25). The resulted in many properties being bought up and then being redeveloped by the new owners. As in the lives of the people mentioned in this chapter, gentrification had significant consequences for each of them. The affect it has had on their lives is echoed in the definition of gentrification by Donaldson:

> *Often, gentrification is the unintended outcome of well-meaning urban policy frameworks, such as urban densification, inner-city regeneration and urban heritage conservation, but with arguably negative consequences*. (Donaldson, 2013: 74)

The impact this has on the people displaced from their homes in Woodstock affects them in ways far beyond just the relocation of their homes. As described by several people above, the loss of their homes or the threat of losing their homes creates fear, anxiety and an overall fear

for their future. Most of the people displaced expressed a fear of moving to Blikkiesdorp, which can only be seen as Hartmann (1979; 23) describes as "an alien environment", far away from the city. The displaced individuals are therefore forced to live far from the city, far from their jobs and their children are forced to leave school or have to commute a long way to their school. Additionally, people are forced to live in an extremely dangerous place, as Sara describes her living conditions. In this way, we can see that the displaced individuals are forced out of the city, and the many opportunities the city offers are taken away from them.

7.5.0. Resistance to gentrification in Woodstock

Resistance to gentrification and the following displacement of the low-income groups, as described above happens all over the world. Cases in Bucharest and Sao Paulo, shows us empirical examples on different ways resistance can occur. Just as in other gentrified areas, we do find resistance in Woodstock as well. As people often are marginalized and with limited resources, with the combination of me not being able to actually meet the people and discuss the ways of resistance within individuals in Woodstock, I have looked closer on a specific action by Reclaim The City previously mentioned above. In order to see signs of resistance within the community of Woodstock, to the economic forces that have driven many people out of Woodstock already, the occupation of what is now known as the "Cissie Gool House" orchestrated by Reclaim The City, provide us with a good example on resistance in Woodstock.

7.5.1. The Cissie Gool House.

The occupation of the former hospital stands as a symbol of peoples power, and a challenge to the government by the occupation unused public space to serve social needs, the job that the government are supposed to do. By resisting gentrification by reclaim this building, renaming it "Cissie Gool House" and give the evicted black low-income people a home, is a affirmation that they exist in Woodstock, despite the effort to have them removed. This further give the individuals their identity a visible place to live, instead of being hidden as homeless or in the outskirts of Blikkiesdorp. In other words, it reassures their belonging to the city, instead of its peripheries. This occupation is valuable in Woodstock as the evicted people have limited

options in securing a home in the city, as well as it give the struggle of these people a face, making the problem visible. (De Carli & Frediani, 2016).

(Cissie Gool House. (Groundup.org.za).

This particular example of resistance to displacement and eviction in Woodstock combines the political, spatial, and social beyond the imagination of the individuals within the occupation. It did so by building new identities for the displaced, and creating a collective and personal identities that units a marginalized group together in order to challenge oppression and place identities that display the perception of belonging and place identity in the city. Within these identities, the individuals in the occupation also challenge the spatial imaginary of apartheid, by giving this argument a face, and by showing the comparison of apartheids forced removals, with their evictions. By doing so, they challenge the treatment of having no rights or power, by collaborating with

By using these new identities, the residents occupying and living in the "Cissie Gool House" to challenge the spatial imaginary of apartheid discussed above, by using history in present day, in ways that show how the apartheid spatial imaginary still exist today. By learning about their rights that they did not have under apartheid, and using them, they could better fight the

status quo. Additionally, they gathered "extra legal" resistance that contributed into obstructed the status quo, which reduced their marginalization to the status quo.

8.0. Conclusion

This thesis investigated the ways gentrification affect Woodstock, and more importantly, how it affects the low-income residents, through mainly displacement from their home community, as well as problems concerning their place identity. Furthermore, the findings presented in chapter 7, suggest that the displacement caused by gentrification in Woodstock, are connected to apartheids spatial imaginary. The consequences of gentrification presented is the displacement or constant fear of displacement, which eventually leads to the Temporary Relocation Area of Blikkiesdorp, a place with a bad reputation, and is feared by many. This chapter will provide a summary of the findings in the thesis, and present some limitations of the study.

