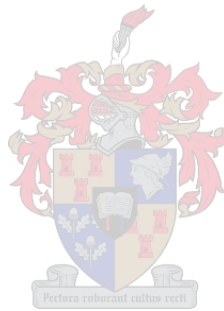


The Changing Face of Woodstock: A Study of Inner-City Gentrification

by

Kim Carls

*Thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts in the
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at
Stellenbosch University*



Supervisor: Professor Cherryl Walker

March 2016

DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: March 2016

Copyright © 2016 Stellenbosch University

All rights reserved

ABSTRACT

The term ‘gentrification’ was first coined by sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 as she studied the inner-city neighbourhoods of London. She found that neighbourhoods experiencing urban decay would be rejuvenated through an invasion of the middle-class, which would subsequently lead to the displacement of the original working-class residents living in the area. According to Glass’s analysis, gentrification has the ability to change and reshape the social geography and social character of an inner-city neighbourhood like Woodstock in Cape Town, the site of my study. The physical and economic changes taking place in Lower Woodstock may also be labelled as ‘rejuvenation’, ‘renewal’ and ‘upgrading’, and in this way be viewed as an attempt by the City of Cape Town to elevate the neighbourhood out of a physically and economically decaying state. Consistent with this view, in 2004 the National Treasury rezoned large parts of Woodstock as Urban Development Zones (UDZ) and implemented the National Treasury’s tax incentives programme to ‘encourage the refurbishment and construction of commercial and residential property in inner-city areas’ (National Treasury, 2004). As these urban changes increasingly take place in Lower Woodstock, poor, working-class residents are increasingly at risk of falling victim to gentrification, by being displaced out of the neighbourhood. The focus of this study is on the long-term residents of Lower Woodstock and their views on the urban changes taking place around them.

OPSOMMING

Die term ‘gentrification’ is eers in 1964 geskep deur die sosioloog Ruth Glass toe sy die middestad buurte van Londen bestudeer het. Sy het gevind dat die woonbuurte wat stedelike verval ervaar, deur ‘n inval van die middelklas, hernuwing sou beleef, wat daarna tot die verplasing van die oorspronklike werkersklas inwoners van die gebied sou lei. Volgens Glass se analise, het ‘gentrification’ die vermoë om die sosiale geografie en sosiale karakter van ‘n middestad omgewing soos Woodstock in Kaapstad, die terrein van my studie, te verander. Die fisiese en ekonomiese veranderinge wat plaasvind in Laer Woodstock kan ook as ‘vernuwing’, ‘hernuwing’ en ‘opgradering’ beskryf word, en kan dus as ‘n poging deur die Stad om die omgewing van ‘n fisiese en ekonomiese vervallende staat te verhef gesien word. In ooreenstemming met hierdie siening, het die Nasionale Tesourie in 2004, groot dele van Woodstock as stedelike ontwikkelingsones hersoneer en implementeer die Nasionale Tesourie belasting aansporing program geïmplementeer, om die opknapping en konstruksie van kommersiële en residensiële eiendomme in die middestad gebiede aan te moedig (Nasionale Tesourie, 2004). Die stedelike veranderinge wat al hoe meer in Laer Woodstock plaasvind, verhoog die risiko dat arm, werkersklas mense uit die gebied ontwortel word. As gevolg hiervan word die inwoners dan slagoffers van ‘gentrification’. Die fokus van hierdie studie is die lang-termyn inwoners van Laer Woodstock en hul standpunte oor die stedelike veranderinge wat rondom hulle plaasvind.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to make a special mention of Woodstock's residents who participated in this study. They welcomed me into their homes and so generously shared their life experiences with me. I am grateful to each one who so kindly offered their assistance. I would also like to thank the councillor and town planners who took time out of their schedules to meet with me.

To Mr Hendricks, who went to extra ordinary lengths to assist me, I am truly grateful.

Gratitude is also extended to my supportive family and friends. Their endless words of encouragement and prayers carried me through to this point.

I owe the greatest acknowledgment to my supervisor, Professor Cherryl Walker. She motivated me, and provided me with continuous guidance, and with great sincerity I appreciate her every effort to help make this thesis a success.

Above all, I would like to thank my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It is by His grace and mercy that I have made it thus far, and all praise, glory and honour goes to Him.

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Opsomming	iv
Acknowledgments	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	viii
List of Tables	ix
List of Photographs	x
List of Acronyms	xiii
Chapter 1: Introduction	page 1
1.1 Introduction	page 2
1.2 Rationale for my study and research questions	page 4
1.3 Historical background of Woodstock	page 8
1.4 Chapter Outline	page 16
Chapter 2: Literature review on gentrification	page 17
2.1 Academic debates on gentrification	page 18
2.2 Gentrification in South African cities	page 25
2.3 Gentrification in Woodstock	page 27
Chapter 3: Methodology	page 36
3.1 Motivation for a qualitative research methodology	page 37
3.2 Selection and description of research site	page 39
3.3 Research methods	page 65

3.4 Selection of sample and demographic profile of respondents	page 70
3.5 The interview schedules	page 73
3.6 Data analysis	page 74
3.7 Limitations	page 74
3.8 Ethical considerations	page 77
Chapter 4: Research findings: Residents' views on gentrification	page 79
4.1 Crime and Safety	page 82
4.2 Social exclusion	page 97
4.3 Displacement	page 108
4.4 Benefiting from gentrification	page 117
Chapter 5: Conclusion	page 121
5.1 Gentrification in Woodstock	page 122
5.2 The benefits and costs of gentrification	page 124
5.3 Conclusion	page 126
Bibliography	page 128
Appendix 1: Interview schedule	page 136
Appendix 2: Interview schedule for key informants	page 138
Appendix 3: Informed consent form	page 141

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Woodstock	page 36
Figure 2: Map showing Woodstock in relation to the CBD of Cape Town	page 39
Figure 3: Map of Lower Woodstock showing fieldwork area	page 40
Figure 4: Map of Lower Woodstock; red dots mark streets where interviews with residents took place	page 41
Figure 5: Greatmore Street in relation to the Old Biscuit Mill	page 55

List of tables

Table 1: Respondents in terms of relationship to Woodstock and interview type	page 72
Table 2: Racial profile of local residents	page 72
Table 3: Number of years local residents have lived in Lower Woodstock	page 73

List of Photographs

Photograph 1: Woodstock in the 1900s	page 1
Photograph 2: The Woodstock Beach	page 1
Photograph 3: Street Art seen in Lower Woodstock	page 3
Photograph 4: Street Art in Woodstock	page 8
Photograph 5: Identical semi-detached houses, with renovations in process on the left	page 15
Photograph 6: Sign marking Woodstock boundary	page 15
Photograph 7: Street art on Cornwall Street	page 16
Photograph 8: Rundown house with boarded-up windows and graffiti	page 17
Photograph 9: Coffee shop geared at professionals	page 17
Photograph 10: The Old Biscuit Mill	page 43
Photograph 11: The original signage of The Old Biscuit Mill	page 43
Photograph 12: Children in front of the Mill singing and dancing for money	page 44
Photograph 13: A mother with her child begging in front of the Mill	page 44
Photograph 14: Inside the Neighbourgoods Market	page 45
Photograph 15: The Bromwell Boutique Mall and Bread Café	page 46
Photograph 16: The front entrance to the Bromwell Boutique Mall	page 46
Photograph 17: Bread Café's outside terrace	page 47
Photograph 18: The Woodstock Foundry	page 48
Photograph 19: Outside the Woodstock Foundry	page 48
Photograph 20: The Fat Cactus at The Woodstock Foundry	page 49
Photograph 21: The Woodstock Exchange on Albert Rd	page 49

Photograph 22: The Woodstock Exchange	page 50
Photograph 23: Scooters outside The Woodstock Exchange	page 50
Photograph 24: Entrance to The Woodstock Exchange	page 51
Photograph 25: Semi-detached houses on Albert Road	page 52
Photograph 26: Semi-detached houses on Albert Road	page 52
Photograph 27: Synagogue converted to Art gallery	page 53
Photograph 28: 'Essop's Stores', a café and grocer, on Albert Road	page 53
Photograph 29: A row of new and old businesses	page 54
Photograph 30: The Park on Plein Street	page 56
Photograph 31: Free-standing houses on Plein Street	page 56
Photograph 32: Semi-detached house on Plein Street	page 57
Photograph 33: Houses on Cavendish Square	page 58
Photograph 34: House on Cavendish Square	page 58
Photograph 35: View of Williams Street	page 59
Photograph 36: Single storey houses on Williams Street	page 60
Photograph 37: Houses on Gympie Street	page 60
Photograph 38: View of Gympie Street	page 61
Photograph 39: Vibracrete wall surrounding property where derelict houses once stood on Cornwall Street	page 62
Photograph 40: The site where houses demolished in 2012 once stood on Cornwall Street	page 62
Photograph 41: Restaurants on Victoria Road	page 63
Photograph 42: Shops on Victoria Road	page 64

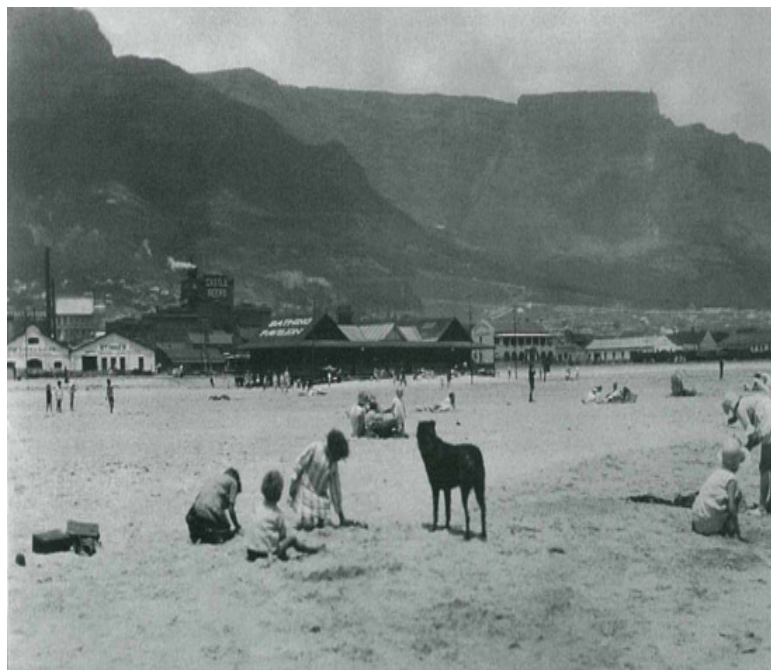
Photograph 43: Kwaai Lappies Fabric Store on Victoria Road	page 64
Photograph 44: Renovated spaces on Victoria Road	page 65
Photograph 45: Street art in Woodstock	page 65
Photograph 46: Street art on Cornwall Street	page 69
Photograph 47: Saleem's Café on Albert Road	page 79
Photograph 48: Tin houses of Blikkiesdorp.	page 116
Photograph 49: Street Art on houses in Lower Woodstock	page 121
Photograph50: Street Art on houses in Lower Woodstock	page 121

List of Acronyms

Central Business District	CBD
City-Centre Improvement District	CCID
Dutch Eat India Company	DEIC
Integrated Development Plan	IDP
Temporary Relocation Area	TRA
The City of Cape Town	CoCT
United Kingdom	UK
United States of America	USA
Urban Development Zone	UDZ
Woodstock Improvement District	WID

Chapter 1

Introduction



Photograph 1 & 2: Woodstock in the 1900s and the Woodstock Beach (Google Images, 2014)

‘Woodstock is a very vibrant, eccentric place We are a cosmopolitan area, like a little city on our own, Woodstock, you know?’

(Heather, resident for 36 years, 2012)

1.1 Introduction

Woodstock, an inner-city neighbourhood of Cape Town, South Africa, sits on the slopes of Table Mountain. It is geographically divided into two parts known as Upper Woodstock and Lower Woodstock respectively. This study focuses on Lower Woodstock, a neighbourhood of predominantly semi-detached houses strung together along narrow roads that has historically been home to mainly working-class families of coloured descent.¹ At first glance Lower Woodstock appears slightly down and out. However a closer engagement with the community living there will reveal that this social space is so much more than its buildings and winding streets. Street artists have taken to Lower Woodstock and filled the walls of the houses with the faces of the people who live in them and with messages of hope and inspiration. The street art symbolises what Woodstock is about, and that is the people who live in the houses. It tells the stories of local lives lived and of beckoning futures and it expresses something of the character of the neighbourhood.

It is easy to romanticise one's views on Woodstock. Therefore it must be acknowledged at the outset of this study that as much as this is a neighbourhood with a deep sense of community, it is also one that has been plagued by social ills, including poverty and criminal activity. These social ills have undermined the very thing that gives Woodstock its soul, and that is its residents. Poverty and urban decay have weighed heavily upon the shoulders of the residents of Woodstock, with their neighbourhood being branded as 'dangerous' by outsiders and a place for gangs and drug lords. The lack of economic activity in the area has ensured that Woodstock would become a breeding ground for crime and poverty.

Yet Woodstock has also been recognised by many for its sense of community, its prime location close to the Central Business District (CBD) of Cape Town, its charming architecture and its urban character. This has drawn artists and middle class professionals working in the creative industries to it. Over the last ten years, the interest in Woodstock by business developers and professionals alike has increased dramatically, and large- scale urban

¹ In this study I use the term 'coloured' without qualification to describe the social category of people classified as such during the apartheid era under the Population Registration Act of 1950, because that is, by and large, the term still used by members of this group to describe themselves. In the context of contemporary Woodstock it remains a significant aspect of people's social identity. The Population Registration Act of 1950 officially divided South Africans into four groups: whites, coloureds, Asians and natives and required people to be registered accordingly (Bickford-Smith, 2002: 22). The term 'native' referred to people generally described as black in the contemporary period which is the usage I will adopt in this study. Even though these terms were established under the apartheid era, they have been retained in democratic South Africa.

changes have been taking place in the form of new commercial enterprises and an upgrading of residential properties.

As these urban changes increasingly take place in Lower Woodstock, the working-class and poor are increasingly at risk of falling victim to what sociologists have termed the 'gentrification' of their neighbourhood. The term 'gentrification' was first coined by sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 as she studied changes in the inner-city neighbourhoods of London. She found that neighbourhoods experiencing urban decay would be rejuvenated through an invasion of the middle classes, which would subsequently lead to the displacement of the original working-class residents living in the area (Glass, 1964).

The focus of this study is on the long-term residents of Lower Woodstock and their views on the urban changes taking place around them, using the concept of gentrification to explore the complex dynamics that have accompanied the upgrading of their neighbourhood. Qualitative research methods, supplemented by documentary analysis, have been employed in eliciting the views of a selection of primarily long-term residents. In the next section of this introductory chapter I discuss the rationale for my study and briefly discuss gentrification as a concept, and then present the research questions that have guided my study. In section 3 I provide a brief overview of the history of Woodstock up until the late 1980s, as background to my more detailed discussion of the history of gentrification in the suburb in Chapter 2. I conclude this chapter with an overview of how my discussion is organised across the chapters that follow.



Photograph 3: Street Art seen in Lower Woodstock (Carls, 2015)

1.2 Rationale for my study and research questions

1.2.1 Rationale

I begin this section by providing my personal motivation for this study before stating my research questions. I do not live in Woodstock but I have attended the Grace Chapel Christian Church in the area for the past 17 years and thus have developed an affinity for the neighbourhood as well as for the people who live there. Since I often visit Lower Woodstock I have witnessed the physical changes that have taken place, and observed that the area has experienced both residential and commercial renewal through the renovating of houses and other old buildings and the entry of new businesses into the area. It is then from my personal experience and observations that I decided to embark on a journey to understand the processes at hand on a deeper sociological level.

The changes taking place in Lower Woodstock and the impact I assumed it would be having on the community led me to engage with the literature on gentrification and urban renewal. In the 1950s sociologist Ruth Glass studied the social and housing changes that were taking place in the inner-city of London. Glass was a key figure in establishing urban sociology as an academic discipline, publishing 'Urban sociology in Great Britain' in 1955. However, she believed that sociological research was not only to be used within the academic sphere of society, but that it could be an agent of change as well (Oxford Biography, 2004). Glass held the view that her research could influence government policy and bring about social change and therefore studied housing problems in London (Oxford Biography, 2004). She coined the term 'gentrification' in her book, *London: Aspects of Change*, which was published in 1964, as she saw the inner-city poor being pushed out of the city of London with middle-class residents taking their place.

Glass describes gentrification as a process which takes place in the working class areas of London and involves an 'invasion' by the middle-class households, resulting in the 'shabby modest mews and cottages' of the working classes being transformed into 'elegant expensive residences'. A key element to Glass's definition of gentrification is that the process ultimately displaces the working class residents of the neighbourhood:

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 (Glass, 1964: xviii).

According to Glass's definition, gentrification had the ability to reshape the social geography and social character of an inner-city neighbourhood like Woodstock. The power of gentrification to change and reshape a neighbourhood is the underlying premise on which this study is based, informing my exploration of the changes taking place in Lower Woodstock. The physical and economic changes taking place in Lower Woodstock may also be labelled more positively as 'rejuvenation', 'renewal' and 'upgrading', and may be viewed as attempts by the City of Cape Town to raise the neighbourhood out of a physically and economically decaying state. In 2004 the National Treasury rezoned large parts of Woodstock as Urban Development Zones (UDZ) (National Treasury, 2004) and implemented the National Treasury's tax incentives programme to 'encourage the refurbishment and construction of commercial and residential property in inner-city areas' (National Treasury, 2004). Also in 2005 the Woodstock Improvement District (WID) was established by the Cape Town City Council, its role to restore the neighbourhood to its rightful place as a desirable place to live, work and play in (Woodstock Improvement District, 2014). Both the National Treasury tax incentive and the WID are geared at lifting the area of Woodstock from a state of urban decay to one that is flourishing both economically and socially.

Since Woodstock has been experiencing physical and economic renewal for the last decade, my study considers how the social geography and social character of the neighbourhood has been changing and whether the process at work is, in fact, one of gentrification. Neighbourhoods in close proximity to the city centre such as Woodstock, which have historic buildings with attractive architecture and are characterised by cheap property values as well as high levels of urban decay, are prime targets for gentrification. A gentrifying neighbourhood will experience an increase in rates, rentals and property prices as it becomes increasingly desirable for the middle classes and undergo property renovations and investment in new businesses, all which are evident in Woodstock. What is also apparent is that the renewal that is taking place can be seen to be largely for the benefit of middle-class newcomers, rather than to the advantage of its longer-term working class residents who are facing the threat of economic and social exclusion. Gentrification places immense financial pressure on the poorer working class residents of the neighbourhood, and increases the likelihood of them being displaced, due to the growing unaffordability of the neighbourhood. My primary interest in this study is in those who face displacement, the long-term working class residents of Lower Woodstock and their views on the changes taking place around them.

For Glass and the people of London in the 1960s gentrification was primarily an issue of class. However, in South Africa, with its highly racialized past, the class dynamics of gentrification are overlaid with issues of race. As a city Cape Town embodies three and half centuries of urban development and accommodates a culturally and linguistically diverse population in which radicalized differences in terms of access to authority and resources are still extremely significant (Wilkinson, 2000). Western describes Cape Town as a city ‘born in colonialism’ (2002: 711); he also describes the impact of colonial settlement at the Cape as ‘brutal, death-dealing, totally transformative, and irreversible’ (2002: 711). The Cape was established by the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) in 1652, and within five years the European settlers had dispossessed land from the local people, resulting in many fleeing further inland and reducing others to servant-hood (Western, 2002: 711). The history of Cape Town is marked by the slavery, segregation and oppression of non-white population groups (Western, 2002: 711), the legacy of which continued until and, some would argue, beyond the democratisation of the nation in 1994.

The most recent miscarriage of justice against black people was enforced by means of apartheid, the political strategy that the National Party employed to preserve white political domination of the country (Christopher, 1997: 311). Under apartheid South African society was characterised by a high degree of racial and ethnic segregation, which was enforced through a complex set of legislative measures controlling relationships between race groups. These impacted on all spheres of society, including marriage, attendance at schools and universities, the formation of political organisations, the use of public transport and all public places and spaces as well as where each race group could live (Bickford-Smith, 2002; Christopher, 1997). A law that played a major role in enforcing residential segregation, the Group Areas Act, was, as is described in the following section, significant in shaping Woodstock.

Even though democracy has come to South Africa, the legacy of colonialism and apartheid is evident in the extent of racially marked social and economic inequality that still exists today. The people of South Africa are free and everyone is legally entitled to the same rights as any other person. However, the oppressive nature of colonialism and apartheid has had long-term damaging effects, placing many black South Africans in a domain of abject poverty, from where they cannot gain access to those rights, unless assisted by the government to do so. In a country where the gap between the wealthy and the poor is deeply entrenched and where the

majority of the poor are not white, it is important to consider how these racial dynamics fit into the phenomenon of gentrification that is taking place in the inner-city neighbourhood of Woodstock, which historically has had a large coloured and working-class population.

1.2.2 Research questions

With this as context, my study has been designed to explore the following two-part research question: What is the impact of gentrification on the long-term residents of Lower Woodstock and what are their views on it?

In order to answer this I have identified the following subsidiary questions that have guided my research design:

1. What is the extent of gentrification in the neighbourhood?
2. Has any displacement of working-class residents occurred as a result of gentrification?
3. Do long-term residents perceive any benefits for themselves from the urban changes taking place in the area, and if so, what?
4. Do long-term residents perceive any costs due to the urban changes and what?
5. Are the views of the long-term residents on social integration, race and identity changing in relation to these developments and if so, in what ways?

In an attempt to answer these questions, I have used a qualitative methodology in order to explore the views and experiences of a number of residents of Lower Woodstock as well as a smaller number of business owners in the area. The bulk of my sample consisted of long-term residents, whom I defined as people who had been living in Woodstock for seven years or more at the time of my study, but I also interviewed a number of newer residents of Lower Woodstock (those who had been living in Woodstock for six years and less). In addition, I interviewed four key informants: two town planners and a ward councillor of Woodstock as well as a senior member of the local church that I attend, who acted as my guide throughout my study. My fieldwork also included less in-depth, informal conversations with a number of local residents and business owners.



Photograph 4: Street Art in Woodstock (XO Africa, 2013)

1.3 Historical background: Woodstock

In this section a brief overview of the history of the suburb of Woodstock will be given. The history of Woodstock with regard to gentrification specifically is discussed more fully in Chapter 2 but it is useful to provide some background in this introductory chapter. A key issue here concerns the way in which Woodstock was not directly affected by state-sanctioned forced removals of its coloured residents under the Group Areas Act of 1950.

1.3.1 The establishment of Woodstock as a multi-racial suburb

The city of Cape Town in which Woodstock is located embodies three and a half centuries of urban development involving a culturally and linguistically diverse population (Wilkinson, 2000). South Africa's history, since colonial conquest after 1652 up until democracy in 1994, can be described as tumultuous. As a new world was created by European settlers, a battle for the ownership of the land that became South Africa began. The European conquest of the land laid the foundations for the political and economic structures that would later develop in the twentieth century under apartheid. The system of segregation that surfaced in the

twentieth century was therefore not a new development, but firmly rooted in the division of races that was first put in place by the institution of slavery (Eades, 1999: 7).

What is important to note, however, is that these divisions were not absolute, with suburbs such as Woodstock reflecting a degree of mixing and interaction among people from diverse backgrounds. While Cape Town was not unaffected by the segregationist direction of government policies in the first half of the twentieth century, its colonial history underpinned a more variegated residential pattern than that found in many urban areas in South Africa, with a number of working class neighbourhoods reflecting a multi-racial demographic profile.

During the mid-eighteenth century Pieter van Papendorp settled in the area of modern-day Cape Town now known as Woodstock, some 3 kilometres from the town centre. A number of families began to build their homes near the Van Papendorp homestead and by the early 1800s the area had begun to be known as Papendorp (SA History Online, 2014). The area was originally home to mostly poor immigrant fishermen and farmers (Garside, 1993: 31), but by 1845 it could boast of an Anglican church and a school, and by the 1860s it had come to be regarded as a fashionable residential suburb (SA History Online, 2014). In 1862 the growth of Papendorp was accelerated by the building of the railway line which connected it to the city of Cape Town (SA History Online, 2014). Papendorp was then amalgamated with the neighbouring village of Salt River under a new name, Woodstock (SA History Online, 2014). Thereafter, from the early twentieth century, the social and economic character of the area began to change from that of predominantly farming and fishing community to an increasingly commercial and industrial economy (SA History Online, 2014).

The census of 1865 showed that Papendorp was a racially mixed Cape area, with whites, coloureds and Africans living as neighbours (Bickford-Smith, 2001: 16). In 1891 the Editor of the local newspaper, the *Cape Argus*, commented on Cape Town, saying that it was 'now too late to separate the white and coloured population' as most of the lower-class areas of the city were racially mixed (Bickford-Smith, 2001: 16).

Throughout the twentieth century Woodstock experienced successive waves of immigrants settling in the area. During the early 1900s large numbers of British settlers flooded the neighbourhood. They were followed by rural Afrikaners in the 1920s, Eastern European Jews in the 1930s, and Southern Europeans in the late 1930s and early 1940s, while in the 1960s and 1970s an influx of immigrants from Mozambique and Angola was experienced (Garside,

1993: 31). As this history indicates, during the suburb's early years and persisting under the apartheid government, Woodstock was thus an ethnically and racially diverse area. However, the extent of integration and interaction between the different population groups was also limited as there was a spatial divide within the suburb. Thus Upper Woodstock was predominantly occupied by white residents while Lower Woodstock was predominantly home to non-white population groups (Garside, 1993).

As already noted, in the early 1900s the social and economic character of the neighbourhood of Woodstock began to change, from that of a farming and fishing village to a more industrialised town (SA History Online, 2014). Two biscuit factories, Baumanns and Pyotts, set up shop in the area, and became an integral part of the economy. However, these factories closed down during the 1940s, resulting in an economic downturn of the neighbourhood. Woodstock began to deteriorate, both economically and physically. Nevertheless, as an inner-city neighbourhood Woodstock offered working-class communities and immigrant groups real benefits in the form of affordable housing, close proximity to places of work and schools, and access to public transport (Garside, 1993).

Woodstock's location meant its residents had easier access to the major employment, commercial, cultural and social opportunities of the city centre compared to people living in the newer suburbs that were developing further from the city centre (Dewar et al. 1977: 24). By the 1970s Woodstock had a wide range of facilities, including various public facilities, two shopping strips of metropolitan significance, a large presence of manufacturing industry as well as many local corner shops. The residents of the area were conveniently located to be able to engage in the many activities offered in the area. The activities also attracted people from other parts of the city, thus exposing residents to a wide range of people and influences (Dewar et al., 1977: 24).

As the metropolitan area developed, the roads running through Woodstock carried large amounts of traffic through the area to the outlying areas and the city centre. With this a symbiotic relationship developed between the roads and the activities located on them. As the traffic increased, activities dependent on the passing traffic were logically attracted to these routes. These activities then attracted more traffic, thereby reinforcing the dominance of these routes to the city and other areas. These routes and roads are significant for the area of Woodstock as they integrate the suburb with the city. They also benefited Woodstock

economically, as the activities on the routes derived support from the passing traffic and not only the local residents (Dewar et al., 1977: 27).

A study by Dewar in 1977 drew attention to the variety in terms of function and quality that characterised the different streets of Woodstock. In Albert Road, also known as Lower Main Road in Woodstock, a concentrated commercial strip existed. Here individual shops were grouped together in ways which were attractive for both local residents and passing pedestrians and provided maximum benefit for each individual shop as well as the neighbourhood as a whole (Dewar et al., 1977: 29). Dewar's assessment was that the commercial area along Albert Road illustrated a high degree of what he regarded as urbanity, bringing about a continuous and coherent space that incorporated both the road and the shops – here the 'dichotomy' between private and public spaces was resolved to the mutual benefit of both. He also commented on the way in which the road was more than just a channel for movement and commerce. It was also a social space, where people could meet and communicate with one another. Similarly the shops were not only for trading, but also served as places in which people could interact with each other (Dewar et al., 1977: 29).

1.3.2 The implementation of the Group Areas Act

In 1948 the National Party came to power and began to impose its apartheid ideology on South African society. According to Christopher (1997: 311) apartheid was one of the major social engineering experiments of the twentieth century, implemented in order to preserve European or white political and economic domination of South Africa). One of the most notorious laws aimed at enforcing white domination that was implemented by the apartheid government was the Group Areas Act of 1950, which aimed to stop racially mixed residential areas in South African cities (Bickford-Smith, 2002: 23). This Act can be regarded as a cornerstone of the apartheid system. Dr D.F. Malan, the Nationalist Party Prime Minister of South Africa at the time, stated that '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). The Minister of the Interior, Dr T.E. Donges, referred to it as 'one of the major measures designed to preserve White South Africa' when he introduced the Bill in Parliament (Christopher, 2001: 103).

The aim of the Act was to effect the total urban spatial segregation of the various population groups as they were defined by the Population Registration Act of 1950, with towns and cities divided into ‘group areas’ for the exclusive use and occupation of each designated group. Once an area had been designated for the use of a specific group, those residents who did not form part of the group were forced to leave and take up residence in a group area set aside for their group. The city centres were zoned as ‘white’ group areas while the areas zoned for other race groups were located on the periphery. The objective was to establish total segregation, rather than the ‘piecemeal results of colonial and Union segregationism’ (Christopher, 2001: 103). The Group Areas Act was not only about the forced removal of people from one location to another; more fundamentally it meant the uprooting of people from the places of their childhood, from their work places, their schools, friends and families and ultimately from the lives they were building.

The full effects of the Act were experienced in Cape Town from the 1960s, after the Act was amended in 1957 (Christopher, 1989: 254). In 1966 District Six was declared a white group area and during the following 15 years some 60 000 people were forcibly removed from the area (District Six Museum, 2015). This inner-city neighbourhood had a particularly heterogeneous population and evinced a strong sense of community and cosmopolitanism as people intermarried and several religions were practiced side by side (Bickford-Smith, 1990; Soudien 2001, Geschier, 2007: 37). Soudien (2001: 118) notes that historically District Six was regarded as a place of ‘refuge’ and the ‘the first port of call for most of the city’s new immigrants and its destitute’:

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).

Over the years it was demolished house by house, with most of its inhabitants being ‘resettled’ on the Cape Flats. People were separated from friends and families and what was familiar to them, and had to readjust to an alien and hostile environment (Geschier, 2007: 38). The Nationalist Party government thereafter renamed the area Zonnebloem. However plans to repopulate the area with white residents encountered fierce opposition from organisations

such as the Friends of District Six with their Hands Off District Six Campaign during the 1980s (Hart, 1990; Soudien, 2001 as cited in Geschier, 2007: 38-39). For many former residents being thrown out of their houses and neighbourhood by the apartheid government was a physical violation of their identity as citizens of Cape Town. The result of forced removals was not only the physical displacement of people; it also caused residents to feel disorientated, angry and powerless (Geschier, 2007: 37).

While the Group Areas Act had a devastating effect on many coloured working-class neighbourhoods in Cape Town, Woodstock managed to escape the direct impact of this legislation despite various attempts to categorise it as 'white'. In the 1980s, as the apartheid government faced mounting internal resistance to its policies, a series of changes took place in the application of the Group Areas Act in an attempt to appease Indian and coloured constituencies nationally (Christopher, 2001: 108). This was accompanied by a decline in the extent of white group areas under the Group Areas Act, as several such areas were deproclaimed and very few new areas proclaimed (Christopher, 2001: 108). A number of suburbs that had been included in the zones originally proclaimed white were reproclaimed for the communities originally resident in them (Christopher, 2001: 110). Woodstock was one such area.

During the 1980s the coloured population had been growing in Lower Woodstock as the local administration granted coloured families permits to reside in the area (Garside, 1993). This period also saw an expansion in the number of relatively affluent coloured people living in the area (Visser, 2002: 421). In 1986 President P.W. Botha declared that 'Woodstock must become coloured as it is not a white area' (*Cape Times* 2 October 1986, cited in Garside, 1993: 32). It was then that the 'Open Woodstock Campaign' was launched, protesting the designation of Woodstock as 'coloured' in terms of the Group Areas dispensation rather than a place that was open to all (Garside, 1993: 32).

In 1987 the *Cape Times* headlined an article on this campaign: 'Forget colour, says Woodstock' (*Cape Times* 20 January 1987). This article submitted that Woodstock residents, businessmen, clergymen and councillors all rejected the notion that the neighbourhood should become either coloured or white. In an article by the *Financial Mail* with the title 'Group Areas: Not for Woodstock', recommendations were made that local authorities should be allowed to decide for themselves whether to be racially integrated or not (*Financial Mail*, 23 January 1987). An article by the *Weekly Mail* stated that:

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 the apartheid government did not declare Woodstock to be an 'open' area but backed off from implementing removals (Garside, 1993: 33). Instead, the Group Areas Act was simply not enforced until the late 1980s, when Woodstock was proclaimed a 'free settlement area' (Wenz, 2012: 23). The campaign was therefore seen as a success by those heading it, as Woodstock remained a racially mixed area in terms of its population make-up. In this way Woodstock escaped the devastation of the Group Areas Act and became known as a 'grey area'.

According to Christopher, Woodstock was seen as a 'non-conforming enclave', which remained positively associated with a more integrated, cosmopolitan and resilient community into the post-apartheid period (2000: 110). However, although Woodstock was able to retain an identity as an 'open' suburb, the degree of racial mixing differed between what is known as Upper and Lower Woodstock, with Lower Woodstock comprising mainly coloured families and Upper Woodstock comprising mainly white families. Upper Woodstock remained predominantly white as permits were rarely issued to coloured households looking to buy in that area.

Of significance for this study is that the developments described above permitted an early process of gentrification to get underway in Woodstock in this period. Since Woodstock was regarded as an open area, coloured business people who worked in the CBD of Cape Town, but lived on the periphery of the city began to move to the more convenient inner-city neighbourhood of Woodstock (Garside, 1993: 33). However, due to the racial climate of the country these coloured 'incomers' were reluctant to move into the predominantly white area of Upper Woodstock and found themselves moving into Lower Woodstock instead (Garside, 1993: 33). The 1980s, therefore, saw an influx of middle-class people into the area (Garside, 1993: 33). Some landlords recognised the potential of renting their properties to middle-class instead of working-class tenants and thus began a process of renovating those properties (Garside, 1993: 33).

This ‘first phase’ of gentrification, which thus predates the transition to democracy in 1994, and the ‘second phase’ of gentrification following that, which is the primary focus of this study, are discussed further in Chapter 2.



Photograph 5: Identical semi-detached houses, with renovations in process on the left (Carls, 2013)



Photograph 6: Sign marking Woodstock boundary (Carls, 2014)

1.4 Chapter outline

My discussion of the issues raised in this introductory chapter unfolds over five chapters. Chapter 2, my literature review, is divided into two main sections. The first section provides a review of the general literature on gentrification, urban renewal and urban regeneration. The second section focuses on the history of Woodstock and issues to do with social integration, race and identity in relation to these developments. Chapter 3 describes my research methodology and the specific methods that I have used to answer my research question. In Chapter 4 I present the main findings from my study. In this chapter I present the views of the residents that I interviewed on the urban changes taking place and discuss the perceived costs and benefits of the urban changes in terms of three themes that emerged as significant through my fieldwork, namely crime and safety, social exclusion, and displacement. In Chapter 5, my concluding chapter, I return to my main research question and review my findings.



Photograph 7: Street art on Cornwall Street (Carls, 2015)

Chapter 2

Literature Review on Gentrification



Contrasting images of Woodstock:

Photograph 8: Rundown house with boarded up windows and graffiti (Carls, 2015)

Photograph 9: Coffee shop geared at professionals (Carls, 2015)

'For me, [my future in Woodstock is] very bleak, I cannot see a future, I can see that the owner is gonna sell the house to the highest bidder so the future for me and my family is bleak.'

(Joshua, resident of Woodstock for 24 years, 2013)

Gentrification can be understood in simple terms as a process of investment in infrastructure and services that transforms a decaying and/or working-class neighbourhood into one which becomes attractive for members of the middle class as places where they would want to work, live and play; as a consequence the long-term working-class residents of the neighbourhood become displaced either physically or socially. While gentrification is a global phenomenon that has evolved over time and can be seen in all the major cities of the world, including London and New York, in practice it is a complex process that has to be understood in terms of local specificities.

In this chapter I first review the academic debates on gentrification and provide a brief account of the various views of gentrification as they relate to this study. Following this I provide an overview of the literature on gentrification in South Africa, with a particular focus on Cape Town. This discussion lays the foundation for the third section, which discusses the historical development of Woodstock as a unique suburb within the city. Here I reflect on the two waves of gentrification that have been identified in Woodstock since the 1980s, and review the current state of gentrification in the area. This section provides important background and context for Chapter 4, in which I present the results of my fieldwork in the suburb.

2.1 Academic debates on gentrification

2.1.1 Defining gentrification

The term 'gentrification' describes what is a very complex urban process (Visser & Kotze, 2008). What it is, how it comes about and what its consequences are have been intensely debated by scholars within urban studies for many years, with 2014 marking the 50th anniversary of this concept within urban sociology.

As already discussed, the first social scientist to coin the term was Ruth Glass, a sociologist from Germany, in 1964. She based her analysis on her observations of the urban changes taking place in the inner-city of London as it began to rebuild itself in the aftermath of the Second World War. In her book, *London: Aspects of Change* (1964), Glass identified certain elements that she regarded as central to the process of gentrification. Firstly, a working-class

area was ‘invaded’ by the middle-class, either as a place to live in or one in which to start a business. Secondly, the residences or commercial properties that these newcomers bought up were upgraded through renovations, and thirdly, this led to a process of displacement of the original working-class residents, as they found it increasingly expensive to live in the newly upgraded environment and were either forced into selling their properties if they were owners or lost their leases if they were tenants. These changes could be rapid. The final outcome of the process of gentrification was that the social character of the neighbourhood was changed.

In Glass’s words:

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: xviii).

In order to understand the process of gentrification one must understand why it is possible for the process to exist. After the Second World War major cities such as London experienced a process of suburbanization (Butler & Lees, 2006: 473), with new areas on the fringes of the city growing. , Many people left the city to live in these suburbs and ended up commuting to and from their work places in the city centre. This resulted in the inner-city neighbourhoods being abandoned by the middle classes, as the state aimed to reconstruct London after the war by encouraging people to move to the suburbs (Butler & Lees, 2006: 473).

Even though the middle-classes were moving to the suburbs, housing in the city of London was still in high demand, and properties in neighbourhoods like Barnsbury, an inner-city neighbourhood situated two miles from the city centre, rapidly went into multi-occupation (Butler & Lees, 2006: 473). The residents of Barnsbury lived under unpleasant and overcrowded conditions, with little access to basic services as urban decay settled in over this inner-city neighbourhood (Butler & Lees, 2006: 473). However, from 1961 a change occurred and, Butler and Lees observed, even though conditions in the inner-city neighbourhoods of London such as Barnsbury were still not aligned with the requirements of

the middle class, middle-class people started moving back to these inner-city neighbourhoods (Butler & Lees, 2006: 473). It is then of importance to consider why the middle class chooses to resettle in a working-class neighbourhood. A shift took place in the economy and in society, which drew people back to the cities.

Butler and Lees (2006: 473) describe the first generation of gentrifiers in London as ‘left leaning liberals’ politically, who were most likely to be professionals working as ‘architects, planners, university lectures, comprehensive school teachers, social workers, medical technicians and so on’. They moved to Barnsbury because property prices were affordable and low, and urban improvements were being made to the neighbourhood. Property developers bought up rented properties, evicted current tenants and sold those properties to a captive middle-class market and as more and more ‘middle-class people moved into Barnsbury, property prices rose year on year’ (Butler & Lees, 2006: 473).

In the context of 1960s London, Glass (1964) described the city as one which shows the ‘juxtaposition of new and old, both in fabric and in structure of society’; the city was in the process of change as parts of the city, such as Barnsbury, which were formally not considered as ‘respectable’ for better-off residents to live in, suddenly became acceptable. She observed that to live in an inner-city neighbourhood was greatly beneficial to those who worked in the city centre and did not wish to travel to work or who could not afford it. In addition to the convenience which the ease of commuting brought, the city also offered diversity as during the 1960s the metropolis of London was increasingly made up of sub-groups and sub-cultures such as the rich, the poor, the arty, the religious, and those who were politically inclined. According to Glass they lived ‘side by side and intertwined’ (Glass, 1964), as the city was the place where different worlds and sub-cultures would collide and this was an attraction in itself.

During the 1960s Glass found that people living in Central London lived ‘crammed together’ as the area became more densely populated, and they would have to pay exorbitant rents for the privilege of living in the inner-city. Furthermore, there were immigrants living in the area which Glass observed to be people who could not live anywhere else because of their race and were often left to live in ‘dingy’ accommodation or share a room with others to meet the high cost of living. She describes the immigrants living in Central London as a group of people who:

...can find hardly any open doors-especially if their skin is coloured-and who have to take the leftovers of accommodation, however dingy, however expensive. They go to houses which are already crowded; several of them share a room to meet the cost (Glass, 1964)

David Ley, in his article on ‘Alternative Explanations for Inner-City Gentrification: A Canadian Assessment’, published in 1986, stated that there were a range of possible explanations to account for middle-class resettlement into working-class neighbourhoods at the time. These included: ‘urban sprawl, escalating energy costs, and the problems with commuting- all drawing households closer to downtown work places; the spiralling cost of suburban housing-encouraging new households (in particular) to re-examine cheaper inner-city locations’ (Ley, 1986: 521). Another consideration involved a ‘pro-urban ethos of changing preference-rejecting the perceived ‘inauthentic’ 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). He also noted how living in the inner-city allowed people to uphold what he described as an ‘adult orientated lifestyle’ as opposed to ‘suburban familism’; this included an emerging ‘gay subculture and non-traditional living arrangements’ (Ley, 1986: 521).

2.1.2 The process of gentrification

Since Glass first coined the term, ‘gentrification’ has been taken up by other researchers and further refined in urban studies. Smith & Williams (1986: 1), for instance, describe the phenomenon as ‘the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle-class neighbourhood’. There have been continuing debates on its causes, consequences and whether the term may be applicable to different countries, within their contexts (Atkinson, 2004: 108). The impact of gentrification on housing, the household and urban neighbourhoods has also been a major concern for policy-makers and commentators. According to Atkinson (2004: 108), they are divided, with some viewing it as an opportunity for the revitalisation of the built environment, with significant benefits to the economy, while others see it as carrying a huge social cost ‘involving the involuntary movement of the poor with little if no net gain to cities’. The process of

gentrification or urban renewal can thus be viewed as either the ‘salvation of the inner-city’ or as a ‘damaging entrenchment of antagonistic social relations and displacement’ (Atkinson, 2004: 111). As my discussion of my research findings in Chapter 4 shows, these contradictory views and ambivalences can be shared by the long-term residents of neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification as well.

Improving inner-city neighbourhoods that have experienced urban decay is a primary concern for any country, and both the public and the private sector have a role to play in this regard. Loretta Lees points this fact out in her paper, ‘Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?’, as she examines the policies of the United Kingdom (UK), the United States of America (USA) and the Netherlands respectively on the issue of making the city a liveable space, in which different class and cultural groups as well as people from varying nationalities can co-exist and social mix (2008); these will briefly be considered here. At the time of her study, the New Labour Government held office in the UK and was committed to social diversity and mixing as in the case of the Barnsbury (Lees, 2008: 2452). 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 the central city could possibly lead to reducing ‘socio-spatial segregation and strengthening the ‘social tissue’ of deprived neighbourhoods’ (Lees, 2008: 2452).

In the USA urban renewal has been viewed by policy makers as a solution to the concentration of poverty in the inner-city neighbourhoods (Lees, 2008: 2454-2455). Hackworth and Smith describe the onset of gentrification in the USA in late 1973 prior to the economic recession that settled through the global economy (2000: 466). The inner-city neighbourhoods of New York and other major cities had also become devalorized, due to the middle-class residents moving out of the inner-city to the suburbs, resulting in property developers and investors taking advantage of the downturn in property values and thus consuming large portions of these neighbourhoods, setting the stage for gentrification to take its course in the 1980s (Hackworth & Smith, 2000: 466).

In the Netherlands, the government views the facilitation of a social mix of residents in inner-city neighbourhoods as a way of attracting higher-income residents, who will improve the tax-base, support local businesses and improve the governability of the city (Lees, 2008: 2455). The logic is that ‘well-educated, middle-class urbanites are less of a burden on social services and are likely to play an active part in neighbourhood revitalisations’ (Lees, 2008:

2455). A case study on Amsterdam by Huisman in her article, 'Displacement through Participation' (2013), found that state-led gentrification results in the conversion of affordable rental dwellings to higher quality owner-occupied apartments and free-market rentals in the hope that the middle-class can be attracted to the city (2013: 171).

Mark Davidson in his paper, 'Spoiled Mixture: Where Does State-led 'Positive' Gentrification end?', states that gentrification has been embraced by policy-makers as 'a potential urban renewal solution' (2008: 2387), as can be seen by the examples given of the governments of the UK, the USA and the Netherlands (Lees, 2008). Davidson reiterates the point made by Lees (2008) and that is that social mixing initiatives are introduced to address urban social problems by 'deconcentrating the poor and working-class communities through attracting the middle-classes back to the city' (2008: 2387). The pro-social-mix policies held by the governments of countries such as the UK, the USA and the Netherlands promise a 'win-win scenario', claiming that the low-income communities of neighbourhoods undergoing renewal will be the main beneficiaries of the policies, in reality what takes place is that many of the low-income households or individuals are displaced (Davidson, 2008: 2388) and that in fact the social-mixing which it is aimed at is limited or does not take place.

Gentrification is a phenomenon taking place in different countries, often under 'various guises, including 'renewal', 'reinvestment', 'revitalisation', 'renaissance' and more recently 'smart growth'' (Winkler, 2009: 365), which divert attention from the issue of the displacement of the poor which is characteristic of gentrification. Displacement is mainly achieved through rental and price increases; however, landlords have also been known to employ underhanded methods such as offering cash sums to tenants to vacate the premises, harassment, violence and intimidation, as well as eviction (Atkinson, 2000: 318). Those who are displaced are either left homeless, or have to buy or rent a different property; inevitably the displacee will have to move out of the area since it would be too expensive to remain (Atkinson, 2000: 318). Atkinson found that displacees are forced to rent or buy in any area which they could afford, or rent with others or live with family and friends if possible (2000: 319). Displacement is perpetuated in working-class or derelict neighbourhoods as price and rental increases are largely seen as acceptable or a tolerable form of exclusion in the wider community, as it appeals to a market logic of property relations which is commonly ascribed to (Atkinson, 2000: 319).

Gentrification has further consequences for the poorer marginalised people of any given neighbourhood, as it changes the social and geographical characteristics of the area. The need for various public services such as public transport and facilities like a public library and leisure facilities can be eroded by changes in consumption patterns as more middle-class residents settle in a working-class neighbourhood. This may serve as a 'self-serving legitimating for the loss of such public services' since the local authority can argue that these services are not needed anymore (Atkinson, 2000: 320). Gentrification has a negative impact on established shops and services in an area experiencing the phenomenon. As more wealthy residents move into a working-class area, the service infrastructure has to adapt to accommodate their needs, resulting in the replacement of older and original businesses previously catering to the needs of the working-class original resident (Atkinson, 2000: 321).

The resettlement of the middle-classes into working-class neighbourhoods has been seen as creating opportunities for social mixing. The extent of the social mixing between people from different classes, cultures and nationalities is a point of concern, however. Glass, through her observations, found that even though there was a coming together of different cultures, classes and nationalities, people still lived estranged from one another. She described it as a visible phenomenon, the 'conglomeration of groups who move, so to speak, on separate tracks, even if they do meet occasionally at a station' (Glass, 1964).

Lees also addresses the issue of the extent to which people from different classes, cultures and nationalities mix socially when living in the same neighbourhood (2008). According to Lees, cities which experience state-led gentrification are presented with the claim that difference and diversity are vital to the process of gentrification and to the creation of a more diverse and tolerant city (2008: 249). She states that even though there has been fierce academic debate about whether or not gentrification leads to 'displacement, segregation and social polarisation' (Lees, 2008: 249) it is continuously and increasingly promoted in policy circles as a solution which will lead to 'more socially mixed, less segregated, more liveable and sustainable communities' (Lees, 2008: 249). Lees questions whether social mixing by means of middle-income people moving into low-income inner-city neighbourhoods is a good thing and if indeed any social mixing is taking place between the different groups. While the process of gentrification is viewed as one which can bring people of different classes, cultural backgrounds and nationalities together, as Glass points out this is not

necessarily the case, and instead what may be happening is that people who live in the same neighbourhood only coexist and do not become socially more integrated.

2.2 Gentrification in South Africa

In South Africa, urban planners, private developers and government bodies have vigorously pursued a range of urban renewal programmes and projects since the beginning of the 1990s, in the fight against urban decay. This has resulted in property developers, urban planners and government bodies all engaging in urban renewal programmes and strategies (Visser, 2002; Davidson, 2008). In this section, a closer look will be taken at the literature on gentrification in South Africa, with a specific emphasis on Cape Town and Woodstock.

According to Visser & Kotze (2008: 2565), these developments were prompted by a range of urban processes including ‘accelerated decentralisation (in South Africa since the mid-1970s), ‘white flight’ from the inner-city areas (since the late 1980s), institutional capital disinvestment and the suburbanisation of high-order service functions (over the past three decades)’, all of which had contributed to the ‘physical decay that has come, until recently, to define South Africa’s central business districts (CBDs) and surrounding inner-city areas’ (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2565). Yet despite the affinities between processes of urban renewal in South African cities and the processes of gentrification that analysts were describing in other cities globally, in 2008 Visser & Kotze noted that the literature on gentrification in South Africa was largely absent. When they were writing only a small number of investigations had been undertaken on the topic of gentrification, including some addressing the changes that were by then already well under way in Woodstock, such as the studies by Garside (1993), Kotze (1996, 1998) and Kotze & van der Merwe (2000).

An important and detailed study on gentrification was undertaken by Kotze (1998), for his doctoral thesis. He focused on Woodstock, with the objective of developing a profile of gentrification which could be applied more widely across the city. His research identified two other neighbourhoods within the inner-city that were showing signs of gentrification, namely De Waterkant and Lower Gardens. Subsequently, the lower reaches of Bo-Kaap, sections of Green Point and the ‘Main Road’ corridor along Sea Point have all gentrified (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2571).

In post-apartheid Cape Town the process of gentrification first became publicly visible in the Bo-Kaap and was met with negativity from local coloured residents. Angry press releases described by Visser and Kotze (2008: 2569) reflect the anger they felt around the changes and the threat they posed to their community. For example, ‘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’. However, gentrification in the other areas of Cape Town, including Woodstock, which had already begun to set in towards the end of the 1980s, was not accompanied by visible signs of public protest.