The overall findings in this thesis goes to show that based on the experience of the low-income groups of Woodstock, gentrification is a dangerous process, that leads to major negative consequences in their life. The low-income groups are highly vulnerable for the changes that gentrification brings along. With the property prices rising in the area, many people no longer can afford living here, and these displaced people are often left to struggle on their own. As shown through a series of peoples experiences with gentrification, they are very vulnerable, especially women with children. Many people, have been forced out of Woodstock and found themselves in a so-called "Temporary Relocation Area!, which turns out to be more permanent than temporary. This thesis concurs with the theory brought up by Glass (1964), Smith (1996) and Lees (2006), that gentrification is about class. The upgrades are not meant for the low-income groups, but are to serve the incoming middle-class, and by this, displacing the low-income working class, that no longer can afford staying, due to the increase in property value. As well as not feeling a sense of belonging in the area anymore.

The gentrification happening in Woodstock, can be seen as ignited by governmental interference, as they implemented several urban renewal strategies to rejuvenate the inner-city areas of Cape Town. Especially by declaring Woodstock a part of the Urban Development Zones, and by offering major tax reduction on investments guided towards rejuvenation and new developments, can be seen as a strategy to entice investments and upgrades. Several other factors can also be seen as playing a part in the causes of gentrification in Woodstock.

The unique architecture with Victorian style houses, the close proximity to the city centre and the possibility to develop both residential and commercial developments, contributes to the process of gentrification in Woodstock. Woodstock is today known as a creative neighbourhood in Cape Town, because of the transformation of dilapidated buildings into creative hubs, restaurants, and unique cultural businesses, such as The Old Biscuit Mill and The Woodstock Exchange.

In the end, either way you look at gentrification, it is the poor that struggle with the repercussions of gentrification. With Woodstock being an unique area of Cape Town, by being one of the few places that avoided the Group Areas Act, and have remained diverse, it is sad to see the displacement of the low-income groups of Woodstock. The majority of the low-income and working class of Woodstock are either black or coloured as they where defined during apartheid. The process of gentrification in Woodstock, is reinforcing the forced removals during apartheid, in a new light. Or at least have remarkable similarities as it. Through the displacement of the low-income or working class, that are predominantly coloured or black, to the periphery, in order to make place for the middle-class, that are perceived as being white. This strikes many similarities in the forced removals during apartheid, especially when most of the displaced eventually end up in places like Blikkiesdorp, where people are forced to live in shacks, and live in constant fear of the massive crime rates. It might be controversial to make that assumption, but from the findings in this thesis, it seems that history only repeats itself, in the disguise of more fancy words, such as "gentrification".

8.1 Limitations to this study.

This thesis has, as many others, it fair share of limitations. Firstly, it is limited to only Woodstock, with the source material being based on secondary literature. As there is an ongoing pandemic, which have hindered me in conducting the original planned fieldwork of several months, I see this as a clear limitation of the study. Ideally, I would have spent several months properly familiarising myself with the community of Woodstock and its residents, through participant observation, ethnography and conducting interviews, and combining this with pre-existing literature. As well as getting an understanding of the other side of the discussion of gentrification, whereas this thesis is limited to only the consequences for a

particular part of the population in Woodstock, I am sure that other participants from different classes would have made for a better thesis and demonstrated similarities and differences between other people's experiences with gentrification.

Without mentioning the part of living during a global pandemic, and the lockdown that has embossed the entirety of the period spent on this thesis. The affect it has had on people's mental health, and from my point of view, especially students. The lack of social activities encounters, and overall interaction can have played a role during my work on this thesis. I know for a fact for students enrolled in different studies than myself, that their motivation and dedication to their studies have dropped immensely during this pandemic, with many not believing in digital lectures, causing them to lose interest and not paying attention. If this is something I have experienced while working on this thesis is hard to claim, even though I can relate to many of the discussions, as well as the hardships there have been with being a full-time student during a global pandemic.

(The changing landscape of Woodstock, DAG.com).

9.0. References.

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