The relative silence around gentrification in the South African literature must be understood within the context of the history of urban segregation and its impact on South African cities, and the transition to democracy in 1994. According to Visser and Kotze (2008: 2569), the primary focus of policy-makers and urban analysts has been on inner-city decline rather than gentrification (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2569). Of major concern here were developments in metropolitan Johannesburg, where a marked decline in its CBD was linked to capital flight, ‘much of it already emerging in the 1960s’ (Beavon, 2005, cited in Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2569), and the emergence of new development nodes on the city periphery.

However, these processes of inner-city decline also present the opportunity for the process of gentrification to emerge (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2570). In recent years, we can see a significant shift in the cycle of decline in South Africa’s inner-city areas. The introduction of city-centre improvement districts (CCIDs) and major infrastructure investment, including transport and conference facilities may be said to be responsible for the reversing of its inclination towards decay (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2586). Changes of this nature do not necessarily take place in an even manner, with Cape Town seen to have made the most progress in terms of changes to its physical urban landscape (Miraftab, 2007, as cited in Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2586).

In terms of all the significant redevelopments in the city of Cape Town and elsewhere in South Africa there is still much room for research on gentrification to be done. The fundamental point of gentrification literature is that the process implies displacement and exclusion of a lower class by a higher-class group (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2586). According to Visser and Kotze (2008: 2586), this ‘holds potential for engagement with South African cities both historically and in the present’. During the apartheid era forced-removals led

many to be displaced as poor working-class black and coloured residents were removed from the inner-city areas. It has even been interpreted that the apartheid forced-removals could be seen as a 'radicalized government-led form of gentrification' (McDonald, 2008 as cited in Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2586).

A typical example of this is the case of De Waterkant in Cape Town, which went through three phases of gentrification (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2586). First 'De Waterkant experienced an initial switch from Coloured working class to lower-middle-class White as a result of Group Areas Act forced removals' of the 1960s (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2586-2587). The second phase was characterised by 'middle class White gentrifiers' during the 1970s and 1980s followed by 'middle class gay gentrifiers' in the 1990s (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2587). The third phase takes place in the 2000s with the 'development of an increasingly super-gentrified area consisting of both local and international investors' (Rink, 2008 as cited in Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2587).

According to Visser and Kotze (2008), the recent developments in central-city districts of large South African cities present numerous opportunities for new gentrification processes to emerge as a central part of urban regeneration. They also argue that specific state interventions focused on inner-city regeneration underpin new forms of gentrification in South Africa. It will, therefore, be beneficial academically and nationally for more extensive research to be done on the process of gentrification in South African cities.

2.3 Gentrification in Woodstock

This section will discuss gentrification in relation to its occurrence in Woodstock, Cape Town. As already indicated in the Chapter 1, Woodstock can be seen to have experienced two phases of gentrification since the 1980s. This means that the history of gentrification in Woodstock cannot be understood as simply a result of post-apartheid social and economic forces.

2.2.1 The first phase of gentrification in Woodstock

This study works from the premise that three elements must be present in order for a process of urban renewal to be understood as one of gentrification. These are: one, a significant movement of middle-class people into a formerly predominantly or exclusively working-class neighbourhood; two, the renovation and redevelopment of properties in the neighbourhood, and three, there must be a process of displacement of the working-class residents from the area.

As already indicated, a gentrifying neighbourhood will experience an increase in rates, rentals and property prices as it becomes increasingly desirable for members of the middle class to reside and/or work there, and it experiences property renovations and investment in new businesses. This in turn results in financial pressure on the poorer working class residents of the neighbourhood and an increased likelihood of their being displaced, due to the growing unaffordability of their neighbourhood. The inner-city neighbourhood thus makes the transition from being an area of relative poverty, with limited property investment, to one in a state of commodification and reinvestment (Ley, 2003: 2527). Through gentrification, investors and developers create new urban spaces and promote a lifestyle within this formerly working-class neighbourhood in which middle-class people can live, work and enjoy leisure-time activities and entertainment. This process can be seen at work in Lower Woodstock in the present period, where the physical deterioration of selected commercial buildings and private residences is in the process of being reversed (Visser, 2008, as cited in Miller, 2010: 8) and the older public spaces are being renewed.

However, various studies of changes in Woodstock in the 1980s and early 1990s indicate that albeit unevenly, all three processes were already at work in this time, when Woodstock was able to hang on to its mixed-race character as already described in Chapter 1. The ‘first phase’ of gentrification in Woodstock can thus be located within the historical developments described in Chapter 1.

The first empirical research on gentrification in Cape Town came from the exploratory study by Garside (1993). According to this study, the inner-city neighbourhood of Woodstock was already changing in terms of its demographic profile in the 1980s, with working-class families being replaced by middle-class ones. Garside’s findings indicate that both Upper and

Lower Woodstock experienced displacement, and that both white and coloured working-class households were vulnerable to the changes taking place.

She found that during the late 1980s the trend of ‘invasion’ and ‘succession’ by middle-class families into working-class areas of Woodstock gained momentum (Garside, 1993: 33). With the declaration of Woodstock as an ‘open’ or ‘grey’ area in 1987, increasing numbers of more affluent people from the coloured community started to settle in Lower Woodstock (Visser, 2002: 421). Through her study Garside found that local home owners who began to notice the replacement of working-class renters with middle-class renters, started to redevelop their dilapidated terraced houses in order to secure higher rentals or selling prices. Thus according to her ‘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). Garside describes the process thus:

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 (1993: 33).

Unfortunately I have been unable to find information on what happened to those individuals who were displaced. The lack of data on displacees is not unusual; Atkinson found that displacement research suffered from a lack of information about where people end up (2000: 319).

During the 1980s, Garside observed that creative entrepreneurs started making Woodstock their home:

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 were markedly different to the bland uniformity of much of suburban Cape Town (1993: 33).

Wenz (2012: 23) concurs with Garside that the initial cycle of gentrification in Woodstock was brought about by the desire of individual artists and cultural practitioners to make the area their home and attributes the first phase of gentrification in Woodstock to the inherent predisposition of the new middle-class residents towards gentrification: rather than ‘the transformation [being] triggered by any top-down political intervention’ it ‘was based on the individual location decisions of artists and cultural practitioners’. Wenz also agrees with Garside’s findings that the desegregation of the neighbourhood led to the increase of affluent coloured families making Woodstock their home. The fact that Woodstock was declared a ‘grey area’ or ‘open area’ and is situated more or less three kilometres from the CBD of Cape Town, served as mechanism to spur gentrification on the area.

Visser (2002) also studied the gentrification process in Woodstock, and found that since the 1980s ‘white flight’ from the inner-city area had taken place. As this was still during the apartheid years this movement could have been caused by the designation of Woodstock as a free settlement area, which, as said before, led to an increase in affluent coloured families moving into the area.

Besides white flight from the inner city, other factors such as institutional capital disinvestment had contributed to the physical decay of these areas (Visser, 2002: 419). By the 1980s Woodstock was a physically deteriorating neighbourhood, as a result of the closing down of important light industries such as the Baumanns and Pyotts Biscuit factories in the 1940s. By the 1990s the forces of globalisation had also taken their toll, as competition from Asian textile imports led to the closing of many industries in Woodstock. These factories had contributed greatly to the economic life of the area and with their closing both economic and physical decline set in. The factories were, for the most part, left empty and unused, causing the neighbourhood to deteriorate physically while local sources of employment were also removed. As people lost their jobs, and once thriving factories and work spaces began to decay, the degradation of the neighbourhood set in (Wenz, 2012).

Mammon (2003) found that drug abuse, gangsterism and vandalism further escalated as tangible effects of the negative situation the area of Woodstock found itself in. The increasing poverty levels in Woodstock became evident and visible in the increase in street living and vagrancy in the area (Mammon, 2003). As some of the commercial and industrial spaces in Woodstock were left empty, vagrants would take to them and make those spaces their home and this rapidly became crime hotspots primarily centred along Albert Road (NM and

Associates, 2002). Other vagrants were forced to become squatters, setting up backyard shacks adjacent to formal housing.

However, after the democratic elections in 1994 fresh investment started to flow into the country once again, and the property sector started to slowly recognise the potential of Woodstock as a dilapidated neighbourhood to be upgraded (Wenz, 2012: 23). Kotze and Van der Merwe found that by 1995 32% of Woodstock's properties had already undergone renovation (2000). Thus the second phase of gentrification in Woodstock had begun.

2.2.2 The second phase of gentrification in Woodstock

The second phase of gentrification in the area of Woodstock can be placed in the post-apartheid period, after 1994. As indicated above, by the end of the 1980s certain pockets of the neighbourhood had experienced renovations, upgrading and rejuvenation while others were dilapidated and providing evidence of urban decay. The pace of gentrification has gathered momentum and speed in the last decade., especially in the vicinity of Albert Road which is now home to new and up-market commercial developments such as The Old Biscuit Mill, The Bromwell, The Woodstock Exchange, and The Woodstock Foundry to name a few. The last decade has also seen an increase in the conversion of commercial properties into apartment blocks. Along with this has gone a substantial growth in businesses such as restaurants, clothing, furniture and 'lifestyle' stores, markets, comedy clubs and night clubs, all housed in previously dilapidated and forgotten buildings and aimed at attracting the young and upwardly mobile residents of the city of Cape Town.

Until relatively recently its resident population comprised mostly people classified as coloured under apartheid, the majority of them working class. In recent years, however, foreigners from other parts of Africa have also begun to settle in the suburb, including both legal and illegal migrants. The inner-city also offers much diversity in terms of race groups and culture, and this makes it a safe and attractive place for migrants from other parts of Africa to settle in.

Over the course of the 1990s and 2000s a trend emerged whereby middle-class professionals realised the enormous benefits of living in the suburb of Woodstock (Du Plessis, 2012: 6). The redevelopment of property in the inner-city of Cape Town feeds into the efforts to raise urban population densities (Turok, 2011: 470). It is argued that higher urban densities can

support more productive economies and more vibrant and inclusive communities by bringing people and firms into closer proximity, thereby improving the opportunities for social interaction and exchange of ideas (Turok, 2011: 470). According to the Regeneration Programme of the City of Cape Town (CoCT) city-wide densification is an objective, and viewed as 'necessary to support more compact, transit-orientated mixed use developments' (Department of Transport and Public Works, 2010: 6). Urban integration and densification have been identified as government objectives since 1994; however, South African cities average population density is low by international standards (Turok, 2011: 471).

According to Turok this is partly related to the legacy of apartheid rule, where the masses of the city were forced to live on the peripheries and not in the city centre (2011). Currently in Cape Town it can be seen that there is renewed interest in counteracting its sprawling built form, and to prioritise densification in the city (Turok, 2011: 470). Residents, however, may fear densification as it implies overcrowding and noisy tenants. Turok argues that densification is a means towards wider ends, with benefits of convenience, connectivity and social vitality (2011: 472). He also argues that with sensitive urban planning and management, increasing densification in the city centre and inner-city neighbourhoods will lead to improvement in housing choices, amenities, employment and public services (2011: 472). The state is highly invested in increasing densification in its city as South Africa's population pressure, resource constraints and looming environmental concerns also warrant serious consideration of property consolidation and redevelopment in inner-urban areas (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2008; Turok, 2011: 473). Therefore, Turok states that residential densities may fall where low-income households are replaced by higher-income groups that are able to afford more space (2011: 473; Pirie, 2007). According to Pirie, inner-city gentrification is occurring in Cape Town's Bo-Kaap and Woodstock districts, and the efforts made towards densification may 'unwittingly' encourage it (2007). If the issue of gentrification is ignored by the central city upgrading policy, the process will be extended and accelerated, resulting in the displacement of poorer residents and marginal firms (Turok, 2011: 473).

Capital reinvestment is a necessity in economically stressed inner city neighbourhoods, and therefore the drafting and implementation of urban policies that actively seek to bring about economic regeneration in the city centres occurs (Winkler, 2009: 363). However, contemporary regeneration practices and policies tend to focus on making cities more 'economically competitive while bypassing issues of social and spatial justice in

neighbourhoods earmarked for rejuvenation’ (Winkler, 2009: 363). According to Winkler these practices and policies entail the employment of urban planning frameworks that suggest that unemployment, shrinking opportunities, social exclusion, and inner city hardships are a thing of the past (Winkler, 2009: 363). What is seen in the city is the rising up of ‘street-level spectacles, trendy bars and cafes, social diversity and funky clothing outlets’, as these are deemed necessary for regeneration (Winkler, 2009: 363). Municipalities hope to ‘attract investors, higher income households, the ‘creative class’, and tourists to occupy the cafes, galleries, sidewalks, and rehabilitated residential stock of formerly disinvested neighbourhoods once lacking ‘creativity’ (Winkler, 2009: 363).

As already noted, in 2004 the National Treasury rezoned large parts of Woodstock as Urban Development Zones (UDZ) (National Treasury, 2004) and implemented the National Treasury tax incentives programme to ‘encourage the refurbishment and construction of commercial and residential property in inner-city areas’ (National Treasury, 2004). The UDZ allows businesses which fall within its area to benefit from significant tax savings for building developments which fall into specific categories set by the UDZ (The City of Cape Town, 2014).

In 2005 the Woodstock Improvement District (WID) was established by the Cape Town City Council (Woodstock Improvement District, 2014). The WID is interested in restoring the area of Woodstock to its rightful place as a desirable place to live, work and play in (Woodstock Improvement District, 2014). The WID is funded entirely by levies on industrial and commercial property owners, and has expanded its initial mandate of cleaning and greening to include social upliftment activities in the area (Woodstock Improvement District, 2014). The WID serves as a mechanism to create a safer environment in Woodstock, by being visible and ‘cleaning up’ the streets. The WID have trailers which are placed at strategic points on the main roads of Woodstock, with security guards manning them. These trailers provide visitors with information, assistance, and give them a sense of security. The assumption of this study is that the knowledge that WID is available and present, sets visitors at ease, and makes them feel safer.

In 2005 The Old Biscuit Mill was established, and what was previously a Pyotts Biscuit factory, was transformed into a ‘creative centre housing a mixture of businesses such as studios, offices, retail spaces, restaurants and its popular food market’ (Wenz, 2012: 24). Since then, many other businesses have appeared all along Albert Road and Victory Road,

such as The Woodstock Foundry, Salt Circle, The Woodstock Exchange and the Palms Centre described in Chapter 1. There are many designer retail stores, restaurants, art galleries and high-end antique furniture stores which have also come to settle into Woodstock, making it the ‘creative-hub’ of the city. The Old Biscuit Mill was one of the catalysts for economic change in the area, as investors saw the potential in Woodstock and that the Old Biscuit Mill was a success, investments increased.

The residential component of Lower Woodstock is not undergoing as dramatic a change as is visible with regard to the commercial make-up of the area; however, long-term residents have been displaced out of the area through evictions, the properties sold for redevelopment. The natural progression of gentrification is the displacement of the working class population of the area undergoing redevelopment. In Lower Woodstock we see the less savoury streets being cleaned up for redevelopment mainly by the design and creative sector. There is an increase in the creation of gated communities in Lower Woodstock with high rise walls, gates and parking areas. According to gentrification, with the creation of these ‘enclaves of wealth’, property taxes will increase resulting in the poor being evicted or forced to sell their homes.

A decade since the area of Lower Woodstock has experienced an increase in urban renewal processes, it is acknowledged that a significant shift has been made in the cycle of decline in the area. The City-Centre Improvement Districts (CCIDs) and other major infrastructure investments, as can be seen in Lower Woodstock has helped to divert the course of the area away from decline and decay (Visser & Kotze, 2008: 2586) towards one of economic and social transformation and renewal. Currently, there is an increased interest in the area of Woodstock by members of the middle-class, in terms of entertainment, work spaces, housing and business opportunity. When one walks down Albert Road today, there is much to observe, as many physical changes have taken place. What was once a derelict and uninspiring main road has been little by little transformed into a high-end creative hub of Cape Town, as its promoters now like to describe it. Many of the previously vacant, dilapidated, abandoned or simply old spaces on the main road have been renovated and renewed. There are still traces of the past with cafés, take away shops and taverns peeking out between the renewed spaces. In addition to the commercial renewal taking place, some industrial spaces have been converted into apartment blocks and other residential spaces have been renovated; these spaces have attracted the middle-classes to move into the area.

Through an increase of the middle-class in the area of Lower Woodstock, it can be seen that the social and physical characteristics of the area have changed. However, while the displacement of residents has taken place in Lower Woodstock, according to one of my key informants large-scale displacement is still to take place (Ward Councillor, personal interview, 2013). The changes taking place in Lower Woodstock are currently predominately commercial and thus may lead to the economic exclusion of the poor from these activities.

Many developers regard urban renewal as a positive process, leading to social, economic and physical improvements in a community. The findings made by Kotze and Van der Merwe indicate that the shabby and modest houses, old dilapidated and abandoned buildings, and undesired and visually unappealing businesses were increasingly being upgraded. At the same time, the renewal of the area has also brought many challenges for its long-term residents, many of whom are poor and working-class and are struggling to retain their ties to the area. Residents who are not property owners are particularly vulnerable and at risk of displacement as they do not have the security of home ownership and may be priced out of their accommodation by landlords wishing to sell the properties or hiking rentals.

My study is aimed at exploring the views and experience of this group of people struggling to hold onto their homes and sense of community in the face of the major changes taking place around them. Chapter 4 explores this important but neglected part of the story of inner-city urban renewal.

Chapter 3

Methodology

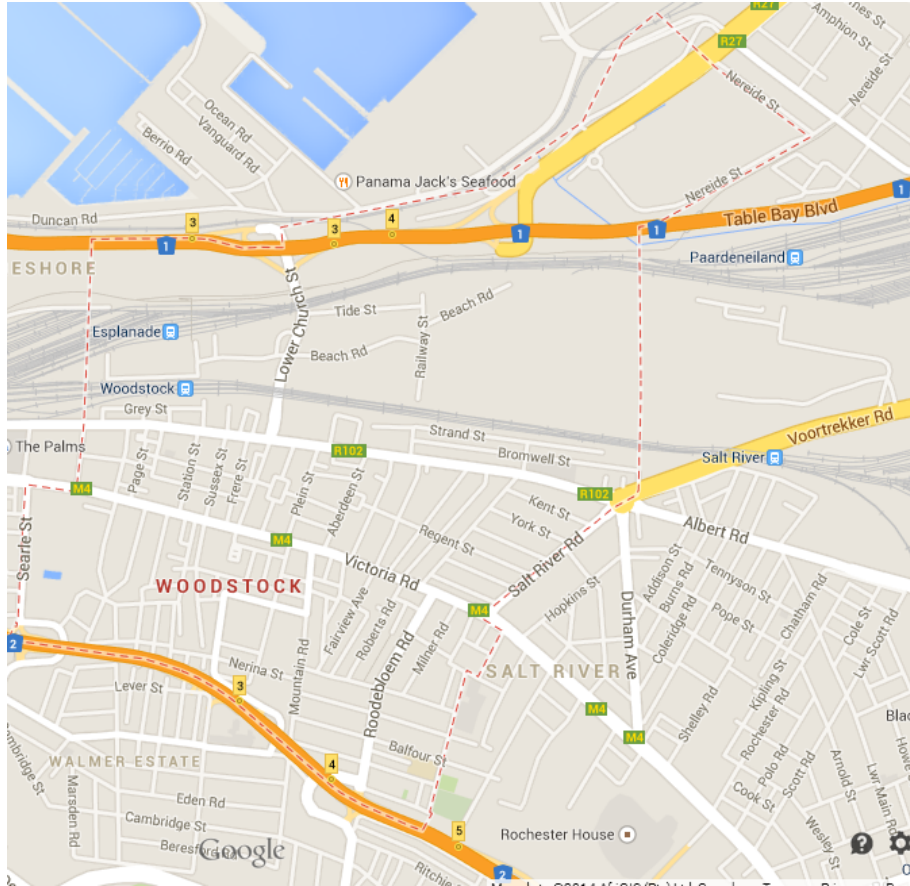


Figure 1: Map of Woodstock (Google Maps, 2014))

'We as [the] Woodstock area, we don't want to be identified as a drug den... We want to walk in our neighbourhood freely, and have an assurance that people can walk around in our neighbourhood without fearing anything. And we want a good healthy environment for our people.'

(Randall, resident for 40 years, 2013)

In the following chapter I discuss the methodology I have deployed to answer my research questions. As already noted, I utilised qualitative research methods and in this chapter I first motivate my use of a qualitative research design. I then describe my research site in some detail before describing my research methods and discussing details of my informants and how I selected them for this study. I then describe my process of data analysis and reflect on the limitations of my study by considering what my original intentions were with regards to fieldwork and what I was actually able to achieve. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the ethical considerations associated with my study.

3.1 Motivation for a qualitative research methodology

Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 3) define qualitative research as the study ‘of things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them’. They further define qualitative research as ‘a situated activity that locates the observer in the world’:

Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos on the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world (2011: 3).

I considered this approach most appropriate for this study as through it I am attempting to make sense of the impact that the phenomenon of gentrification in Woodstock is having on the long-term residents of the neighbourhood and the meanings they are creating concerning the urban changes taking place around them.

Through my study I have developed a series of representations of Lower Woodstock that attempt to capture the processes of gentrification in the area and give voice to the viewpoints of the long-term residents on their experience of and feelings about this phenomenon and the changes it is bringing to their neighbourhood. My primary ‘interpretive practice’ has taken the form of open-ended interviews with selected respondents but I have also relied on observation and informal conversations with people in the area regarding the changes taking

place, which I have captured by making notes of my experiences in my field journal. As part of my observation practice, I also used photography to capture daily scenes and the changes in buildings and streetscapes that I describe in this text. In addition I have relied on secondary research to inform my understanding of gentrification in the area, through my engagement with the scholarly literature on gentrification in Woodstock and South Africa more generally, as well as on the historical background of the neighbourhood. I have supplemented this literature with documentary analysis, here looking at local and national government policies and plans. These include The Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework, (NM & Associates Planners and Designers, 2001); The Integrated Development Plan (City of Cape Town, 2013); The Table Bay District Plan (The City of Cape Town, 2011); and The Fringe Draft Urban Design Framework (Briggs, 2012).

An alternative approach to researching residents' viewpoints could have been to undertake a survey, thereby deploying a quantitative methodology. However, according to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 263) a survey can seldom deal with the full context of social life, and the survey researcher rarely develops a feeling for the total life of the respondent. Since I wanted to understand the context in which the respondents were living, observe them in their natural environment, and hear their personal narratives, I determined that a survey would not be the most effective approach to adopt. Another approach that could have been employed is the mixed methods approach, in which the researcher uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods; such an approach could yield important information regarding demographics, family history and property values by means of a survey while also eliciting the opinions of respondents from more qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews and observation. However, due to logistical and time constraints during my fieldwork, I decided to rely on a suite of qualitative research methods only.

A further important advantage of a qualitative research methodology is that it also provides flexibility inasmuch as the initial research design can be adapted as the researcher discovers new issues in the study site. For these reasons I determined that a qualitative research methodology was best suited for this study, and developed my research methods accordingly. These are discussed in more detail in section 3 below, after the description of my research site.

3.2 Selection and description of study site

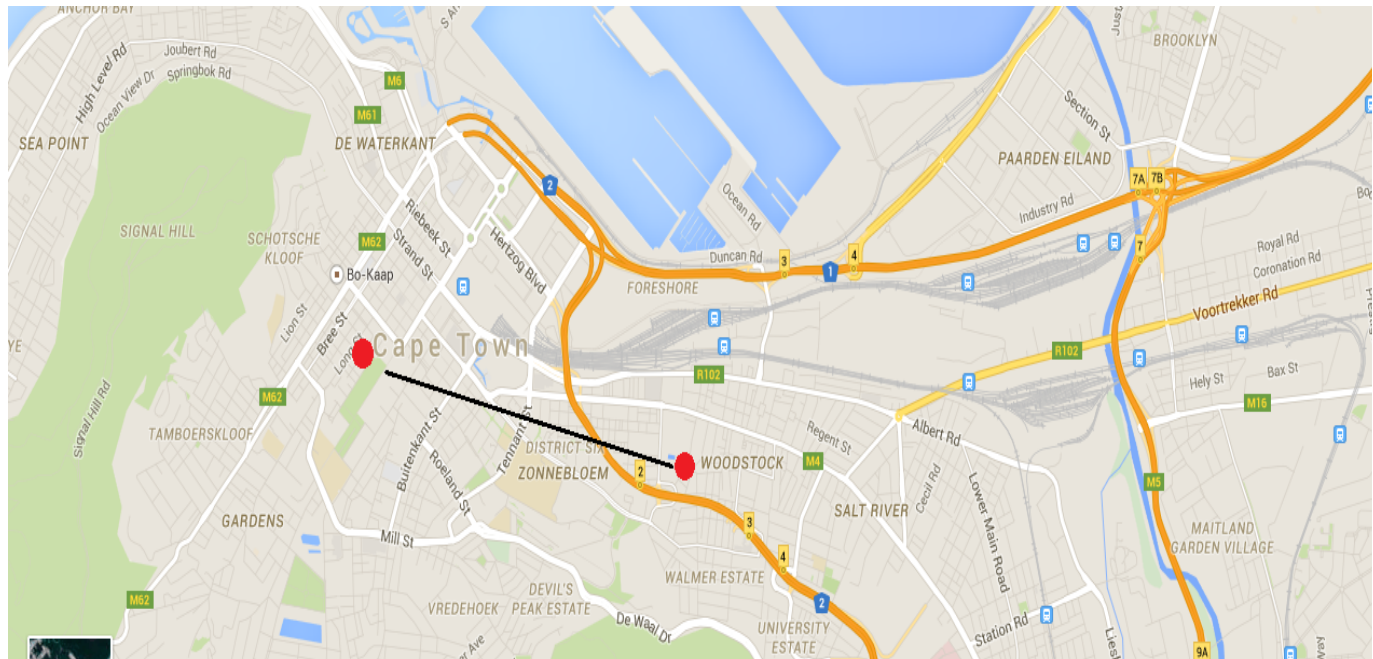


Figure 2: Map showing Woodstock in relation to the CBD of Cape Town (Google Maps, 2014).

3.2.1 Selection of study site within Lower Woodstock

Woodstock is situated roughly 3 km from the City of Cape Town, and sits at the foot of Table Mountain. The area is made up of both residential and commercial properties. The area is divided into two sub areas, known as Lower and Upper Woodstock respectively, based on the topography of the lower slopes of Devil's Peak. Lower Woodstock is the more industrialised sector of the neighbourhood. It is also residential, with the majority of its residents belonging to the social group classified as coloured under apartheid's Population Registration Act of 1950. Upper Woodstock is primarily residential with a number of older, Victorian-style houses. Historically, this part of Woodstock was predominantly occupied by white residents. Until the 1990s Woodstock was the centre of a clothing and textile industry and accommodated many factories and warehouses located mainly in Lower Woodstock. Due to the economic downturn in the 1990s these factories and warehouses were closed down and left unoccupied (Briggs, 2012). These unoccupied spaces become increasingly dilapidated and inhabited by homeless people, which was seen to contribute to an increase in crime in the

area (Briggs, 2012). These spaces also become the sites of regeneration and gentrification in Woodstock.

The residential component of my respondents was drawn from Lower Woodstock (see Figure 3 below), from a part of Woodstock that is situated between Victoria Road and Albert Road. I selected this site for my study as the urban renewal processes are highly visible here, and the residents living in this area live in close proximity to the spaces which are being regenerated

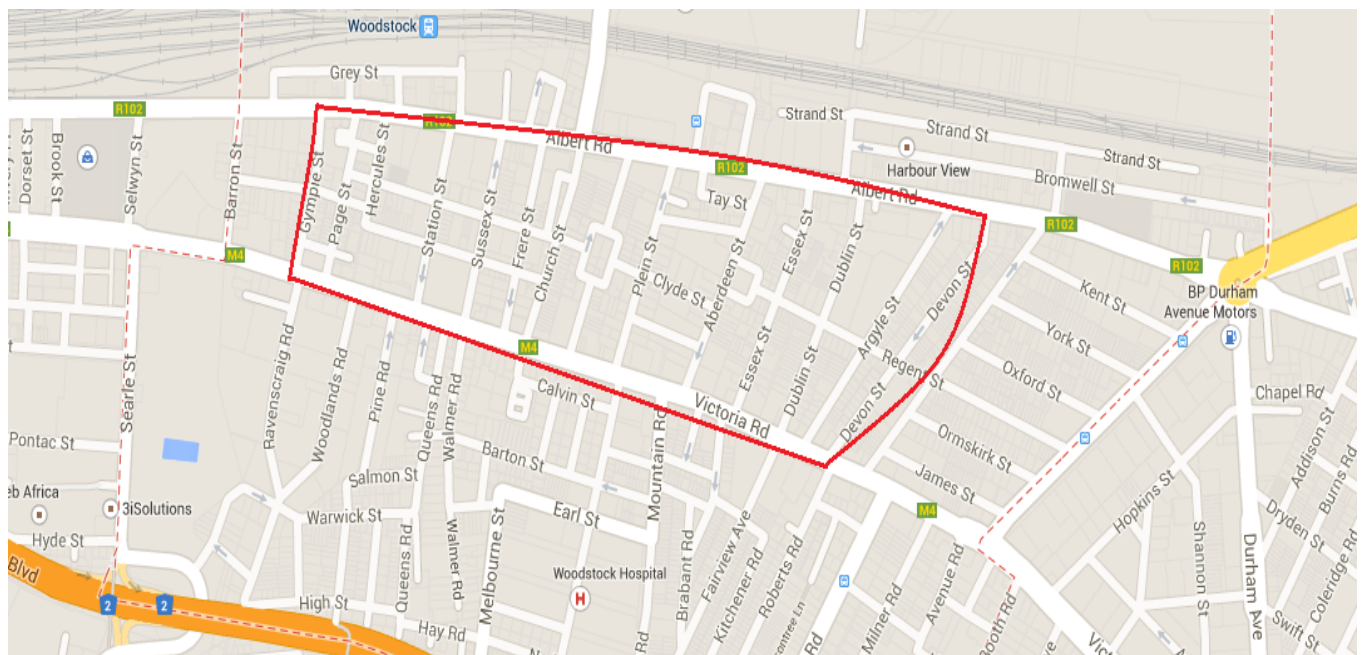


Figure 3: Map of Lower Woodstock showing fieldwork area (Google Maps, 2014).

As already noted, the primary focus of this study is the long-term residents of Lower Woodstock and I defined long-term residents as those who have been living in the area for seven or more years. I chose to focus on the long-term residents of Lower Woodstock as I anticipated that they would be likely to be the most affected by the urban changes taking place and its impact on property values and neighbourhood characteristics. Even though the focus of my study was on long-term residents of Lower Woodstock, I also wanted to interview newer residents, to gain insight into their perspectives. In the event, I found it difficult to access newer residents, and ended up being able to interview only one, a white male architect.

Within Lower Woodstock I then selected certain streets from which to select my sample of residents for interviewing. These were Albert Road, Victoria Road, Greatmore Street,

Aberdeen Street, Plein Street, Church Street, Cavendish Square and Cavendish Street, Williams Street, Cornwall Street and Gympie Street. Each street was selected intentionally, as they are all either in close proximity to the urban changes taking place, or themselves the locus of urban changes.

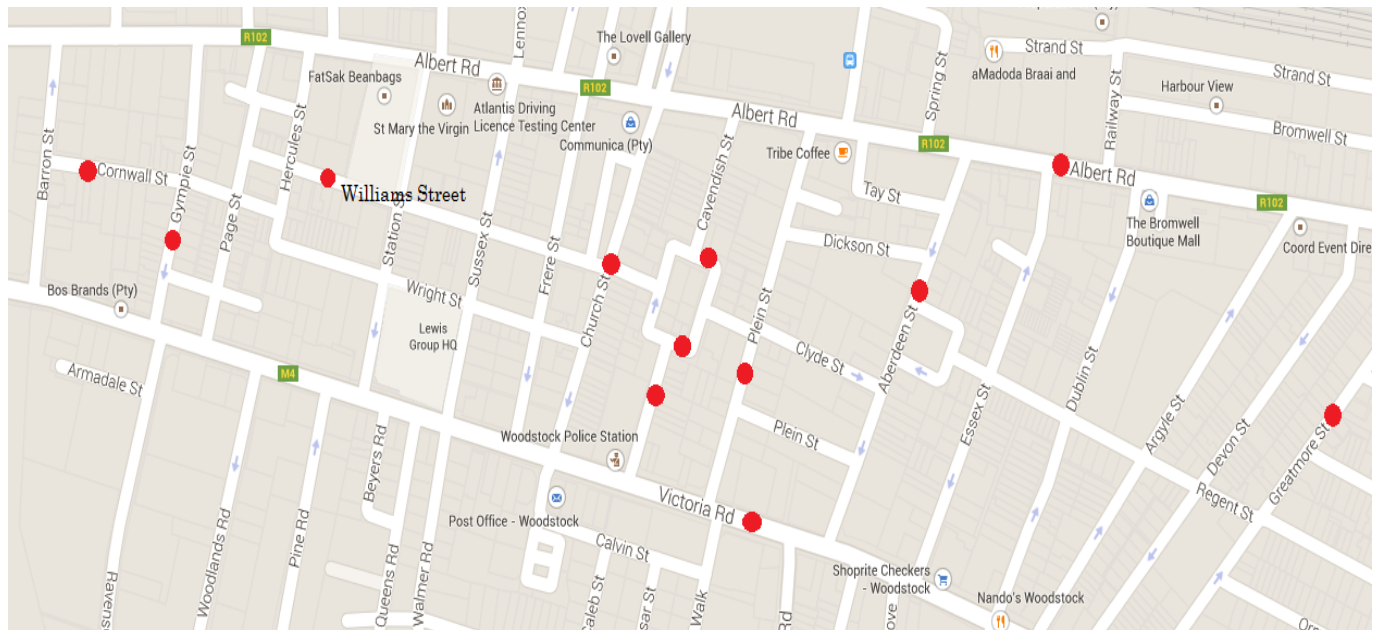


Figure 4: Map of Lower Woodstock; red dots mark streets where interviews with residents took place (Google Maps, 2014)

3.2.2 Descriptive overview of study site

Albert Road, also known as the Lower Main Road of Woodstock, is home to both commercial and residential properties. Albert Road runs into Newmarket Street which then becomes Strand Street continuing into the city centre of Cape Town. During the week Albert Road is filled with a constant flow of traffic and pedestrians going to and from various places of work. Albert Road is diverse in the businesses it houses. For the past decade many changes have taken place, with this main road of Woodstock lying at the epicentre of these changes as the former industrialised part of Woodstock has slowly been transformed into a mixture of cafés, grocers, liquor stores, taverns, churches, art galleries, second hand furniture stores, upmarket designer furniture stores, upmarket restaurants, coffee shops and boutique clothing stores. There have been many developments and conversions of buildings on Albert Road, but there are four noteworthy commercial developments: the transformation of the former Pyotts biscuit factory into the Old Biscuit Mill, as well as The Bromwell Boutique Mall, The Woodstock Foundry and The Woodstock Exchange.

The Old Biscuit Mill is located at the end of Albert Road, close to the Salt River Circle. On entering the site one is greeted by a sign painted on the wall, 'The Old Biscuit Mill', and peering out from behind the wall is the Mill itself. The developers have kept some of the original signage on the walls of the buildings, which gives one a sense of the past, and adds character to the place; since it is called 'The Old Biscuit Mill' these signs of the past are appropriate as there has to be some 'old' with the new. The Old Biscuit Mill is made up of a variety Saturdays. The entire place is bursting with creativity and exudes a designer flare. It styles itself as both 'retro' and modern, rustic but chic. It has an industrial and engineered feel with nature woven in-between the hard lines of the urban space in which it stands. The Old Biscuit Mill markets itself as being about art, food, wine and socialisation, and is known by the outside world as a 'hub of creativity' to which designers flock. At The Old Biscuit Mill their brands make sense, and most importantly, their work sells.

On a Saturday, when entering the Mill one is transported into another world, far removed from the hustle and the bustle of the main road. From my observation the people who come to the Mill are diverse in race and gender but generally upper middle class. One will see chic and cosmopolitan young people pulling up in their mini-coopers and BMWs, coming to eat street food and drink cocktails while sitting outside on barrels of hay or pressed in like sardines at the tables inside the stores; one will also see older people strolling around and browsing the stores before heading off to one of the restaurants for a glass of wine and lunch. The Old Biscuit Mill markets itself as child-friendly and one will also find many families enjoying all it has to offer. In addition The Old Biscuit Mill does not suffer from a shortage of tourists, the chatter of foreign languages is a norm in this place and the prices of some of the goods on sale are geared at the tourist market.

The Old Biscuit Mill is a success economically, and the risk taken by the developers in transforming this once unused and abandoned biscuit mill into what it is today has paid off financially. However, this development and all it represents stands in the midst of poverty, and its fortified façade and the high walls surrounding it separate it from the reality surrounding it. On a Saturday, the visitors to The Old Biscuit Mill are inundated by requests for money by little children dancing and singing, by mothers with their babies on their hips and by unemployed individuals serving as car guards directing them to parking bays. The juxtaposition of poverty and wealth is remarkable, as shown in the sequence of photographs that follow in this chapter, that that I took as part of my observations of my study area. One may be left with a gnawing at ones conscience as one enters through the booms into the site.



Photograph 10: The Old Biscuit Mill (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 11: The original signage of The Old Biscuit Mill (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 12: Children singing and dancing for money in front of the Mill (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 13: A mother with her child begging in front of the Mill (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 14: Inside the Neighbourgoods Market (Carls, 2015)

Another significant development, the former Bromwell Hotel, is situated on the corner of Albert Road and Dublin Street. It was redeveloped into the Bromwell Boutique Mall in 2008 by a Woodstock-based company. The Bromwell Boutique Mall makes a bold statement on Albert Road, as it stands tall amongst the other buildings, painted in a deep maroon, with large windows displaying designer clothes or pieces of art. When entering it one is greeted by hosts clothed in formal attire, complete with top hats. Inside, the air is filled with the aroma of coffee and baked goods from the Bread Café; and since it is a boutique mall the Bromwell is packed with art pieces, antique designer furniture and designer clothes.



Photograph 15: The Bromwell Boutique Mall and Bread Café (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 16: The front entrance to the Bromwell Boutique Mall (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 17: Bread Café's outside terrace (Carls, 2015)

A third historic old building has been redeveloped by Cape Living Developments, in collaboration with local artists, into a combined studio and retail space known as The Woodstock Foundry (The Woodstock Foundry, 2015). It beautifies the corner of Albert Road and Plein Street with its dark grey façade and glass windows which allow passers-by a peek into what is happening on the inside. There is a boutique hair salon, a designer stationary store and artistic studios working on various projects. It is also home to The Fat Cactus, a Mexican restaurant and bar with a lively atmosphere which draws crowds till late hours. On the inside of The Woodstock Foundry is a courtyard with cobbled stone paving and wooden benches creating a rustic and old-world atmosphere, where customers can enjoy a drink away from the busy main road.



Photograph 18: The Woodstock Foundry (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 19: Outside the Woodstock Foundry (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 20: The Fat Cactus at The Woodstock Foundry (Carls, 2015)

The last major development to note is The Woodstock Exchange, situated next to Saint Mary's Anglican Church on Albert Road. It was opened in 2011 and is described as an 'award winning and affordable work space' (The Woodstock Exchange, 2015). It is home to coffee shops and cafés, all of which have a constant flow of customers, coming for lunch, working on their laptops or having a business meeting. There are also designer stores selling clothing, shoes and bags. Upon entering The Woodstock Exchange one is greeted by Vespa scooters to reinforce the urban feeling one gets when visiting the Exchange.



Photograph 21: The Woodstock Exchange on Albert Road (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 22: The Woodstock Exchange (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 23: Scooters parked in front of coffee shop at The Woodstock Exchange (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 24: Entrance to The Woodstock Exchange (Carls, 2015)

The above four developments are surrounded by a number of smaller developments along Albert Road. However, even though many of the properties have been transformed from their original state, there are still business which have existed in Lower Woodstock for many years, including a tavern and a number of small cafés and grocery shops, some of which are owned by long-term residents of Lower Woodstock. There is also a row of six semi-detached houses positioned opposite The Bromwell Boutique Mall, which are the only residential properties on Albert Road. Each semi is distinguished from the next by the colour of the house, and the sidewalk serves as their front yard.



Photograph 25 and 26 above: Semi-detached houses on Albert Road (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 27: Synagogue converted into an art gallery (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 28: 'Essop's Stores', a café and grocer on Albert Road (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 29: A row of new and old businesses (Carls, 2015)

Greatmore Street is directly off Albert Road and is closely located to The Old Biscuit Mill. It is made up of semi-detached houses. Most have a porch in front and are surrounded by a wall and gate opening up onto the sidewalk. The houses on Greatmore Street are well taken care of and only in need of minor renovations such as a coat of paint and general maintenance to the house. On Greatmore Street most of the houses do not have garages and residents with cars have to rely on street parking in front of their homes. It is a quiet street with not much activity during the week; however, on a Saturday it becomes a parking lot for the visitors to The Old Biscuit Mill, because of its close proximity to it.

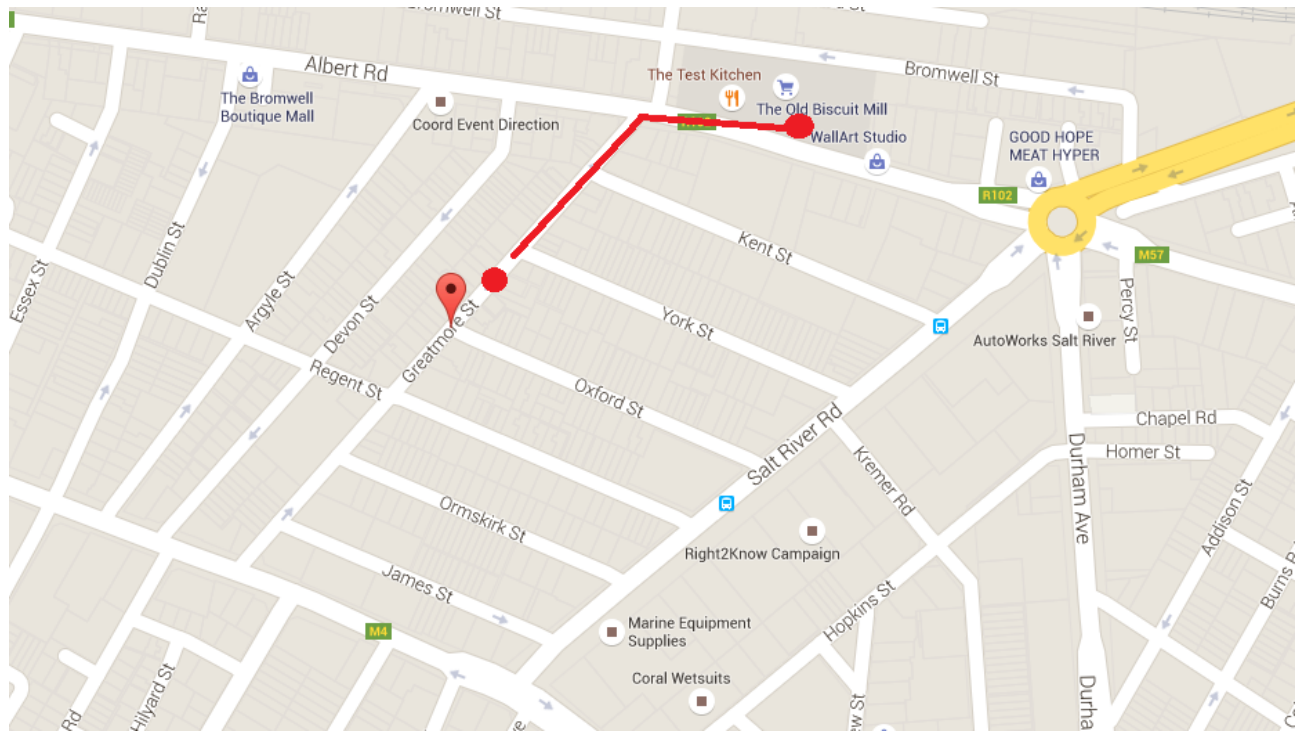


Figure 5: Greatmore Street in relation to the Old Biscuit Mill (Google Maps, 2015).

Aberdeen Street is also off Albert Road and is also made up of semi-detached houses. It is surrounded by two churches which are both protected heritage sites of Lower Woodstock. Aberdeen Street connects Lower Main Road with the Upper Main Road and is often busy during the week with both cars and pedestrians.

The next street is Plein Street, which runs directly off Albert Road and connects with Victoria Road or Upper Main Road. Plein Street is home to the Woodstock Town Hall as well as a park which provides a recreational space for the children of the neighbourhood. The houses on Plein Street are large semi-detached and free-standing houses. The semi-detached houses have a porch surrounded by a wall and gate opening up onto the sidewalk. These houses also do not have garages and residents have to make use of the street for parking purposes. There is one free-standing house on Plein Street, with a larger size plot than the other houses. On the corner of Plein Street and Albert Road is a petrol station and on the other corner is The Woodstock Foundry. Both the petrol station and The Woodstock Foundry create a lot of activity during the day as well as at night.



Photograph 30: The park on Plein Street (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 31: Free-standing houses on Plein Street (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 32: Semi-detached house on Plein Street (Carls, 2015)

Cavendish Square and Cavendish Street were also selected for this study. Cavendish Square is, as its name indicates, a square leading into Cavendish Street which leads to Victoria Road. The square is marked by mostly semi-detached houses, but there are three larger free-standing properties bordering it as well. The semi-detached houses are both single and double storeys. The single story semi-detached houses vary in appearance as some have porches and gates, while others do not, with their front doors simply opening up onto the sidewalk. The double storey semi-detached homes do not have porches and their front doors open up directly onto the sidewalk. The four free-standing properties differ in size as well as appearance. The first is a single storey house with a large porch and a gate. There are two free-standing double storey houses, similar in appearance, both with a front yard and garden as well as porch and wall and a gate opening up onto the sidewalk. These two houses resemble the houses of Upper Woodstock and seem out of place in Lower Woodstock.

Cavendish Street is a very short street with only a row of five or six semi-detached houses on the one side, all with porches and gates leading onto the sidewalk. On the opposite side of the street are the Woodstock Police Station and an empty plot which displays the broken-down walls of a former property and also has a fence surrounding it. None of the homes on this street have garages and residents also have to rely on the street for parking. The houses are generally well-maintained by their owners, with only minor renovations needed. There is

only one property which has been completely renovated, both on the outside as well as on the inside.



Photograph 33: Houses on Cavendish Square (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 34: House on Cavendish Square (Carls, 2015)

Williams Street runs parallel to Albert Road and Victoria Road, and intersects a number of streets in Lower Woodstock. Some parts of Williams Street are better taken care of while other parts are more run down. I visited both parts of Williams Street and found that in the

better-maintained part, the semi-detached houses were bigger and only had general maintenance requirements. The houses in this part were both single and double storey houses, with porches and gates opening up onto the sidewalk. The houses on Williams Street also do not have garages so here too the street is the main source of parking for residents. The part of Williams Street that can be described as ‘run down’ had only single storey semi-detached houses, some with porches and a gate opening onto the sidewalk, and others without a porch and the front door opening onto the sidewalk. The houses in this part of Williams Street appeared to require more than general maintenance. There is graffiti and street art on the walls of the houses on this part of Williams Street.



Photograph 35: View of Williams Street (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 36: Single storey houses on Williams Street (Carls, 2015)

The next street in my study site is Gympie Street, which, according to the residents I interviewed, was previously a notorious street for drugs and gangsterism. Gympie Street connects Albert Road with Victoria Road and does not carry much traffic. The houses are all semi-detached, but vary in appearance. On the one side are single-storey semi-detached houses with porches and a space for a gate opening onto the sidewalk. Some are renovated while others need general maintenance. On the opposite side there are double storey semi-detached houses; in some cases these houses are sub-divided with separate tenants living at the bottom and the top. These properties have been renovated and painted different colours reminiscent of houses in the Bo-Kaap in Cape Town.



Photograph 37: Houses on Gympie Street (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 38: View of Gympie Street (Carls, 2015)

The second last street in my site is Cornwall Street, which intersects with Gympie Street and is also a street deemed ‘dangerous’ by some respondents to this study. On the one side of Cornwall Street there is a mixture of semi-detached single storey houses and free-standing houses. The semi-detached houses each have a porch with a gate opening up onto the sidewalk. However the free-standing houses do not and the front doors open up onto the street. On the opposite side of the street there is a vibracrete wall topped with barbed wire surrounding a property which formerly housed derelict double storey semi-detached houses which were demolished in 2012.



Photograph 39: Vibracrete wall surrounding property on Cornwall Street where derelict houses once stood (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 40: The site where houses demolished in 2012 once stood on Cornwall Street (Carls, 2015)

Lastly, Victoria Road, otherwise known as Upper Main Road, is one of the main commercial roads of Woodstock. Victoria Road has a constant flow of traffic and pedestrians, with busses and taxis picking people up and dropping them off. Located along the street are several old factories and stores which have closed down, some of which have subsequently been converted into apartment blocks, and rented out to other institutions and businesses. There are

also franchise restaurants and take-out eateries as well as franchise grocery stores. Sprinkled among them are small businesses such as second-hand clothing and furniture stores, designer shops as well as new upmarket cafés and restaurants. Victoria Road is also home to doctors' offices, various take-away shops and grocers, as well as liquor stores and nightclubs. The conversion of the spaces on Victoria Road is significant as it has created new spaces for recreation and contributed to the economic revitalisation of Woodstock.



Photograph 41: Restaurants on Victoria Road (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 42: Shops on Victoria Road (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 43: Kwaai Lappies Fabric Store on Victoria Road (Carls, 2015)



Photograph 44: Renovated spaces on Victoria Road (Wenz, 2013)

3.3 Research Methods

My primary fieldwork phase stretched from December 2012 to February 2013. As already noted my main research methods involved open-ended interviews, observation, documentary analysis, and field notes, supplemented by photographs and informal conversations.



Photograph 45: Street art in Woodstock (Design Indaba, 2014)

3.3.1 In-depth open-ended interviews with residents

I conducted in-depth, open-ended interviews with a total of 19 local residents, three of whom were also business owners. These interviews took place mostly in people's homes, but in some instances at their place of work, and at a time that was convenient for them. I used an interview schedule to keep the interview on track. (See Appendix 1 and 2 for interview schedules.) This enabled me to maintain consistency in the interviews, as I was able to ensure that I covered the same basic questions with all respondents. However I did not adhere strictly to the order of questions as they appear on my interview schedule. Furthermore, where an opportunity arose to probe a respondent on a particular response, or ask an unplanned follow-up question I would do so.

I maintained a conversational style when interviewing. At the beginning of the interview I provided the respondent with an informed consent form (see Appendix 3) that explained what the study was about and that participation in the study was voluntary and that he or she could terminate it at any moment. The interviews were voice recorded if consent to do so was granted by the respondent; if not, I reverted to note taking. The length of the interviews ranged between 45 and 60 minutes.

I was able to interview most respondents in their own homes, which can be regarded as their natural setting. According to Sandercock, (2003) such an environment can be conducive to fostering an atmosphere of safety and comfort for respondents and thus encourage openness with regards to the questions asked by the interviewer. However, even though one's natural setting is more likely to ensure respondents' feelings of safety in the interview context than an unfamiliar environment, this is not guaranteed as there may still be an element of uneasiness when discussing one's personal views on any topic. An important dimension of the interview, therefore, is to set the respondent at ease.

In this regard face-to-face interviewing method was advantageous, as it allowed me, as the interviewer, to discern if and when respondents might be feeling uncomfortable, and also to consider the probable causes thereof. The manner in which respondents reacted to the questions, through the use of their bodies and voices, enhanced my understanding of their views on the phenomenon of gentrification in the area. These are elements which I would have not been able to draw on if I had relied only on a survey, as I would not necessarily have had an opportunity to observe them. By conducting the face-to-face interview with the respondents I was also able to observe their private spaces and gain additional information on

their standard of living, and the nature of their household and social relationships. However, a face-to-face interview may also be hindered by time pressures, or interruptions by other members of the family or activities that may require the attention of the respondent.

3.3.2 Informal conversations

In addition to the open-ended interviews I also had what I have termed ‘informal conversations’ with another eight individuals. These conversations lasted approximately 20 minutes each and were thus too brief for me to cover all the issues on my interview schedule. Five of these respondents were long-term residents, having lived in Lower Woodstock for seven years or more, and three of them were business owners in the area who were not residents. I have termed these encounters informal conversations, due to the fact that the respondents approached for an interview did not have time for the full interview, but were willing to make a contribution to the study. At the beginning of the informal conversation I briefly described my study and presented the informed consent form to the respondent. If I gained consent from the respondent to voice record the conversation I would do so; if consent was not granted I reverted to note taking. Even though these conversations were short, they provided additional insight into the views of the urban changes taking place in Lower Woodstock, especially the viewpoints of business owners in the area.

In addition to these informal conversations, I also interacted with numerous other residents whom I encountered in the course of my fieldwork. Significant here was an opportunity I had to talk to several foreign African migrants, all of them from the Democratic Republic of Congo, who were renting rooms in houses in my study area on Gympie Street. They had been living in Lower Woodstock for six, two and five years respectively. Unfortunately it was not possible to follow up with in-depth interviews; their perceptions of the changes taking place in my study area would be an interesting topic for further study.

3.3.3 Interviews with key informants

The four respondents interviewed as key informants were selected on the basis of their knowledge of the area and/or the process of gentrification. The first, Andrea², is a town planner living in Observatory, an inner-city suburb and a neighbouring area to Woodstock. I

² Andrea is a pseudonym. I have used pseudonyms for all informants.

selected Andrea as a key informant due to the fact that as a town planner for the City of Cape Town, she was able to provide useful insight into the undertakings of the social and physical planning of a neighbourhood such as Woodstock and what the implications of gentrification for neighbourhoods are. The second, Nina, is also a town planner who grew up in Woodstock and who formed part of the team that drew up the 'Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework' (NM and Associates, 2002). She was therefore able to provide insight from her personal experience, as well as from the research she had done as a professional planner on the area. Thirdly, I had an interview with one of the ward councillors of Woodstock, who was also a resident of Woodstock and was thus able to provide insight from his personal experience as well as from a political perspective.

My fourth key informant was John who served as my guide in the neighbourhood. John is a congregation member of the church I attend; I have known him for many years and have a good relationship with him. He is retired due to ill-health, but he was always more than willing to roam the streets of Woodstock with me. He has been a resident of Lower Woodstock for over 20 years, and was therefore able to provide insights from his personal experience into the changes taking place over the years as well as guide me in my sampling decisions. He has also faced the threat of eviction by his landlord, and was in the process of purchasing his home. I did not have a single interview with John, but had continuous discussions with him about the area and his experiences of living there over the duration of my fieldwork. My time spent with him also enabled me to observe his interactions with his neighbours and the neighbourhood more generally, and thus gave me deeper insight into the life of the neighbourhood.

3.3.4 Observation

A secondary method I employed was observation and participatory observation. This enabled me to broaden my understanding of the area of Woodstock, from my observations of the daily routines through to the activities that take place on a Saturday when countless tourists from outside the suburb visit the neighbourhood. Observation takes place when the researcher takes on the role of an outsider and observes the group he or she is studying in this manner (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 293). I took on the role as an outsider when engaging with residents, as my role as researcher was clearly defined to interviewed respondents. During my

interaction with respondents I was able to observe their homes or work places and their expressive movement.

I also made use of participant observation as a qualitative research method. Participant observation takes place when the researcher is simultaneously a member of the group he or she is studying and also observing the group (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 293). As already noted, I visit the area every weekend, both to visit friends and to attend church on Sundays. This meant that prior to my fieldwork I already had some sense of engagement with the area. I also regularly visit the new recreational spaces that Woodstock has to offer, in particular The Woodstock Exchange and the Old Biscuit Mill. Whilst carrying out my fieldwork in the spaces of entertainment such as the restaurants, markets and by simply browsing the stores I became part of the people that I was observing. During my fieldwork I also spent time walking or driving around the streets of Lower Woodstock, observing the buildings and renovations going on, as well as the activities of the people and anything else that was taking place. During these walks or drives I took numerous photographs and jotted down notes. These undertakings helped inform my understanding of the neighbourhood.



Photograph 46: Street art on Cornwall Street (Boamistura, 2011)

3.3.5 Documentary Analysis

In addition to the primary research methods described above I conducted secondary analysis on the phenomenon of gentrification in Woodstock and Cape Town. It was important for me

to analyse previous research that had been done on gentrification in Woodstock, and how this related to my study or further developed my knowledge of it. Furthermore, I analysed various policy documents, such as The Woodstock-Salt River Revitalisation Framework (NM and Associates, 2002), The Integrated Development Plan (City of Cape Town, 2013), The Table Bay District Plan (City of Cape Town, 2011) and The Fringe Draft Urban Design Framework (Briggs, 2012). These documents helped me gain insight into the history of Woodstock, the process of urban change in the area, and proposed future changes, as well as the role of the local and national state in driving these changes.

3.4 Selection of sample and demographic profile of respondents

3.4.1 Sampling techniques

In selecting my respondents I made use of both purposeful and snowball sampling techniques. Purposeful sampling takes place when the sample is chosen on the basis of the judgement of the researcher in relation to the purpose of the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 166).

I developed six broad criteria for the selection of local informants to participate in this study, which I considered appropriate for the purposes of my study. The first was that the individual must either live or work in Lower Woodstock, as it is this part of Woodstock that has been experiencing a particularly intense increase in renewal over the last decade. The second was that residents should live on the selected streets of the study, already described above; these streets had themselves been selected on the basis that they were either in close proximity to activities of renewal or were undergoing upgrading or other changes related to the renewal of Woodstock. In the case of the local business owners who were interviewed, they were selected on the basis of the location of their businesses, which had to be situated in Lower Woodstock. The six business owners who were selected for the study all operated off the two main roads of Woodstock, namely Albert Road and Victoria Street.

A third consideration in my selection of long-term residents was whether the respondent had been displaced from his or her home, as I was aware at the start of my study that some residents of Cornwall Street and Gypie Street had been evicted from their houses by their landlords and had either relocated to other areas or been left without permanent

accommodation of their own in Woodstock (Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign, 2013). The fourth criterion pertained to age, as I had decided, for reasons to do with research ethics, to limit the study to adults 18 years and older. The fifth consideration concerned the availability of the respondent as well as their willingness to participate in the study. The sixth and final consideration concerned my personal safety as the researcher. Because crime is an issue in Woodstock (as my study confirmed) I needed to take steps to ensure that I myself was and felt safe during my research. Thus residents were selected based on my knowledge of the area and judgement in approaching a particular house about whether I would or would not feel safe from danger when entering the home of the potential respondent.

In terms of the actual selection of local respondents I relied on a form of snowball sampling, guided by the considerations listed above. Here the fact that I attend church in Woodstock was important, as I was able to use my contacts from my church to identify people who would be willing to be interviewed initially, and thereafter applied the snowball method of sampling. Snowball sampling refers to ‘the process of accumulation as each located subject suggests other subjects’ (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 167). I purposefully selected certain members of my church to interview whom I considered suitable for my study in terms of the criteria discussed above. Some of them then referred me to other members of the community, such as their neighbours, work colleagues or friends, and my sample grew from there.

The key informants were selected based on three criteria, firstly their expert knowledge of the area, especially with regard to issues around urban renewal and gentrification, secondly their knowledge and experience of the area as long-term resident of Lower Woodstock and thirdly, their availability and willingness to participate in the study. These three criteria were applied to all four key informants interviewed for this study.

3.4.2 Demographic profile of informants

As already indicated, the total number of respondents in my study was 31: 19 local residents, including 3 business owners, with whom I conducted open-ended in-depth interviews; five local residents with whom I was able to conduct informal conversations; three local business owners who did not live in Lower Woodstock, with whom I was also able to conduct informal conversations, and four key informants.

Table 1: Respondents in terms of relationship to Woorxstock and interview type

	In-depth	Informal conversations	Total
Local resident	16	5	21
Local resident and business owner	3	0	3
Non-resident business owner	0	3	3
Key informant	4		4
Total	23	8	31

Almost all the local residents in my study were coloured and were what I have termed long-term residents, i.e. had lived in the area for seven or more years, as shown in Table 2. One long-term resident in my sample regarded herself as Indian while the one new resident I interviewed was white.

Table 2: Racial profile of local residents

	Long-term residents	New residents	Total
Coloured	22	0	22
White	0	1	1
Indian	1	0	1
Total	23	1	24

Over half of the local residents has lived in the suburb for more than 20 years, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Number of years local residents had lived in Lower Woodstock

	Residents
0 - 6 years	1
7 - 10 years	4
11 - 20 years	2
21 - 40 years	14
41+ years	3
Total	24

The gender of my local informants was not considered a key consideration for participation in the study; however, a little over half (14) of the local residents I interviewed were female. With regard to the gender and race group of my key informants, both town planners were female, one of them white and the other one coloured, while the town councillor was white and male and my church associate was coloured and male.

3.5 The interview schedules

I developed a basic interviewing schedule and then adjusted it for use with the long-term residents, new residents, business owners and key informants. (See Appendix 1.) As said before the interviews were conducted in a conversational manner and the schedule was thus used as a guide to ensure that all the relevant issues were covered consistently in each interview.

In terms of the residents, both long-term and new, the interview focused primarily on their connection to Woodstock. Questions were asked which were directly related to the viewpoints of the residents on the urban changes taking place and how the area has changed over the years in terms of race, safety and community interaction. The business owners were asked questions specifically related to the impact of gentrification and urban renewal on their businesses and on Woodstock as a whole. Town planners are by profession involved in regeneration processes within a town or city and are responsible for designing plans which will satisfy all parties within the town or city. Two of my key informants were town planners by profession and were asked questions regarding the physical changes taking place in

Woodstock, who the beneficiaries of these changes were, what the cost were and the level of involvement of the community can be in these kinds of urban processes taking place. Questions regarding tourism and gentrification the impact the process has on Woodstock, its inhabitants and their reaction to the changes were put to the ward councillor. The ward councillor's opinion was also needed regarding the growing population of African foreigners with refugee status living in Woodstock.

3.6 Data analysis

This study made use of thematic analysis to analyse the data collected through my interviews with local respondents and key informants. Thematic analysis is a commonly used method of qualitative analysis (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). I began by transcribing my interviews myself. Through the process of interviewing respondents and transcription I became familiar with the data and thus was able to identify emerging themes across my data from an early stage in the data analysis stage (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). I also developed codes according to my research questions, which I then applied to my transcripts. Throughout the process I modified the analysis by adjusting my codes as new ideas and themes developed (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). On the basis of these codes I identified themes, which integrate substantial sets of the codes I developed. I then identified examples of each theme identified to illustrate my analysis of the data. The writing up of my material was also seen as part of the process of analysis and I was constantly reviewing my themes and rethinking my analysis during this phase of my study as well.

3.7 Limitations

There were certain limitations to my study, some of which were anticipated before I went into the field while others arose during the research process. In this section I will first discuss the limitations which were anticipated, and then those that arose during the process and how I tried to overcome them. One anticipated limitation to my research design, which was confirmed in the field, was that I would not be able to interview many new residents in the

area. The reason for this is because many of the new residents in Woodstock live in high-security apartment blocks, making it very difficult to approach them to request an interview. Initially I had wanted to gain access to and interview such individuals, as I was curious about their understanding of Woodstock and wanted to see if certain assumptions I had about them would be correct. These assumptions were that they would be young, upwardly mobile individuals in professional careers or aspiring to build those careers. I also expected that many of them would be white. However, because these new apartment blocks are inaccessible to people who do not live in them, and because I do not know anyone who is living in them, I anticipated that I would struggle to access the residents of these apartments in order to set up interviews.

I thus decided that I would have to employ a different strategy to interview new residents, without targeting those living in the new apartment blocks. Through my contacts in Woodstock I realised that some people in their social networks were living next door to new residents who appeared to be middle class professionals. I then used my contacts to send out letters via their contacts requesting an interview with their neighbours. However, I received a minimal response, and only managed to gain access to one such neighbour through one of my contacts. This was a limitation to my study. Although my primary interest was in the experiences of long-term residents, interviews with more new residents would have deepened my study by providing me with insights into why they had chosen to live in Woodstock, what their perceptions were of their long-established neighbours in the area, and how they experienced the changes taking place.

A further limitation was imposed on the study though my and my associates' fears for my personal safety, which meant that I avoided approaching houses that looked unsafe to me. These were houses that were clearly inhabited but looked very run-down and neglected, with boarded up or broken windows. This clearly skewed my sample towards people living in houses that appeared safe or safer to me, i.e. appeared better looked after than the houses I deemed as unsafe. By excluding houses that were very rundown in appearance, I therefore skewed my sample towards better-off households in relative terms. This resulted in my study being made up primarily of people from similar economic backgrounds and excluding the most vulnerable and poorest people living in Lower Woodstock. However, personal safety could not be taken for granted, and since Woodstock has a high crime rate, it was something that I needed to take into consideration.

One unanticipated limitation of the study turned out to be the unavailability of property developers to be interviewed as key informants. At the start of my fieldwork I approached the larger developments such as The Old Biscuit Mill and The Bromwell to secure interviews with the owners. My initial efforts, which were unsuccessful, were followed up with further visits, multiple phone calls and emails requesting an interview as well as emails with a short list of questions attached for the developers to fill out. However, none of these efforts yielded any response, and I was unable to interview any property developer involved in these developments in the course of my fieldwork. This was a limitation for my study, as I could not determine from the developers their views on the impact of the changes they were bringing about on local people and whether they saw and opportunities for long-term residents in the processes of urban regeneration in the area. The residents I interviewed could not provide me with information on collaboration between the community and the developers, and it would have been positive for my study to gain these insights from the developers themselves. I also wanted to determine if the investors and the developers working in the area of Woodstock were at all concerned with the opinions of the residents in the urban regeneration processes. However, since I could not attain an interview with any of them, I was not able to find out this information from them.

Another unanticipated limitation of the study was that I was unable to interview former residents who had moved out or been moved out of the area as a result of their former houses being renovated and/or sold. In the course of my study I became aware of the fact that a number of residents who had been evicted from their homes in Woodstock in August 2012 had been moved by the City of Cape Town to a transit camp in Delft, far removed from the city centre; this camp has been given the name Blikkiesdorp because of the material used to build the temporary structures erected to house people. I was very keen to interview some of these people about their experiences by working through a resident of Blikkiesdorp who had been given to me as a potential contact person. However, despite several attempts on my part, I was unable to make contact with former Woodstock residents now living in Blikkiesdorp and in the end I had to give up on this endeavour. My contact at Blikkiesdorp informed me that the residents of Woodstock who had recently moved there were living in the most dangerous part of the area, and she did not feel comfortable taking me there or arranging any type of meeting. Due to time constraints I was not able to pursue other methods of reaching these displaced individuals.

I consider this a limitation as displacement of people is one of the negative consequences of gentrification, and obtaining the viewpoints of residents who have been displaced would have been highly beneficial to my study. This information would have broadened my understanding of the impact of gentrification in the area, and would have increased the depth and substance of the study. This is an important part of the research of gentrification in the area, and is a study on its own. However, I was able to interview two displaced individuals who had both been evicted from their former homes as a result of new landlords acquiring the properties but were still living in Woodstock in the course of my study. Despite the above limitations to the scope of my study, I believe that the interviews that I was able to conduct with residents elicited rich information on their circumstances and viewpoints with regard to the urban changes taking place all around them. Through the information gathered from these interviews I was thus able to answer the research questions shaping my study. .

3.8 Ethical considerations

This study has been conducted in accordance with the established norms and standards for ethical social research. In accordance with these, I obtained formal ethical clearance for my study from the University of Stellenbosch Research Ethics Committee. I also took pains to obtain informed consent from all my respondents before proceeding to interview them, by having them sign or verbally agree to the informed consent form which I developed (See Appendix 3). This form clearly stated who I was, and explained the purpose of my research, so the respondent was thoroughly informed before proceeding with the interview. I also took the time to determine whether the respondent actually understood what my study was about, and that he or she could terminate the discussion at any time, and also refuse to answer any particular question they were not comfortable with. I gained permission from the respondent to record the interview, if granted, respondents were ensured that the voice recordings were for my use only and for the accuracy of the data analysis process, and that all recordings would be deleted once my thesis had been submitted and I have obtained my degree. To ensure confidentiality I did not write down the respondents name or their house number, but assigned a number to each respondent. I assured the respondent that their name, physical address, besides the street name, would not be mentioned in the study and have used pseudonyms for all the respondents that I refer to in my discussion.

This was a low-risk study. The potential risks of my study for respondents were limited, as their personal viewpoints of the urban processes in Woodstock were being investigated and they are not speaking on behalf of anyone else beside themselves. Also, anonymity was ensured, so the risk that their identity would be revealed is limited. I am confident that respondents participated in the study on a voluntary basis.

Chapter 4: Research Findings: Residents' Views on Gentrification



Photograph 47: Saleem's Café on Albert Road (Carls, 2015)

'...The house was home, it wasn't just a house, to others it might have seemed like a house standing in the middle of the street but to me it was home. We've been a family staying here, I have seen children growing up in the neighbourhood'

(Kelly, evicted resident after 19 years, 2013)

In this chapter I present my primary research findings. These are based on my interviews with residents and the analysis of their responses in relation to my primary and subsidiary research questions concerning the redevelopment of Lower Woodstock and its impact on them. Here I was particularly interested in residents' perceptions of any possible benefits for themselves from the urban changes taking place in the area as well as their views on possible costs, and also whether any displacement of working-class residents had occurred in Lower Woodstock as a result of gentrification.

I have organised the discussion of my findings according to three broad and cross-cutting themes which emerged strongly through my data analysis. These themes are first, concerns around crime and security, second, the issue of social exclusion and third, the question of displacement.

With regard to the first theme, gentrification is a process which results in social changes in the neighbourhood in which it is at work and one of the changes that is frequently presented as a positive outcome involves the reduction of crime (Papachristos, Smith, Scherer and Fugiero, 2011). This certainly emerged as an issue in my study, with a number of the long-term residents who I interviewed reporting that while crime still exists as a serious problem in Lower Woodstock, levels of crime have been reduced since the redevelopment of the area has got underway. My first section on crime and security begins with a brief discussion of the statistical evidence related to crime in the area before discussing the views of my respondents on crime and safety as it impacts on their lives and relates to the process of gentrification.

The second theme speaks to the views of the respondents on both the social and economic exclusion they might experience within their own neighbourhood as a result of the changes brought about by the process of gentrification in the nature of the commercial and recreational activities as well as the population profile of the neighbourhood. According to Lees, gentrification is often associated with diversity, difference and social mixing; and the increase of middle-class residents in a working-class neighbourhood is viewed as a positive means to achieve this end (2008: 2451). However, gentrification is critiqued by Lees as a process that is generally exclusive instead of inclusive (2008). This theme then explores this concept through the views of the respondents, as 13 out of the 23 long-term residents regarded the changes and renewed spaces as both socially and economically exclusive as well as conveying the view that as a community and as residents they did not benefit from the urban changes taking place. This theme further explores whether social mixing and the

blending of cultures within the area of Lower Woodstock takes place or whether gentrification increases social segregation and social polarisation instead, as viewed by the respondents to my study.

My third theme relates to the third subsidiary question on displacement. The process of gentrification is evidenced to lead to displacement of low-income groups, and is described by Smith as a process part of 'an aggressive revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes' (1996). In Lower Woodstock, the large-scale commercial renewal underway has served as an attraction to members of Cape Town's middle classes to look to Woodstock for the purposes of work and entertainment. The increase in commercial renewal has also led to an increase in residential renewal in Lower Woodstock. Woodstock is described as a diverse and cosmopolitan neighbourhood since its origin and during apartheid Lower Woodstock was predominantly made up of working-class coloured people retaining its diversity and difference with people from the Jewish, Muslim and Christian faith, as well as various race groups and nationalities living together in the area. Over the last decade, Woodstock has been experiencing change on a consistent basis with developers and investors taking special interest in the area, largely commercially but also residentially. Residents of Lower Woodstock have experienced forced evictions and rental increases which has led to the displacement of numerous working-class residents from the area, especially from Gympie and Cornwall Street. This theme considers how the respondents view displacement, and if they perceive any threat of being displaced themselves.

All three themes relate to complex calculations that residents are making with regard to the perceived costs and benefits of the upgrading of their neighbourhood and the economic and social changes it is bringing as these affect themselves as individuals as well as members of a particular community. At work within these overarching themes are a number of sub-themes relating to identity in terms of race and class as well as concerns among longstanding residents around the presence of migrants from other parts of the African continent, deemed 'foreigners'. As my discussion shows, people's responses are not uniform and often appear ambivalent and even contradictory at times.

When discussing the three themes as stated above a brief profile of the respondent will be given as per the information gathered from the interview and through my observation of the respondent, conditions in his or her home or work place, and the general mood of the interview.

4.1 Crime and safety

All the long-term residents made reference to crime and safety in Lower Woodstock. Respondents' views on crime levels and feelings of safety were influenced by the length of time that they had been living in the area. Thus respondents who have been living in Lower Woodstock for 40 years or more described their childhood and youth experience as safer than what their experience in the area is at the present time. This may be understood in terms of nostalgia for a bygone era but it also appears to relate to the changing nature of crime in Woodstock, with drug-related criminality a growing concern. Out of the 23 long-term residents I interviewed or had informal conversations with, 14 stated that drug abuse is now a serious problem in Lower Woodstock, with four citing gangsterism as a further problem. Of note, however, is that most of my respondents (19 out of 23) did not feel that gangsterism was a particular problem in the area or did not mention it as a concern of theirs. Woodstock has a growing black immigrant population, and 12 out of the 23 long-term residents regarded the presence of black immigrants in the neighbourhood as a problem and as one of the reason for criminal activity in the area, especially drug abuse, the remaining respondents did not regard the black immigrant population as a problem.

4.1.1 Crime in Woodstock

A neighbourhood undergoing gentrification will be changed in some way; its social geography and character, its image and the way it is perceived by non-residents and residents of the neighbourhood, will all change. The relationship between crime and gentrification has been explored by researchers in urban studies, with often contradictory findings as to whether crime is increased or decreased through the process of gentrification.

For politicians and city planners implementing urban renewal strategies, the assumption is that a disadvantaged neighbourhood will 'upgrade' with the influx of more well off residents and, in doing so, reduce crime, through the displacement of poorer households who might include criminal 'elements' (Atkinson, 2004; Kirk & Laub, 2010; Papachristos et. al, 2011). However, it is also suggested that a positive relationship may exist between gentrification and crime, where crime increases in a gentrifying neighbourhood, due to a greater prevalence of

new affluent households who might act as new targets for criminals from neighbouring areas (Atkinson, 2004: 116, McDonald, 1986, Kirk & Laub, 2010) and as a result the process may be regarded as ‘bad’ for the overall safety of the neighbourhood. Kirk and Laub (2010: 462) suggest that gentrifying neighbourhoods may suffer a short-term rise in crime ‘due to a rapid influx of population and subsequent social instability and population heterogeneity’.

I have not undertaken an empirical analysis of crime rates in Woodstock as part of my study. However, statistics on crime levels in Woodstock collected by the Western Cape Government (2014) suggest that crime has decreased during the period from 2004 to 2014. These statistics show that the decrease took place across most types of criminal activities during this 10-year period. Thus criminal activity categorised as ‘contact crimes (crimes against a person)’ decreased, with common robbery, for instance, decreasing from 464 incidents in 2004 to 239 incidents in 2014 (Western Cape Government, 2014). Criminal activity categorised as ‘property-related crime’ also decreased, theft out of or from motor vehicle as an example decreased from 1552 incidents in 2004 to 1210 incidents in 2014; as well as burglary at residential premises decreasing from 768 incidents in 2004 to 335 incidents in 2014 (Western Cape Government, 2014). Of major concern, however, was that drug-related crime increased during this period, with 273 incidents reported for 2004 compared to 873 incidents in 2014 (Western Cape Government, 2014), a threefold increase. Commercial crime has also increased over the 10 year period with 123 incidents in 2004 compared to 160 incidents in 2014; and shoplifting has decreased, though not significantly from 74 incidents in 2004 to 72 incidents in 2014 (Western Cape Government, 2014).

In a 2008 article in the weekly newspaper, *The Mail & Guardian*, Gympie Street was singled out as a crime hotspot within Woodstock:

Most Capetonians have heard of Gympie Street-and not because of its natural beauty of fashionable coffee shops.... If you’re from outside (even a block or two away), it’s a place to be avoided. The community is known to shelter its own small-time criminals, like smash-and-grab thieves who operate on Main Road. The street’s residents are often caught in crossfire between rival Woodstock gangs. There are strikingly few men around because most of them are in prison; and some of their children don’t go to school because ‘they get laughed at and called *skollies* [gangsters]’.... The Woodstock police who patrol the street twice a day, will invariably shake down someone. In one

local police officer's view: 'If Pollsmoor [prison] is Cape Town's crime university, Gympie Street is its high school' (*The Mail & Guardian*, 22 February 2008).

The story in *The Mail & Guardian* speaks about a neighbourhood that is in conflict with itself. Between 2006 and 2009 the residents living on Gympie Street were served with eviction orders after the Cape High Court ruled in favour of the new owner of the semi-detached houses they were living in (Western Cape Anti-Eviction, 2009). Before the evictions on Gympie Street in 2009 this specific part of Woodstock was a centre of criminal activity in the suburb, and as a community Woodstock was unable to solve this problem of crime.

As can be seen from the *Mail & Guardian* quote above, even though the residents of Gympie Street were threatened by the crime in their street, there was a sense of solidarity with the criminal or the perpetrators due to the fact that they were seen as part of the community of residents living on Gympie Street. Therefore, there was little or no motivation on the part of the residents of Gympie Street to build social ties with residents living in other parts of Lower Woodstock to generate informal social control and prevent crime in the area. Criminologists Shaw & McKay (1942) developed the social disorganization theory, which is chiefly concerned with understanding the relationship between community characteristics and crime. Social disorganization is defined as 'the inability of a community to realise the common values of its residents and maintain effective social controls' (Bursik, 1988); thus socially disorganized communities are ineffective in combating crime which is a common value or goal among residents. In theory, socially disorganized communities do not have solidarity on important norms and values, they lack cohesion or a strong bond among neighbours, and there is limited integration and social interaction between residents. According to Shaw & McKay (1942) possessing these characteristics is vital in building a socially organized community that can exercise informal social control in the form of collective interventions that the members of the community are able to direct towards local problems, such as crime. In the case of Gympie Street, however, it appears that residents demonstrated a degree of collective community spirit that ultimately protected petty criminals rather than controlling it, with negative consequences more broadly.

Reflecting this, one of the tenants of Gympie Street told *The Mail and Guardian*:

This is an old and established community, but we are poor, our people survive on grants, some people live off crime. It is clear that the eviction of families is part of the gentrification process to clear the city centre of the working class so that the landlords and capitalists can make the city beautiful. Poor, unemployed coloureds are not considered beautiful (22 February 2008).

In June 2009 all the residents were legally evicted and removed from the properties on Gympie Street, with the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign stating that the evictions were ‘blatantly unconstitutional’:

The sad reality is that people are being forced to live on the streets, because bureaucrats [speaking about Ward Councillor Sims] are failing to their jobs! The only thing that the people of Gympie Street have ever wanted is a decent roof over their heads - which thanks to the State and Robertson [new owner of the properties] they are being denied (Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign, 2009).

Here the commentator states that the government has failed the people of Gympie Street by failing to do their jobs, which can be inferred as to provide protection for the poor against unfair evictions, but also to meet the needs of the poor, by providing jobs and adequate housing which could reduce the pressures towards criminal activity. In the previous quote the resident states that through gentrification and the beautifying of the city, the poor are displaced, with the issue being compounded by race, as can be seen in his final statement: ‘Poor, unemployed coloureds are not considered beautiful’. In these quotes relating to the tenants of Gympie Street, they are established as ‘outsiders’ in the area of Lower Woodstock and the greater Cape Town, as their experience has been one of being under-valued and labelled as ‘deviant’.

It is clear that as the battle for Gympie Street raged much was lost for the residents who lived there for years. In its defence, however, the street was described by police working in the area as ‘one of Cape Town’s crime hotspots’ (*Mail & Guardian*, 22 February 2008), with a senior officer stating:

A lot of crime happens around Gympie Street and the perpetrators-usually young men-disappear into this street and then you've lost them. The community is so close-knit, nobody but nobody will *piemp*³ [rat] on another there.

4.1.2 Perceptions of my respondents

The reduction in crime captured in the statistics reported above may be related to the urban changes taking place in Lower Woodstock: in this regard it is notable that The Old Biscuit Mill opened its doors for the first time as early as 2005, while the Woodstock Improvement District was also established in 2005 (Woodstock Improvement District, 2015). However it may also be related to additional factors not explored by my study. For the purposes of my study what is of central importance are the views of the long-term residents regarding crime in Lower Woodstock, how they both experience and understand it and also how they relate it to the changes taking place around them.

In this section I explore the responses of the participants in my study, focusing on their views on the causes of crime and the perpetrators of crime in the inner-city neighbourhood of Lower Woodstock. As will be seen many recognised a reduction in criminal activity in recent years but they also felt that the nature of crime has shifted, with particular concerns about the prevalence of drugs.

As already noted, all of the long-term residents who participated in my study noted crime as a concern, with their views varying on whether Lower Woodstock was a safe area or not. However, they differed over whether they felt that crime levels had dropped or got worse since they were young. Seven of my informants felt that crime has reduced in the area as a result of the redevelopment of the area, attributing the decrease in crime due to 'bad elements' being moved out of the area. The 'bad elements' referred to by the respondents included the former residents of Gympie Street, the street notorious for gang activity and drug-related crimes described above, as well as the former clientele of the bar and hotel which had been replaced by the new Bromwell Boutique Mall and which some regarded as having been a venue for undesirable activities. The responses indicate that limited solidarity exists between those residents living in other parts of Lower Woodstock and those living in

³ 'Piemp' is a slang word meaning 'to tell on someone'.

Gympie Street, even after those deemed undesirable before were evicted and forced out of the neighbourhood.

Thus Ryan, a 23 year old civil engineering student living with his parents on Williams Street in Lower Woodstock, labels the residents of Gympie Street as the ‘other’ in Lower Woodstock and describes them as deviating from the norm by engaging in criminal activity and thus making the neighbourhood unsafe:

People in Gympie Street, the most well known street in Woodstock, they have all been moved to Blikkiesdorp, where all of them are living. So it has been calming down. You can be more safe and comfortable with your children growing up here with the environment change (Ryan, 2013).

Ryan has lived in Lower Woodstock all his life, and for him growing up in the area has been ‘tough’. He describes the young people of Lower Woodstock as being exposed to ‘drugs and the harsh life of gangsterism’ as well as having to deal with unemployment and poverty (Ryan, 2013). However, for Ryan the removal of those engaging in deviant behaviour from the area has meant that it has become safer and more suitable for raising children.

Howard S. Becker wrote on labelling and deviance in his book *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (1963). For Becker deviance ‘is created by society’:

...social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is *not* a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an ‘offender’. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied. Deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label (1963: 8-9, italics in the original).

The labelling of the residents of Gympie Street as ‘deviant’ can further be seen in the responses of other residents who did not live on that street. Tarryn is 24 years and has lived her entire life in Woodstock. She lives on Cornwall Street, which is in close proximity to Gympie Street. When asked about safety she describes the area as ‘peaceful and quiet *now*’ (Tarryn, 2013, my emphasis):

Woodstock is nice and peaceful since the gangsters are gone... it has changed a lot, because before if you read the newspapers then you would read about Gympie Street and how people would get robbed and shooting and whatever, but now it is more peaceful, that time, 8 o'clock you had to be in the house, but now 12 o'clock, 1 o'clock, you can still be outside (Tarryn, 2013).

Tarryn identified the behaviour of the residents of Gympie Street as deviant, as well as labelling the residents of that street as deviant, describing them as 'gangsters'.

Heather has been a resident of Woodstock for 36 years. She is 70 years old and is a retired nurse. She also describes Woodstock as a 'beautiful, peaceful and quiet' place, but in her view it is rowdier now compared to when she first moved to the area. Since the renovations of Gympie Street, Heather feels that fewer criminal activities are heard of:

They had to move, because they were a lot of gangsters. Now that Gympie Street has been renovated you don't hear so much about crime coming from there (Heather, 2012).

The residents of Gympie Street are all labelled as 'gangsters' by the responses of residents as quoted above. There is no distinction made by residents Ryan, Tarryn and Heather as to which residents were the gangsters and which were not. The fact that, as can be seen in the article by *The Mail & Guardian* cited above, the media, publically proclaim that Gympie Street is notorious for criminal activity and that gangsters live on that street; as well as an admission by a former resident that 'some people live off crime' causes the immoral character of the people of Gympie Street to be highlighted (Bernburg, Krohn & Rivera, 2006: 69). These types of public proclamations drive stereotypical images of the people living on Gympie Street, portraying them as 'gangsters', 'deviants' and 'outsiders' who are irresponsible, lack self-control (Bernburg et. al 2006: 69), and whose immoral behaviour is negative for the community they reside in. Thus, the outsider and stigmatized individual withdraw from interaction with 'conventional' people (Bernburg et. al 2006: 69). Goffman (1963), points out that social interaction between 'normal' people and the stigmatized individual may be characterised by a sense of 'uneasiness, embarrassment, ambiguity, and intense efforts at impression management, and that these experiences are felt by those who bear the stigma as well as those who do not'. Goffman found that those who consider

themselves to be ‘normal’ and those who are stigmatized arrange their lives in such a way as to avoid each other (1963: 13).

The social interaction between the residents of Lower Woodstock and those living on Gympie Street were most likely avoided due to the fear of being a victim of crime. The reputation of Gympie Street stigmatized Woodstock as a whole, and non-Gympie Street residents were left feeling embarrassed and uneasy by this representation, not only of their neighbourhood, but also of them, as residents. This can be seen in the responses of Christelle and Valerie, Saabir and Danielle.

Christelle is 36 years old, and lives on Church Street with her mother, and has been a resident of Woodstock since birth. She drew attention to the stigma associated with Gympie Street:

The first thing people ask you when you say you live in Woodstock, they ask you ‘is it Gympie Street’, you know what I’m saying, so *ja*, that is the perception that people used to have of Woodstock’ (Christelle, 2013).

Valerie was born in Woodstock and has lived in the area for 56 years. She lives with her husband and grandson in a semi-detached two bedroom double storey on Cavendish Square in Lower Woodstock. She has been living in this particular house for 27 years. Her husband is retired, but has fallen ill, so Valerie is the sole breadwinner of the household. Valerie grew up on Albert Road and describes the area of Woodstock as going through phases in terms of criminal activity. Thus she describes the Woodstock of her childhood and young adult years, in the 1970s and 1980s, as a place where crime existed, but she also notes that the type of criminal activity differed from what can be seen in Woodstock today. During her childhood and young adult days, Valerie states that there were not issues of drug abuse in the area. She also describes the area as having so-called gangsters; however she felt that their activities were less criminal than the gangsters of today. Presently, Valerie feels that residents must be ‘very careful’, stating that one’s ‘security gate must always be locked’. Like Christelle, Valerie refers to the perception of Woodstock by outsiders:

When you tell people you live in Woodstock, they tend to say ‘Gympie Street’ (Valerie, 2013).

Saabir, a 60-year-old retired builder, has been a resident of Woodstock for 36 years. He owns his home on Williams Street (situated in close proximity to Gympie and Cornwall Street),

which he shares with his wife and children. Saabir states that the part of Woodstock he lives in ‘use to be regarded as one of the most dangerous places in Woodstock’:

I am staying near to Gympie Street and it used to be the worst street in Woodstock and Cornwall Street and all, but now, it is very nice. It is very still [quiet] and getting nice now (Saabir, 2013).

Danielle, is 44 years old, is married and has two children and has been renting a property on Albert Road in Lower Woodstock for 10 years with her family. Danielle is the principal at a local crèche and her husband works in construction. Danielle has mixed feelings about living in Lower Woodstock, however, she feels that improvements to the area have made the area safer and leaves her feeling proud to live there:

I was excited at first [to move to Woodstock], but then I realised the environment wasn’t so [good], but now they busy with renovations and stuff. In the beginning everyone always use to talk about Gympie Street, but now it’s different, and you feel more proud. I think it is very good because they upgrading, and I think the price of properties are going up because of that (Danielle, 2013).

All four responses indicate that there has been a change in the image of the neighbourhood and in the way that they felt about the area as well since the evictions took place at Gympie Street.

However, crime and other sinister activities were not isolated to Gympie Street, other parts of Lower Woodstock also contributed to the negative perception of the area as being ‘unsafe’. The Bromwell Hotel was one such place, which caused residents to feel unsafe. Randall is 40 years old and he describes the Bromwell Hotel as follows:

I have been to the old one many times, experienced many things there. There was always fights breaking out there. You went to the Bromwell to have a couple of drinks, it was the wrong crowd that would hang out there; people would get hurt. You use to hit the old Bromwell at night, there was no light there, it was a dark place to hang out in, so to go there you had to obviously know what you were getting yourself into. The people who went there would always know something was about to go down, or they would go there with the intention of causing something (Randall, 2013).

The description of the Bromwell Hotel made by Randall resonates with the observations and reports on the hotel of other residents. Randall's description encapsulates the hotel as a place that deviated from the norm, a place that was unsafe and a place that only a certain type of person would visit. After the renovations at the Bromwell Hotel Randall describes it as a 'great place', but what is striking in this account is that he has not visited it yet:

The new Bromwell on the other hand, I haven't been there personally, I have walked past it a few times but it is up and happening there. You know you have your formal wear outside, you're being welcomed in a professional manner, the outside layout is that you can eat outside under the shade which is good, you walk pass there, and the way it is set up, you could actually see yourself sitting there and having a meal in a safe environment, and their security is tight. Obviously you have to pay a bit more because of the way it is, and the safety aspect. The wild bunch can't hang around there anymore, so you have to be decent in that respect. No it's actually a great place to be at (Randall, 2013).

Danielle also comments on the Bromwell Hotel, speaking about her initial experience in Lower Woodstock:

It was fine [Albert Road], the environment was okay, it's just, it used to be The Bromwell Hotel and I didn't like that environment there, it was music and people that's drinking and that, but after the change here now, it's much better (Danielle, 2013).

Valerie lived opposite the Bromwell Hotel when growing up, and describes the change:

The Bromwell, and the bar was there all the time, the hotel section, I don't know if they rented out rooms or something but there were a lot of foreigners living there, there was a lot of people hanging out there, it wasn't actually very nice, but now it is very nice, they have security there and the people that go in there, is class you know (Valerie, 2013).

The quotes above emphasises the obvious change from the 'old' Bromwell to the 'new' one, as well as indicating the difference between the type of person who would visit the new one compared to those who would visit the old one. Randall states that one has to be 'decent' to visit the new Bromwell and that the 'wild bunch' cannot 'hang around there anymore'; this statement highlights Randall's 'othering' of the 'wild bunch', placing them in a category of

outsiders or unwanted individuals because of their deviant behaviour. In this statement he also places the type of individual who is 'decent' and can visit the new Bromwell as someone to aspire to and as a desirable person within society.

For both Danielle and Valerie the old Bromwell was a breeding ground for behaviour that they did not 'like' or that they felt was not 'nice'. Their views of the old Bromwell and the people who visited there are characterised by 'othering' and the labelling of deviant behaviour, which stems from their understanding of what counts as 'normal' behaviour. Randall, Danielle and Valerie view the old Bromwell as deviant and as one of the causes of their negative feelings about the area before the urban changes started taking place.

4.1.3 'Foreigners'

Since the urban changes have taken place and those former residents regarded as the 'bad elements' have been removed, for some residents feelings of safety have increased. However, there are responses which indicate that residents have transferred their fears about crime and safety from the 'bad elements' that have been moved out to the new African immigrants living in the area.

One of the ward councillors of Woodstock, a key informant to this study, stated that there is a large African immigrant component in the area, and that they 'contribute to the diversity of the area, to the vibrancy'. However, 12 out of the 23 long-term residents whom I interviewed did not share his sentiments and stated that they felt that the increase of crime was directly linked to the African immigrant population within the area.

As a nation, South Africa has experienced relative peace and prosperity since 1994 and the country has become a primary destination and transit point for migrants from neighbouring countries who suffer conflict and economic hardships within their own countries. The attitudes of South African citizens towards immigrants or 'foreigners' from other parts of Africa vary from person to person, however, foreigners living and/or working in South Africa face discrimination based on various reasons, including fear of economic competition, a belief that foreigners are inherently criminal and a drain on public resources (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh & Singh, 2005: 2). The definition of xenophobia is an 'irrational fear of outsiders' (Landau et. al, 2005: 4, Harris, 2002: 170); it is a dislike, or hatred of foreigners (Harris, 2002: 170). As will be seen, the respondents expressed negative feelings towards

foreigners and depict negative social representations of the foreigner, with foreigners even being blamed for an increase in crime, specifically drug-related crime in Lower Woodstock.

The foreigner is already considered to be an ‘outsider’ because of his or her status as a non-South African, which may or may not be formally legalised. However, the responses of many of my respondents show that the outsider status of these foreigners is further exacerbated by the belief that their behaviour deviates from what is regarded as the norm locally and is likely to be criminal. Here too these views were couched in the language of decency and respectable behaviour. Valerie raises an interesting point, as she states that foreigners ‘don’t really care’ about the neighbourhood:

I dunno, you know there are so many of them living in one house, some of them are ok, but the majority of them are, I won’t say they rough, but they very rowdy, if I can put it that way, very rowdy crowd of people, I don’t know I think it brings down the living standard of lot of people here in Woodstock, you know people come to visit you and they see this kind of thing and then they measure it up on a different level, I don’t know what to tell you about them really, they very messy kind of people, they really don’t care for the area, they don’t take pride, they don’t think anything of just messing up (Valerie, 2013).

Valerie’s response to foreigners living in Lower Woodstock is layered with labels which denote deviation from what she perceives as the norm, and the behaviour that she expects of a resident of Woodstock. Valerie’s response indicates that she views the foreigners as ‘outsiders’ to her neighbourhood. Howard S. Becker defines an ‘outsider’ as follows:

All social groups make rules and attempt, at some times and under some circumstances, to enforce them. Social rules define situations and the kinds of behaviour appropriate to them, specifying some actions as ‘right’ and forbidding others as ‘wrong’. When a rule is enforced the person who is supposed to have broken it may be seen as a special kind of person, one who cannot be trusted to live by the rules agreed on by the group. He is regarded as an *outsider* (1997: 1, italics in the original).

Valerie as a resident of Lower Woodstock since her birth has certain expectations of other residents. For Valerie there are rules that are put in place that attempt to ensure socially acceptable behaviour by all residents and that will give rise to a cohesive state of being amongst the residents. As a resident of Woodstock, Valerie may value, for example, low

noise levels during the evenings, neighbours who are committed to keeping their environment clean and neighbours who do not engage in criminal activities; as social rules, when kept, ones actions will be considered as socially acceptable. Valerie describes the foreigners as ‘rowdy’, ‘messy’, and lacking in pride for the neighbourhood and these opinions of them indicate that they do not adhere to the social rules that she adheres to; and by deviating from these rules the foreigner is considered to be an ‘outsider’ who taints the perceptions of non-residents and brings down the standard of living of the neighbourhood. Thus, there is no solidarity between Valerie and the foreigner as he or she is viewed as an outsider who breaks the social rules of the neighbourhood through their behaviour. Valerie’s statement therefore, indicates that she feels that the negative perceptions that non-residents of Woodstock have about the area are exacerbated by the increase in foreigners residing in the neighbourhood.

Other responses by my informants correspond closely with Valerie’s in the expression of negativity towards foreigners living in Lower Woodstock. Thus when asked a question about the negative aspects of Lower Woodstock, Sharon, a resident for over 30 years and a business owner in the area for 25 years, listed African foreigners as one of them. She described the African black immigrants as the ones who bring drugs into the area and that it is not a good thing for Woodstock:

Die plek is besmet met hulle (this place is ruined because of them) (Sharon, 2013).

Her harsh views were reiterated by Joshua, a resident of Woodstock for 24 years, as he felt that the foreigners were causing ‘havoc’ in the area. Another respondent who is living in the area for 12 years, Jill, described the influx of foreigners into the area as a ‘change’:

There are a lot of foreigners, and they messing Woodstock up, the streets are so dirty and they make a noise in the evening when they go to that club, there is one here in the main road, they come pass here in the night time (Joshua, 2013).

Respondent Danielle, experiences a sense of loss of ownership of the area to the foreigners, as she puts it:

Now recently four-five years, more foreigners and I feel like they taking over here now, I’m not actually happy about it, but I can’t really do anything about it (Danielle, 2013).

I had an informal conversation with Fakhira, a resident of Lower Woodstock for 35 years; she was also distressed about the growing immigrant population in the area:

...now there are foreigners moving in, and they have no respect, they make a noise right through the evening, and you can't sleep. It is not good for the area I can't sleep knowing that there are these bad elements living here, busy with things right outside my window. They do bad things on the corner right here and it is working on me as an elderly person (Fakhira, 2013).

Brian, a resident of Woodstock for 22 years, rents a room with his wife and two daughters. He is a church caretaker and his wife works as a cashier at a retail store. Brian has mixed feelings about African black immigrants living in the area, but states this:

...most of the white people I know have moved out because of what happened now with the foreigners moving in. if they take over, then some white people won't wanna stay where the blacks take over and come in with their drugs. Some of them are good people and some of them are bad. For those of them I know, like I have become friends with them, they good people, but others they only here for one thing, to come and deal with drugs, and to steal and destroy the properties (Brian, 2013).

Calvin is 36 years old and has been a resident of Woodstock since birth. He is married with two children, and lives in a 'wendy house' on his parent's property. He describes their living conditions to be 'overcrowded and congested'. Calvin works in tourism, transporting tourists from one site to the next, however, he is currently unemployed as he had to sell his vehicle due to a bad personal decision he made. Calvin's wife is a crèche teacher at one of the churches in the area. This is his view of crime and safety in Woodstock referring to his days as a child and teenager growing up in the area, compared to the present day:

Well, compared to then and now, times have changed rapidly, it was actually better then, now I'm not racist, but it is over populated, there's the Africans and the foreigners and with their drug smuggling-that is corrupting the community (Calvin, 2013).

Samantha is 18 years old and has been a resident of Lower Woodstock for 13 years. She lives in a 'wendy house' at the back of her grandparents' house, with only her mother and brother, as her parents are separated. In an informal conversation I had with her she described the African immigrants as:

They [African black immigrants] sometimes bring nice shops here, but they are the ones who cause like a scene on the road, and they are the ones who will be mostly in the clubs drinking and stuff like that (Samantha, 2013).

In an informal conversation I had with Ryan, he expressed a mixed view of the African black immigrant population in Lower Woodstock:

...they seem to be nice people, so personally I don't have a problem with them. I think they help the community, with the coloured boys, getting work, because they are very goal orientated, they like to open business and so on so some of the guys work for them, so that's where they make some money. You get the negative part of it also, where some of them do a different type of business like drug dealing and then other guys also get pulled into that. So pro's and con's, both ways man (Ryan, 2013).

Ingrid is an elderly lady of 76 years old, living on Greatmore Street for over 20 years. Ingrid lives alone, as all her children are grown and have their own families. Ingrid describes the area as having 'a lot of crime', but states that she is not afraid, because the people who make trouble in her road respect her and listen to her if she speaks to them about it. According to Ingrid, the area is not safe, as it used to be when she first moved in due to 'the white people moving out of Woodstock and more black people moving in':

Most people are moving out now, because of the Africans that are moving in you know, it's noisy, it's parties and so on' (Ingrid, 2012).

The responses of the long-term residents as presented above vary from complaints about African immigrants being 'noisy' or 'dirty' to attitudes as severe as their 'corrupting the community' by bringing in drugs, opening clubs and engaging in other sinister activities. The range of their responses indicates the complex nature of heterogeneity in an area that is expanding such as Woodstock, as well as the low levels of tolerance local people have for those considered as 'other'.

The long-term residents of Lower Woodstock interviewed for this study all made reference to crime and safety, and this indicated that it was of particular concern for them. The reduction of crime in a neighbourhood such as Woodstock, which has earned a reputation for being a dangerous area, may be considered a benefit by those who live there. Indeed for some of the respondents it is considered to be a benefit, and the reduction in crime is even attributed to the urban changes taking place. However, these perceptions were tempered by concerns at the

shifts in the type of criminal activity in the neighbourhood over time and generally suspicious if not overtly hostile attitudes towards ‘foreigners’ as associated with these shifts. At the same time it must be noted that the viewpoints of the long-term residents varied and a single individual could also hold multiple, even contradictory views of crime in the area and of the individuals and groups engaging in those criminal activities.

4.2 Social Exclusion

The second major theme to emerge from my research concerns the issue of social exclusion; this theme also intersects with issues already raised in my discussion of crime and safety. By social exclusion I am referring to people being shut out of or being unable to participate in the social activities that are going on all around them.

Part of the intrigue of an inner-city neighbourhood lies in the density of its social fabric: the way the buildings are packed in side by side, the narrow roads, the mix of residential and commercial activities, the sociability in the street, and the conversations with and peeks into the lives of the people who live next door or across the street. This dense sociability, which feeds into people’s sense of community and belonging in inner-city neighbourhoods, is what is often seen to be lacking in the larger suburban communities. It is also what gives these neighbourhoods their charm for outsiders. There is no doubt that Lower Woodstock still retains much of this charm, which I have personally experienced as a frequent visitor to the area and also during my time as a researcher in the field. It is this charm that contributes to attracting new residents as well as developers and investors to the neighbourhood and driving the process of gentrification. One of the consequences of gentrification, however, as Glass and other analysts have pointed out, is that the gentrified neighbourhood becomes increasingly unaffordable to the very people who have created it as an attractive urban place, who find themselves increasingly excluded.

The five-year Integrated Development Plan of the City of Cape Town states that it aims to promote and foster social inclusion and to build a city in which all people are able to participate in the development of that city (City of Cape Town, 2013: 24). The Plan refers to the legacy of apartheid as ‘poor social interaction and social contact across race and class’ which was achieved by the apartheid government through the geographical

separation of the city in terms of race and class (City of Cape Town, 2013: 25). However, in its quest to build a socially inclusive city, the metropolitan authority is challenged by the persistence of racial and class divides that are still very much evident in South Africa today. These challenges are exacerbated by the process of gentrification; as Freeman (2009: 2079) notes, an important aspect of gentrification is the extent to which it affects spatial relations between various social groups.

These dynamics are clearly visible in the way in which the long-term residents of Lower Woodstock view and interact with the developments taking place around them. These views are explored further below.

4.2.1 Access to the ‘renewed’ Woodstock spaces

The participants to this study were questioned about their views on the urban changes and whether they had visited the renewed spaces, such as The Old Biscuit Mill, The Bromwell Boutique Mall, The Woodstock Foundry and others, and they were asked about their experiences in or around these renewed spaces. Their responses highlighted that they perceive both benefits and costs for themselves as residents and for the community of Woodstock from the urban changes taking place in the neighbourhood.

What was striking was that almost half of the 24 long-term residents that I interviewed – eleven - had not yet visited any of the renewed commercial and recreational spaces. They cited a number of reasons for this, all of which could be seen to confirm a sense of social exclusion, even if this was not how they described it. Two of them explained that they had not visited these places due to time constraints. Another two said that they felt that the renewed places were mainly for white people, two residents stated that they were too old to visit the renewed spaces, one person stated that these spaces were expensive to visit and were exclusive, and three stated that either the renewed spaces were too expensive for them or they were not interested in visiting.

The remaining 13 have visited either one or more of the renewed spaces but only a minority of them had done so for recreational purposes. One of these respondents reported visiting The Old Biscuit Mill to purchase beads for her personal crafting project while another four said that they had only visited the renewed spaces, The Old Biscuit Mill in particular, for employment purposes. Another of the 13 stated that it is expensive to visit

the renewed spaces, while three respondents stated in general terms that the renewed spaces are good and uplifting for the area and another felt that the renewed spaces are positive because they diversify the area by bringing people of different race groups together. One respondent indicated that having restaurants in the area is convenient and that she has befriended an employee of The Bromwell Boutique Mall and thus visits this development often. ,.

Firstly, the benefits to the community are discussed as they are perceived by the respondents to this study. In an interview with 23-year-old Chris, a resident of Lower Woodstock for 10 years, the urban changes are perceived to be a 'growth process' that it is beneficial to the community. He says:

Well I think it is like a growth process, especially with the mini mall [The Old Biscuit Mill and The Woodstock Exchange] going, you taking an old building and making it beneficial. I have been there [The Bromwell Boutique Mall] twice or thrice, I think. I like it. I had some coffee, I enjoyed my experience Even the mall [The Woodstock Exchange], I was there like a few times. I wouldn't mind going there, because it is something different (Chris, 2013).

Lower Woodstock experienced urban decline, and during this time some of its factories were left unused, some were even derelict and abandoned and were a negative component of the neighbourhood. Chris points out that the old buildings have been restored and made useful again through the urban redevelopment processes at work. He thus views this as a positive benefit for the community.

A resident of Lower Woodstock for 19 years, Kelly, aged 40, also perceives the changes to be broadly beneficial to the neighbourhood. Kelly refers to The Bromwell Boutique Mall as is it now:

The Bromwell actually complements that area of Albert Road, because that side was really derelict about three years ago, you know, it was an eye-sore for people passing by, tourists passing by, but right now it complements the area (Kelly, 2013).

Kelly's view emphasises that the transformation of a 'derelict' building into a space that 'complements' the area of Albert Road indicating that she views the change of The Bromwell as contributing to the change in the image of that part of Lower Woodstock, from an 'eye-sore' to something visually pleasing. In a conversation I had with the

respondent, Ryan, he was also hopeful that the urban changes would lead to growth of the community:

The renovating of the buildings, I think it's great. The community can grow in wealth, more people would want to live here, and more wealthy people, and the community will be stronger. I like the idea they making new buildings and new people moving into the area (Ryan, 2013).

For Tarryn the urban changes are also viewed as beneficial to the neighbourhood. Although she experiences these new spaces as 'expensive' and says that she never has the time to visit because of her schedule, she sees a social value in them:

It is very nice, because you get to learn about other people's cultures and the way that they live and it's nice, because Woodstock never had that, it just had normal shops, it's good to experience new things...When I drive pass in the taxi I would look and see who is going there, and it is nice, it is giving this place a bit of life now (Tarryn, 2013).

In an area that has been branded as 'crime-ridden' and has struggled economically, the urban changes can be viewed as 'hope' inspiring changes. Calvin, who is 34 and has lived in Lower Woodstock since he was born, expresses his view of the urban changes, saying:

I see it as an advantage and it gives hope to the community again. A lot of other shops have closed in the past, but with the rebuilding it gives the community hope (Calvin, 2013).

This sense of hope for a better future for the area and its community members is found in words of Randall, when speaking about The Palms⁴ in Upper Main Road:

I was at the Palms. It is a very relaxing environment to be in, it's like, it's amazing to think that you're on the main road, and you have all these things happening around you, there is places where just the mere sight of it will make you feel down, unwanted and unsafe, but when you step into places like the Palms, immediately you have the sense of peace being there, because of the surroundings, the structure of the

⁴ The Palms offers a variety of decor and lifestyle stores, as well as hires office space to architects, fabric houses, creative people, property and real estate, designers, photographers, recruitment, consulting and travel and destination services (The Palms, 2015).

buildings, the atmosphere, the vibe going on there. You feel safe and secure, you actually feel like you can walk around there, and do some browsing (Randall, 2013).

However other respondents emphasised the ‘costs’ of the changes in Woodstock for themselves and their community. Prominent here were concerns about being excluded on the grounds of both class – the unaffordability of the new developments – and race – the strong perception of the new developments being for white people, not for themselves as coloured. For most people race and class were seen as fused together.

Thus Danielle, a resident of Lower Woodstock for 10 years, described herself as happy about the changes taking place in the area, but went on to state that she did not think that the renewed spaces were for ‘us as people’:

I’m very happy about that. Woodstock is getting a facelift, you have the Biscuit Mill, Bromwell, West Street Café here, there is another type of mall [Woodstock Exchange] down the road. I am happy about those changes. Ja [yes], but I don’t think it is for us, for our people. It is more for the rich people. I don’t think us as coloured people, because if you are here on a Saturday you will see that there are more white people coming in. I think mostly whites benefit (Danielle, 2013).

Joshua has been a resident of Lower Woodstock for 24 years and when he reflected on the renewed spaces he also disqualified himself from participating in them on grounds of race and class:

When I see it [The Old Biscuit Mill] and how busy it is, it is only, mostly the middle class people going there, so that is mostly in the lower main road, I don’t think that low class people can shopping there, I think that is mostly exclusive. This is my point of view, how I see it, there mostly white people there, and a few maybe middle class black and coloured people (Joshua, 2013).

Another respondent, Saabir, is 60 years old and has lived in Lower Woodstock for 36 years:

We don’t benefit, we as residents, we don’t benefit, I mean they do their thing and they benefit, they the people with the money. We haven’t got money, they going to buy us out, these houses next door, they going to buy it out now, the whole block with the street, if you have money, but if you don’t [*shrugs*]. The people with the

money they enjoy it, but us [*shrugs*]... this is mostly for white people, mostly white people who are going there (Saabir, 2013).

Respondent Valerie has not visited the renewed spaces, as she says that one must be interested in the things that they offer and they are expensive. When asked about the renewed spaces she says:

There is a lot of whites coming to the Old Biscuit Mill, because that is what I see when I go down to the butcher or whatever, the majority of people going in there is whites (Valerie, 2013).

Tarryn, quoted above, noted that as Woodstock was being upgraded, it was becoming more 'upper-class' and in the 'league of places like the Waterfront'⁵, but no longer a place for the 'low-class':

Everything is going to be high-class, not very expensive, but not for the low-class people, for the middle-class (Tarryn, 2013).

Shamila, a resident of Woodstock for eight years, owns a café and grocery store in Upper Main Road. As I conduct the interview with her, she multi-tasks: answering my questions, giving out instructions and serving customers. Her café is busy, and has a seating area where a few patrons sit and enjoy their meal. Shamila has not yet visited the renewed spaces as she says she is always working, and cannot find the time. When speaking about these spaces she also states that there is no benefit for her as a resident or for the community at large:

I don't think it means anything for the community of Woodstock. I am resident as well; I can't see how those changes have affected me in anyway, made my life better (Shamila, 2013).

The views of the respondents quoted above point to the polarisation that they feel to be operating within Woodstock between the wealthy, largely white professionals who enjoy the renewed spaces, and themselves, the coloured and working-class component of the inner-city neighbourhood (Lemanski, 2007: 454). While they may see the benefits of the redevelopment in general terms the changes taking place are not for them.

⁵ The V & A Waterfront is situated at the foot of Table Mountain, in the heart of Cape Town's working harbour. It offers indoor shopping, restaurants, and entertainment venues (V & A Waterfront, 2015).

4.2.2 'Fortified enclaves'

The process of gentrification involves what Glass described as the 'invasion' by the middle-classes of a working-class neighbourhood. The City of Cape Town aims to rectify the wrongs of the past by promoting social inclusion. However, the redevelopment of Lower Woodstock is creating exclusive spaces within this predominantly coloured and working-class neighbourhood which actively work against promoting social inclusion in the area.

Within the South African society there is a 'dichotomy between the first world and third world' (Lemanski, 2007: 451), meaning that significant economic inequality exists. Former President Thabo Mbeki simplistically referred to the nation of South Africa as: 'two nations, one of wealth and one of poverty' (Lemanski, 2007: 451). In the inner-city neighbourhood of Woodstock, significant transformation and massive private investment has taken place, but the working-class and the poor of the area are finding themselves excluded from these transformations, both socially and economically.

Firstly, the renewed spaces are structured in such a way that they appear exclusive and closed off to the public. This is achieved by having one entry point, high walls and a high degree of security. Security guards are visible at the facades of the buildings like The Old Biscuit Mill, The Woodstock Foundry, and The Woodstock Exchange. In an area with a high crime rate like Woodstock the concern for the safety of their patrons by businesses is understandable. However, the security measures in place also cut off these places from the street and ordinary members of the community who do not feel welcome or comfortable within them.

According to Caldeira, private worlds are created for the elite, in which they can live, consume, work and spend their leisure time, and these spaces are known as fortified enclaves (2000: 258). These 'private worlds' or 'fortified enclaves' can be residential areas, office complexes, shopping centres as well as other spaces such as schools, hospitals, entertainment centres and theme parks. These enclaves are described by Caldeira as 'socially homogenous environments' that are turned away from the street:

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 (2000: 258).

Fortified enclaves promote exclusive spaces, segregate classes and polarise communities. Lees' study of gated communities describes a similar dynamic:

... 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 (2006: 398).

The renewed spaces in Lower Woodstock, such as The Old Biscuit Mill and others resemble fortified enclaves, in structure and function. By creating spaces which are physically enclosed with walls, gates and security measures, a physical barrier exists, which may serve to dictate who may enter and who may not. As the property developer of The Old Biscuit Mill put it, one entrance was created so that they could monitor who comes in (Wenz, 2012: 24). The property developer of The Old Biscuit Mill also stated that they were able to 'isolate' it from its surrounds as the area was a 'dodgy' one at the time (Wenz, 2012: 24). Furthermore, the services, products and lifestyles offered by the renewed spaces are geared at the middle-class that can afford it, and this alienates the working-class component of the neighbourhood.

My respondents experienced a sense of exclusion and feeling 'other' within their own community. They recognised that they are not actively part of the renewal process and are not participants in the development of Lower Woodstock. Thus Fakhira noted that it is 'good' that the buildings are being renovated, because it gives Woodstock a 'boost', but says:

Well, I think it is a good investment. It is a good thing, because the new buildings bring new security, but I'm just saying they must make it easy for the people who are living here. They must make it not just for other people but for everybody... Well you know who benefits the most, and I don't want to get into that. It's good if they make a profit and if it is a good investment for them, but we must also feel that we are part of it. We don't even know when the buildings are coming or what they are going to do, we just see tomorrow there is something new (Fakhira, 2013).

As a resident, she feels isolated and distant from the urban changes, and thus excluded from them.

Shamila states that she feels that the community could benefit from urban renewal in a number of ways, but not from the sort of renewal that is taking place in Lower Woodstock:

If you want the residents to have benefit then you have to do other things like parks, community centres that will be for them. Because, as I said the residents are at work during the day, so if you want them to have benefit then you must do things for them (Shamila, 2013).

She points to what urban renewal could mean for the working-class residents of the area and what would be of benefit to them, and enrich their lives. However, the needs of the working-class are not taken into account and thus they are excluded from the redevelopment that is taking place.

Tarryn's description quoted above, of observing the activities at The Old Biscuit Mill whenever she 'drives past in the taxi' on a Saturday but never going inside because of lack of time and finances speaks to the social exclusion of working-class residents. Tarryn has become an observer of the activities taking place in her neighbourhood, activities in which she does not have a part. She is excluded as a working-class individual and has only the capacity to be an onlooker of what is happening.

As Lees points out, enclaves exist to bring separation between those who are considered different (2006: 398), and the views expressed above by my respondents clearly indicate that a major separation exists between the middle-class and the working-class in Woodstock. In the book *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity* (2009), the authors Setha Low, Dana Taplin and Suzanne Scheld examine public spaces and their use and note that:

In this new century, we are facing a different kind of threat to public space - not one of disuse, but of patterns of design and management that exclude some people and reduce social and cultural diversity. In some cases this exclusion is the result of a deliberate program to reduce the number of undesirables, and in others, it is a by-product of privatisation, commercialisation, historic preservation, and specific strategies of design and planning. Nonetheless, these practices can reduce the vitality

and vibrancy of the space or re-organise it in such a way that only one kind of person - often a tourist or a middle-class visitor - feels welcomed (2009: 1).

What is being pointed to here is how exclusivity is promoted through the design and layout of public spaces.

There are clearly economic implications for residents and business owners as renewal takes place in Lower Woodstock. As the city of Cape Town works towards developing itself as a 'world-class city', its development policies increasingly promote urban renewal strategies in places such as Woodstock, leading to increased property values and rents which rebound negatively on working-class residents. There are also social implications for the residents. As urban renewal takes place in the area, a physical divide is created between the working class residents, who identify themselves as coloured in an increasingly 'white' neighbourhood, and the new businesses in the area. The enclave-like restructuring of the renewed spaces in Lower Woodstock emphasises that divide and promotes divisions between those who feel they may enter and those who feel they may not. The type of entertainment and the products offered at these renewed spaces also contribute to the divide, as it is geared primarily at the middle class, who can afford to enjoy these spaces, compared to the working class, who cannot. By creating spaces that the working class cannot afford to enjoy, the redevelopment of the area results in their exclusion

At the same time, many of my respondents spoke about their exclusion in racial rather than class terms. Danielle, for instance, stated that 'it's not for us' and 'I think mostly whites benefit', while Valerie stated that the 'majority' of people visiting The Old Biscuit Mill are white people. This highlights that the issue of who benefits from the renewed spaces is not only be one of class but also one of race.

4.2.3 Social exclusion and race

The legacy of South Africa's highly racialized past, in which segregation, separate development and white supremacy prevailed, still informs the political consciousness and self-understanding of its people. Apartheid did not only segregate people in terms of officially enforced race groups; it also crippled people who were not classified as white

by limiting and controlling their access to education, jobs and areas in which they may reside. Michael McDonald, in his book: *Why race matters* (2006) unpacks the issues of racism in South Africa under the apartheid government, indicating that it sought to privilege the white minority who were considered to be 'better' and 'superior' and to oppress the non-white majority who were considered to be 'different' and 'inferior' (2006: 6-7).

The ideology of apartheid did not only marginalise those classified as non-white socially, politically and economically but it also marginalised them psychologically (Schutte, 2000: 207). According to Adhikari, the categorisation of the coloured population as 'mixed race' meant that they were not considered to be white but nor were they considered to be properly black, and this could also have a negative psychological impact on individuals (2005: 2). He also suggested that for many coloured people, there is a desire to assimilate into the dominant society, being the white society (2005: 8). He states that this assimilation is seen as a way of giving coloured people 'self-worth' and an acknowledgement of them as the equals of white people (Adhikari, 2005: 8). Hendrickse has also reflected on the pressures that could lead coloured people to want to assimilate with 'whiteness' instead of 'blackness' as in this statement below:

Because white was the standard, the passport to a better future, people tried to behave white, sound white, look white and even become white (2011: 17).

During the apartheid era being 'white' represented prosperity, success, superiority, and power. For many of my respondents, in democratic South Africa being white still largely represents these same attributes. Thus the changes to their neighbourhood that they see are described as places 'for white people', and the status of 'whiteness' is ascribed to the new places'.

Respondent Danielle, for instance, identified herself as a member of the coloured population by talking about 'us as coloured people'. In her discussion about her relationship to the renewed spaces, she noted that 'there are more white people coming in' and indicated that she thought that 'mostly whites benefit'. She drew a distinction between herself as a member of the coloured population and the newcomers to Woodstock by stating that she does not think that coloured people will benefit from the urban changes.

4.3 Displacement

During the apartheid era, the South African city was structured in such a way that the interests of the white minority were promoted and that of the black population subordinated. Apartheid emphasised separate human, economic and spatial development through its racial ideology and planning (Turok, 2001: 2350). In Turok's words, the apartheid government 'inscribed deep divisions into the geography of the city through population controls, forced removals and separate, unequal governing institutions' (2001: 2350). The Group Areas Act resulted in the removal of thousands of black people from the inner city neighbourhoods like District Six and their resettlement on the periphery of the city. Thus a significant legacy of apartheid is South Africa's contemporary settlement patterns, which are characterised by social segregation and are physically fragmented (Turok, 2001: 2350). Today the government aims at integrating its cities but this is challenged by the unequal 'economic and social forces that emerged under apartheid', which persist today (Turok, 2001: 2350).

Given such an unjust past, the prospect of further displacement of working-class residents through the process of gentrification, is deeply disheartening for those residents who are most vulnerable to this threat. The most vulnerable to displacement in this study are those residents of Lower Woodstock who do not own the houses they are living in but rent them. They are most at risk of being marginalised by the property trends that do not favour the poor and working-class. As tenants of the owners of the properties that they live in, and irrespective of the number of years that they have been occupying those properties, they do not have the security of ownership and are bound by their lease and the willingness of their landlord to renew it. The most vulnerable individuals in my sample were those residents of Lower Woodstock who had already lost their rental housing due to their landlords deciding not to renew the lease and thus been displaced from their homes and face the real prospect of being displaced out of Woodstock altogether. Displacement as a consequence of the process of gentrification does not only have an impact on the physical location of the displaced individual, it also affects their quality of life and standard of living when being displaced.

The next section focuses specifically on two respondents who have been displaced from their homes and find themselves in a very vulnerable position. It also explores the opinions

of those who feel themselves to be at risk as they are only renting the properties they are living in, as well as discussing the views of new residents and the key informants.

4.3.1 Displacement through the redevelopment of a site

The first respondent who had been displaced from her home is Rica who is 41 years old and has lived in Lower Woodstock her whole life in a semi-detached double storey on Cornwall Street. When I first met her she was sitting on a stool on the porch of a house across the road from an empty plot of land. I observed her for a while before approaching her; she appeared to be sad and concerned about something, as she sat slumped against the wall looking out into the distance. Rica revealed that the empty plot of land had once been her home. However, her house had been demolished the previous year in August of 2012. The empty plot was now surrounded by a concrete fence with barbed wire on top and Rica explained that the new owners of the property had put the fence up to prevent squatting. However, she also reported in anger that the people of the neighbourhood had started using the property as a garbage dump, by simply throwing their rubbish over the walls. It was not long after she told me this that I saw a man walking down the road with a black bag over his shoulder which he threw over the fence, just as Rica had said.

The house Rica was temporarily living in when I met her was a sub-let house in which her daughter was living. She was relatively fortunate in that her daughter's place was just across the road from their former home. However, she would have to find her own accommodation once she was back on her feet and to get back on her feet, according to Rica, was not the easiest thing to do as she was unemployed.

There are many versions of the occurrences that led up to the razing of the properties that once housed Rica and many others. Her version is presented here. . It shows clearly the devastating impact that displacement from their homes has on people like Rica, impacting on their current livelihoods and their futures:

They didn't say anything. The people that we rented the house from gave us a letter from the court saying we must evict, because the building is not safe, and I mean if it wasn't safe I wouldn't have stayed there all my life. So they sold the property and whatever, whatever, and they brought us the eviction papers of 2009, not even last

years. They evicted us with the sheriff of the court, and the next day they *somma*⁶ demolished the building (Rica, 2013).

As we spoke, Rica spoke angrily about the development that would take place on the land where her house had once stood. She expressed her frustration by asking me what I was going to do about the situation:

I'm sitting without a house, without a job. That's why I'm asking you, if you gonna question me then what then, get my point? It's not that I'm taking it out on you, it's coz I'm frustrated. They have a plan here, but nothing is happening (Rica, 2013).

The new plan for the property is an apartment block with shops at the bottom, and as Rica spoke about it, her voice trembled and the sadness and sense of hopelessness she felt was clear. The property is on the corner of Cornwall and Gympie Street, in the part of Lower Woodstock that is considered to be the most dangerous section of the area. According to the residents of Cornwall Street, the property developers have plans to transform the whole of Gympie and Cornwall Street into apartment blocks and shops.

When asked about her neighbours who have been displaced as well, Rica responded saying 'there is a lot of anger':

They are living with their families and so on, but I mean, they are also lost, with their children and the schools, everything is lost. We lived there all our lives and I mean to be disrupted like this, and nobody can help you (Rica, 2013).

Rica also reflected on the destruction of her wider sense of community as she does not see her former neighbours any more, but only hears about them:

We hear about this one and that one, and that that one is not well off, or this one is laying there, like that (Rica, 2013).

Atkinson describes displacement as being marked by its 'near invisibility', because 'where it happens no indicators remain' (2000: 309). This can be seen from Rica's statement as the people who have been displaced are 'lost'; it is as if they have gone unaccounted for. The people who once lived in the now demolished houses have either been moved to Blikkiesdorp, the 'Temporary Relocation Area' (TRA) in the Northern Suburbs of Cape

⁶ 'Somma' is a slang word for the Afrikaans word 'Sommer' which is used in this context meaning: 'just like that'.

Town already described above (DAG⁷, 2007), or they are living with friends and family, like Rica is doing. However, it is difficult to determine what actually happens to displaced people, as there is a lack of information about where they end up (Atkinson, 2000: 319). The ‘near invisibility’ of displacement displays a lack of concern for those who have been displaced, as well as emphasising the injustice of gentrification towards the poor. In this case, according to Rica, no support was extended to the families who were displaced.

Those who were displaced were taken in by family and friends after their houses were demolished, as Rashid, a resident living across the road from the demolished site confirmed:

I had people in my house, two families who stayed here for nearly two months, and my house isn’t that big, some had to sleep in the lounge. Not only me, but most of the other residents helped out (Rashid, 2013).

The help that is offered by the local government to evicted people is in the form of social housing. However, it is the responsibility of the resident to register for a house and only then can the process of receiving a house begin, as was explained to me by the ward councillor whom I interviewed as one of my key informants. The ward councillor was of the opinion that displacement is a ‘concern’, but that it was not occurring on a ‘large scale’ in Woodstock. The ward councillor also stated that space for social housing must be created:

I remain kind of conscious of urban renewal in the area, and will support gap housing or social housing initiatives in the area. It is also capitalising the poor because we provide housing which they eventually can own, well located and then you start to capitalise on that (Ward Councillor, 2013).

However, even though the mechanism of social housing is in place, it is a long process and residents like Rica have to endure the process under very trying circumstances. Individuals such as Rica, who are single with children and unfortunately unemployed, are in a very difficult situation. When asked about her current living arrangement she responded:

It’s not cool, but beggars can’t be choosers, because I can’t stay on the streets...I must go look for work, to get a house, like I said the people want R6000 to R8000 [for rent] today...now I am stuck, I don’t have anything, so I can’t say where my road is gonna end, because I don’t have stable feet to stand on (Rica, 2013).

⁷ DAG, or Development Action Group, is a leading Cape Town-based NGO in the urban sector, working with citizens, civil society, and government to address emerging urban challenges.

Atkinson's research found that the burden of displacement often falls most heavily on single people, because it is hard for them to find affordable accommodation (2000: 317), which is true for Rica. Through his research on displacement, Atkinson found that the main reaction of displacees would be to 'buy or continue renting' a property (2000: 319). However, he found that the displacees would eventually move out of the area because it would be too expensive to remain (Atkinson, 2000: 319). The lack of income and affordable accommodation manifests itself in flat shares and lodgers (Atkinson, 2000: 317). It is also recognised that a significant number of displacees would end up homeless, while others would rent where it is cheapest or live with family and friends (Atkinson, 2000: 319).

I also met with Rica's daughter Tarryn for an interview during my fieldwork, and found that she and her immediate family were sub-letting in the house where I first met Rica, with only one room to call their own. Tarryn already shares this room with her boyfriend and their children, but upon the eviction of her mother, grandfather and other siblings she had taken them in to live with her, in that one room. The house they live in they share with other families, I observed upon entrance into the house that all the inner doors had locks on them, and during my visit there people were moving in and out of these rooms and going about their activities without paying much attention to anyone else in the house. During my interview with Tarryn we sat in the kitchen, which also had locks on all the doors and multiple fridges in it. Tarryn describes her situation as one that is becoming increasingly common in Lower Woodstock, and is a result of landlords asking inflated rents, forcing those who need a home to sublet with others.

Once this development is complete and the area is gentrified, the landlord and developer will make the case that 'the area is now much more desirable and that a greater return is in order' (Atkinson, 2000: 316). However, Rica and her family do not have a place in that bright future in. When asked about what she saw for her future she said:

Like you see I don't have a house, I'm unemployed, so I don't see a future. I only see misery sitting here, watching what could have been a better place for me (Rica, 2013).

The new apartment blocks and the shops which will stand where Rica's house once stood will contribute to the economic growth of the neighbourhood of Woodstock. They may contribute to an increase in safety and security in the area and beautify the area as well. However, Rica and her family will not share in those benefits. Instead they will be forced to move out of the area, and most likely find themselves living on the periphery of the city. As a working-class

and poor individual her life is adversely impacted by the urban processes which are presented as being for the economic advancement of the neighbourhood.

4.3.2 Displacement through rising rents

Atkinson describes another form of displacement, which is the ‘pricing out of residents’ (2000: 310). The vulnerable residents who are only renting their properties are at risk of this as landlords increase rentals, until it becomes unaffordable to the tenant, and the tenant is forced to leave. My second case of a displaced resident is one where the landlord decided to sell the property, but gave the occupying tenant the first option of purchase. However, this was at a price she could not afford, and subsequently she was legally forced to move. Kelly was 40 years old at the time of the interview and had been living in Woodstock for 19 years in a semi-detached double storey house with two bedrooms. She lives with her father, her young son and nephew. She is a child minder and the sole breadwinner of the household. On the day of the interview Kelly was in the process of packing up her life, as the next day she had to vacate the premises. She said the reason she had chosen to move to Lower Woodstock originally was because of its centrality, and that had made her life very convenient. She stated that she would like to continue living in Woodstock as she works in the area, so it is important for her job and livelihood that she stays there.

When asked about the positive aspects of living in Lower Woodstock she stated:

For me, Woodstock feels like home. There is just this homely feeling. You never lonely, never alone staying in Woodstock. So just the community alone, they are very lively, very active in a lot of things. We have a lot of concerned residents staying in Woodstock (Kelly, 2013).

I asked her how she felt about her house being sold:

I am not pleased, because like I say the house was home, it wasn’t just a house, to others it might have seemed like a house standing in the middle of the street but to me it was home. We’ve been a family staying here, I have seen children growing up in the neighbourhood, it’s just, it has been a family life, so that will be the thing that would attract me to still want to be here (Kelly, 2013).

Gentrification poses a threat to the social networks a person builds up in a neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2000). According to Atkinson, ‘involuntary movement from a place called ‘home’ is linked to grieving’ (2000: 314). It is therefore not simply a matter of moving house. As Kelly put it, the house that she had lived in was her home not just a house.

Kelly despondently explained the process she had been through with her landlord. She had negotiated with him for about year concerning the sale of the property, but to no avail:

He sold the house and the reason we need to be out of the house is because the new owner wants to take up residence in the house, on those grounds we have to give up and move out (Kelly, 2013).

As a working-class single mother, Kelly could not afford to buy the house she had been living in for 19 years, and there was a sense of defeat in her words as she said simply: ‘We have to give up and move out’. She described the landlord as dealing unfairly with her:

He actually hasn’t given us an option to buy the house, because the amount that he wants for the house first of all really wouldn’t suit our pockets, he didn’t really deal fairly with us (Kelly, 2013).

When asked what her thoughts were on the Cornwall Street demolition, Kelly stated that she was in agreement with upgrading the area, but that more care should be taken with those who are displaced:

The only thing I don’t agree with is that we are living in a democracy and constitutionally they should have put those people up, accommodated them, put them in a haven, they should not have been scattered and living on street corners. They have lived in those houses almost their whole lives and I just feel they should have accommodated them, before they demolished the building (Kelly, 2013).

When asked about her future in Woodstock, Kelly replied:

My future in Woodstock, where I see myself in a couple of years’ time, see myself owning a house in Woodstock, that is one of my ideals, one of my dreams, to actually own a house in Woodstock (Kelly, 2013).

Unfortunately for Kelly and Rica, they have both fallen victim to political and economic forces beyond their control. The city of Cape Town is working towards being established as a ‘world-class city’ through the development of certain parts of the city (Watson, 2009).

The inner city of Cape Town, and more specifically Woodstock, as mentioned before, had experienced urban decay, and was in need of intervention. It was in the 2000s that the Central City Improvement Districts (CCID) were introduced, along with a number of inner-city development initiatives ‘set against the backdrop of neoliberal policy frameworks, has resulted in significant urban change which aims to attract new capital and a new urban middle class (Pirie, 2007; Donaldson, Kotze, Visser, Park, Wally, Zen, Vieyra, 2012). In 2003 the CBD of Cape Town was designated as an Urban Development Zone (UDZ) by the National Treasury (Lemanski, 2007: 452; National Treasury, 2004) and the tax incentives offered encourage private sector property construction and building renovation in the city (Lemanski, 2007: 452; The State of Cape Town Central City Report, 2013).

As a result of the tax incentive Woodstock experienced an increase in development and upgrade. The Table Bay District Plan listed the promotion of the UDZ in Lower Main Road to encourage development and revitalization as one of its main objectives. Urban development policies increasingly promoted urban renewal strategies in areas such as Woodstock, and as it yielded results in developments such as The Old Biscuit Mill and The Palms the interest in the area began to grow. Through the growing interest in Woodstock, property values increased and the ‘rental housing stock for the low-income population ... further decreased’, with properties being sold off for redevelopment by their owners (Wenz, 2012: 25). It can be seen through the accounts of Kelly and Rica that these economic and political forces had an undesired impact on the working-class individual’s life.

Donaldson et al. states that:

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 (2013: 174).

It cannot be doubted that the uprooting of people who have lived in an area for decades is not a negative consequence.

Hartman argues that:

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 (1979: 23).

The impact of gentrification on the life of the displacee transcends the loss of a physical building. As can be seen with both Kelly and Rica the loss of their homes has the ability to compromise their future. Kelly expresses her desire to buy a house in Woodstock in the future, however, since she has been dislodged from the affordable accommodation she was living in, re-entry into the area may be difficult due to the high prices and rentals (Atkinson, 2000: 319). Those residents of Cornwall and Gympie Street who have been moved to Blikkiesdorp in Delft have, as Hartman states, been moved to an ‘alien environment’, which is situated on the periphery of the city. These individuals are forced to travel long distances to work, their children are uprooted from their schools and may now be forced to travel far and possibly dangerous routes to school, and they are living in ‘tin’ homes, whereas before in Lower Woodstock they were living in built structures. These individuals have been removed from the city and subsequently the opportunities, which arise from living in the city, have been taken away from them.



Photograph 48: Tin houses of Blikkiesdorp (Bonvin, 2009)

Rica and Kelly have been displaced from their homes due to gentrification. Many other residents in similar circumstances to them fear that they are also at risk of suffering a similar fate. These fears were expressed in an interview I conducted with Joshua, who had lived in Woodstock for 24 years. He lived across the road from the houses which were demolished, and described the events of the 9th of August 2012 as ‘devastating’ and ‘heartless’. I asked him about his future in the area and he stated:

For me very bleak, I cannot see a future, I can see that the owner is gonna sell the house to the highest bidder so the future for me and my family is bleak, but I am looking out for something else (Joshua, 2013).

When asked if he would move out of Woodstock, he said:

I can’t see that it is possible because property prices are sky high, because houses sell for a million just like that (Joshua, 2013).

4.4 Benefiting from gentrification

As said before, with the removal of some residents from an area, gentrification brings in new middle-class residents. I was able to conduct an interview with one such resident, the new owner of Kelly’s house. Jan is an architect who had been living in Woodstock for three months when I conducted the interview with him. He and his partner renovated the semi and lived in it for six months. The property was then sold to a young professional couple.

Jan indicated that he was attracted to the area because of the diversity of the area:

I quite like the difference, the income difference and we all living in the same environment. Also different cultures. This is a major interest for me (Jan, 2013).

Jan’s partner had already owned a luxury linen store at Salt Circle on Salt River Road for five years, so Jan was not unfamiliar with the area of Woodstock, but as he puts it, the house he bought is his ‘first project in the area’.

When asked what the positive aspects of Woodstock are, Jan replied:

There is a sense of care of the neighbours, they look after each other. We only live in the property during the week and over the weekends I do not really feel too nervous about the property, because someone is always watching out for it. I also very much enjoy the life on the street, we have kids playing soccer and when I designed this building I had the mentality of still very much suburban idea, with the big glass windows, not considering that children play in the street and when I saw them playing I put this screen on, because all of a sudden they got nervous that they might break the window and that is the last thing that I wanted to happen, destroying that street life, and so we put the screen on to accommodate the street life that is so exciting for me. Often enough I get comments from friends saying that I am crazy to have this open façade on to the street. And when we have dinner and sit here they all look out and everyone's attention is on the street and people quite like that idea, to sit and engage with the street life and vice versa (Jan, 2013).

For Jan the fading working-class character of the area is part of its appeal: 'The area is still quite rough, but in the roughness is the intrigue' (Jan, 2013).

Jan's account of his attraction to Woodstock resonates with Garside's findings during the 1990s:

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).

While working-class tenants in Woodstock like Rica, Kelly and Joshua mentioned above are at risk of being displaced as the upgrading process continues, middle-class newcomers like Jan are benefiting. According to the ward councillor that I interviewed, however, sad it may be for people to lose their homes, especially when they feel it has been done in an unfair manner, any analysis of what is happening needs to strike a balance:

If an area like Woodstock remains stagnant there are other socio-economic impacts with that, like crime, unemployment, so I think we have to embrace the fact Woodstock is being discovered and slowly becoming part of the Central Business District and that kind of economic activity, and we have to do what we can to retain

the diversity, protect the residential component, but obviously there will be some impact on them (Ward Councillor, 2013).

One of the town planners interviewed for this study also reflected on the positive aspects of what is taking place in Woodstock:

I think it is positive for the urban land market from the point of that they have access to land as a result of revitalisation. It encouraged people to move back to the area, it encouraged yuppies and young professionals to move to the area, to actually embrace it as an area. With that dynamic changing I think the area has become more vibrant and I think it's very positive from that point of view (Nina, 2013).

At the same time, she was very aware of the negative consequences for people who had been living in the area for years and were marginalised from and by the economic boom:

The negative aspect of it is that people who have lived there for many, many years are threatened with gentrification and spatially what is happening is that developers are buying up properties. You have long properties in Woodstock, so what developers do is they buy up a block and consolidate it and make it into a big block and develop flats and/or commercial properties, with residences on the top, which is good for the area, but it means that it isolates and alienates people who have lived there for many years, because they can't afford that kind of new residential properties...gentrification is definitely happening because you are displacing people who cannot afford to live there anymore, people who have been there for a long time. When you develop you invest a lot of money, which is good, but the bad thing for someone who cannot afford to live there is that you cannot contribute to that market. And you are displaced. It is just another form of apartheid (Nina, 2013).

Atkinson (2000: 324) states that gentrification is constructed as both a 'destroyer' and a 'saviour' in the recreation of run-down areas (2000: 324), and this dichotomy is evident from my discussion above. There are both positive and negative aspects to gentrification. Positively, it allows for capital reinvestment in an economically stressed area through urban policies which actively seek to bring about economic regeneration into the city centres (Winkler, 2009: 363). However, costs are imposed on the residents by the strong upward socio-economic changes in gentrifying areas (Atkinson, 2000: 308), which includes is the displacement of the poor out of their homes and even the area as a whole.

The above section on displacement relays the stories of two vulnerable individuals in the persons of Kelly and Rica. Kelly and Rica are both single mothers, working-class and they live with extended family members and due to the processes of urban renewal in the area have found themselves displaced from their homes. It may be argued that displacement in Lower Woodstock is not taking place on a large scale, and that cases like those of Kelly and Rica are exceptional; however, as the urban renewal process gathers momentum, the number of residents displaced like Rica and Kelly is likely to increase too. Those who are displaced will, most likely, be the most vulnerable people living in the area, those without the resources to find reasonable alternatives.

The process of urban renewal has brought about many positive changes in Lower Woodstock and the greatest of these is the economic investment in the area. However, it has also left people dislocated from their homes, their community, their support structures and ultimately their way of life. Gentrification and the displacement of people may be regarded as the unintended consequences of well-meaning policies and programmes put forward to improve neighbourhoods. It may also be argued that in the face of the overall economic gains the plight of these vulnerable individuals becomes secondary. However, there is a civil and political responsibility to take care of the poor, disenfranchised and marginalised individuals of society. Their needs cannot go unrecognised.

Chapter 5: Conclusion



Photographs 49 & 50: Street Art on houses in Lower Woodstock (Carls, 2014)

'Gentrification is definitely happening, because you are displacing people who cannot afford to live there anymore, people who have been there for a long time. When you develop you invest a lot of money, which is good, but the bad thing for someone who cannot afford to live there is that you cannot contribute to that market. And you are displaced.'

(Key Informant, town planner of 24 years and former resident of Woodstock, 2013)

The focus of my study has been the process of urban renewal and gentrification in the area of Woodstock and its impact on its long-term residents, though a qualitative investigation of the views and experiences of that group of people on the changes and developments that are currently taking place around them in the area. My research design was organised around an exploration of the following two-part research question: What is the impact of gentrification on the long-term residents of Lower Woodstock and what are their views on it?

In exploring these questions I developed a number of subsidiary research questions that shaped my overall research design and are restated here:

1. What is the extent of gentrification in the neighbourhood?
2. Has displacement of working-class residents occurred as a result of gentrification?
3. Do long-term residents perceive any benefits for themselves from the urban changes taking place in the area, and if so, what?
4. Do long-term residents perceive any costs due to the urban changes and what?
5. Are the views of the long-term residents on social integration, race and identity changing in relation to these developments and if so, in what ways?

In this final chapter I briefly review my main findings in relation to these questions.

5.1 Gentrification in Woodstock

In Chapter 2 I summarised the main features of gentrification as discussed in the academic literature as involving a process of economic investment in decaying working-class neighbourhoods that turns these areas into increasingly attractive places for members of the middle class not only as places of work but also as places where they would want to live and play. What Glass described as the consequent ‘invasion’ of these areas by the middle classes impacted negatively on the original working-class residents of the neighbourhood who become socially excluded and, over time, physically displaced from their former community. Over the five decades that have passed since Glass first coined the term gentrification many debates have arisen regarding the consequences of the phenomenon. While every city has its

own unique history, the common denominator of the gentrification process is that of ‘displacement’ or ‘replacement’ of the poor in the inner city. My study has found that the process of urban renewal that is underway in Lower Woodstock fits broadly with this understanding of gentrification.

My review of the history of the suburb confirms that by the late twentieth century Woodstock was experiencing urban decay. In Woodstock it was the case that in the late 1940s to 1950s an economic downturn was experienced and many businesses closed down or left the area, like the Pyotts Biscuit factory, which is now the home of The Old Biscuit Mill. During this time abandoned buildings became nesting grounds for criminal activity, which caused the area to experience more decay. South African researchers Visser and Kotze (2008) found that in South Africa the decline of inner-city neighbourhoods was further exacerbated by pressures towards decentralisation and what was termed ‘white-flight’ to the suburbs.

These dynamics need to be understood in relation to the added dimension of apartheid and the segregation of race groups. This dimension contributes to the already complex nature of gentrification, as in South Africa one does not only have to consider the class dimensions of gentrification but also those of race; for many of my respondents, as shown in Chapter 4, the two cannot be easily separated in their experience of the urban renewal underway in Woodstock. Gentrification affects those belonging to the lower economic classes of society and within the South African context the majority of the working-class is black.

Of interest here is that Woodstock, did not succumb to the Group Areas Act, which resulted in it becoming named an ‘open area’ or ‘free settlement’ in 1987. The area had always been racially mixed, but this occurrence led to an increase in affluent coloured families moving into the area, thus displacing poorer working-class families, which introduced the first phase of gentrification (Garside, 1993). The second phase of gentrification took place post-1994, when economic investment started flowing back into the now democratic South Africa (Wenz, 2012). In the late 1990s and continuing into the 2000s the City Cape Town started introducing various urban renewal strategies in order to regenerate inner-city neighbourhoods of the city such as Woodstock. In 2004, Woodstock was declared an Urban Development Zone, and the National Treasury offered developers and investors a tax incentive to develop in the neighbourhood. This was a highly strategic move by the local government, as investing in an area was a risk for developers, so they had to be enticed to do so.

Several features of Woodstock, such as its Victorian-style architecture, its close proximity to the city centre and the mixture of both commercial and residential properties acted as a draw card for developers and hastened the pace of gentrification, with the emergences of apartment blocks and businesses accelerating after 2004. Woodstock has become known as the ‘creative-hub’ of the city, and the role of creativity in the development of cities and tourist spaces is recognised by this study and deemed as necessary. The rapid increase in new businesses and the transformation of old, dilapidated buildings into designer stores, restaurants and places of entertainment can be attributed to the urban renewal strategies and policies put forward by the government.

As property values have risen due to the upgrading of buildings and infrastructure primarily along Lower Main Road, and as landlords have seen the financial rewards of selling their properties to developers, so the poor and working-class residents of the neighbourhood have found themselves increasingly vulnerable to being pushed out. For this study, gentrification is largely about displacement.

5.2 The benefits and costs of gentrification

In Chapter 4, I presented the views of the long-term residents on the urban changes taking place. What emerged was that their views were complex. Thus most of the residents I interviewed perceived that there were some benefits flowing from the urban changes taking place around them, along with many costs. I organised my discussion of these perceptions in terms of three main and intersecting themes: crime and safety, social exclusion and displacement.

A recurring theme throughout my fieldwork and interview process was that of ‘crime and safety’. Woodstock has a high crime rate and safety is a concern for all residents. As I walked the streets of the area, I was constantly reminded about this fact too, as people would tell me to ‘be careful’, or to put my ‘cell phone away’. Yet the official statistics show that crime rates have declined over the past decade, which many attribute to the redevelopment of the area. The increased safety of the area due to the upgrades is perceived as a benefit by the long-term residents I interviewed. Along with the actual reduction in crime, respondents agreed that a positive spinoff from this was that the negative identity and image of the area was beginning

to transform in the minds of outsiders as well as local residents. The upgrading of commercial properties of Lower Main Road was seen to be slowly eroding the stigma of ‘Gympie Street’ as a crime hotspot which has been attached to Woodstock.

At the same time, I also found that the respondents who have lived in Woodstock for 30 years and above felt that crime levels have increased compared to when they were growing up in the area, or when they first moved to the area. The main reasons cited for this were related to the increase in gangsterism and an increase in drug abuse. A number of respondents also linked these concerns to other changes in the area, in particular the number of foreign African immigrants who have moved into the area and were seen by established residents as a destabilising and unwelcome presence. Here concerns around crime fed into xenophobic concerns around unfamiliar newcomers to the area.

The second theme which arose through my discussions with the respondents is that of social exclusion. This theme relates to my fifth subsidiary research question dealing with social integration. Gentrification as a process is idealistically supposed to lead to ‘socially mixed, less segregated, more liveable and sustainable communities’ (Lees, 2008). The upgrading of Woodstock has been promoted as a mechanism which will create a more tolerant, socially cohesive city. However this study found that the upgraded spaces are exclusive in nature, from their often fortified appearance through to the type of people who frequent it. In many respects the drive to regenerate the city is reinforcing the inherited divisions of South Africa’s past.

The experience of most of the respondents I interviewed for this study has been far from ‘inclusive’. Respondents agreed that the upgrading of the Lower Main Road and various other parts of Woodstock have beautified the area and led to increased feelings of safety. However, they were clear that developers and investors were not sensitive to the needs and wants of the working-class residents of Woodstock. The fact that none of the upgraded spaces are perceived as affordable or suitable for their entertainment by most of the residents I interviewed indicates that the experience of the working-class residents of Woodstock is that they are both economically and socially excluded by them from their neighbourhood.

In the South African context this is highly problematic. The apartheid government created social divides between people of different race groups, by controlling where they could go for entertainment, what they could pursue as a job, and who they could marry. With a history littered with oppression and segregation, the new democratic government is committed to

creating a society which is fair, dispels inequality, and is inclusive and tolerant. However the upgraded spaces of Woodstock are perceived by many of my respondents as representations of whiteness: in their view in order to enjoy those spaces one has to be white. From this perspective, then, gentrification does not breed social cohesion, social mixing or increased diversity. Instead it leads to an ‘us’ and ‘them’ mentality, and to very limited, if any, interaction between the ‘outsider’, or ‘newcomer’ and the original residents of the area.

My third theme is that of displacement, deals with the most serious cost of the urban renewal process for long-term residents. Displacement emerges through my study as fundamental to the understanding of gentrification: the process of urban change would not be that of gentrification if a form of displacement did not exist. In the words of Atkinson (2000) displacement occurs when ‘pressures on the housing market from affluent groups create inflated rents and prices which can push out the low paid or unpaid overtime’. In Chapter 4 I looked at two forms of displacement in Woodstock, the first as a result of landlord harassment and eventual eviction and the second as a result of the tenant being ‘priced out’ of her house when she could not afford to buy it when it was placed on the market by her landlord.

Displacement can be regarded as the most adverse of gentrification’s effects, as it not only uproots individuals and families from out of their places of belonging, but it also compromises their ability to ‘get back on their feet’ and hence their future.

5.3 Conclusion

The process of gentrification is supported by strong arguments for the regeneration of decaying suburbs as benefiting the local economy and leading to an improvement in community safety. In cities like Cape Town, which is a major tourist centre, a tourist attraction is created from what used to be regarded a slum. Without any upgrading and urban changes that generate wealth, grow the economy, increase safety and beautify the city, areas like Woodstock would, the argument goes, remain stagnant and the standard of living of all the residents of the area would not improve.

However, the overall conclusion to emerge from this study is that in the experience of working-class residents of Woodstock, the gentrification that is taking place in their

neighbourhood is a destructive force. In Woodstock long-term residents feel excluded rather than included from the new developments in their area. They also feel vulnerable. People have been uprooted due to evictions. Without a secure place to live in, these displaced individuals struggle to cope and some are left destitute. Numbers have been forced to leave the area altogether and move to the very tough conditions at Blikkiesdorp. Just as the gentrifier wants to 'make a place for themselves in this world' (Redfern, 2003), so does the displaced person. Gentrification allows the gentrifier such as Jan (described in Chapter 4) to make a place for himself, through the process of transforming an area such as Woodstock, but it is at the expense of the working-class residents. This study thus concurs with theorists such as Smith (1996) that gentrification is primarily about class. The upgrades that are made in an area such as Woodstock are made to benefit the middle class and in so doing they displace the working class who cannot afford the spaces of commerce and recreation, and eventually will not be able to afford to live in the area, due to the increase in property values and rates.

Within the South African context there is the added issue of race and, more recently, of xenophobia. The majority of working-class people in Woodstock belong to the coloured race group as defined under apartheid and most accept this as an aspect of their identity that is largely taken for granted as a given. The process of gentrification in Woodstock appears to be reinforcing the inherited divisions of race, through the displacement of working-class residents, who are regarded as being coloured, by middle-class people, who are perceived as being white.

Ultimately it is the poor who bear the brunt of gentrification. What is seen by outsiders and visitors to areas like Woodstock is a vibrant area in the process of being upgraded, which is filled with promise and is contributing to the image of Cape Town as a global city. What is not seen is the 'hidden cost of gentrification' as Atkinson (2000) puts it, which is the displacement of the poor.

Bibliography

- Adhikari, M., 2005. *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African coloured community*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Atkinson, R., 2000. The hidden cost of gentrification: displacement in central London. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, Volume 15(4): 307-326.
- Babbie, E. and Mouton, J., 2001. *The Practice of Social Research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Baumann, L., 2006. *Introduction and Brief Vverview: A Short History of the Biscuit Industry in South Africa*. [Online.] Available at: <http://www.teriton.co.za> [Accessed 30 September 2014].
- Bernburg, J.G., Krohn, M.D. & Rivera, C.J., 2006. Official Labeling Criminal Embeddedness and Subsequent Delinquency: A Longitudinal Test of Labeling Theory. *Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 43(1): 67-88.
- Bickford-Smith, V., 2001. Mapping Cape Town: From slavery to apartheid. In Field, S. (eds). *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town*. Cape Town: New Africa Books, pp 15-26.
- Boamistura, 2011. *Diamond Inside*. [Online] Available: http://www.boamistura.com/diamond_inside.html [Accessed: November 2015].
- Bursik, R.J., 1988. Social Disorganisation and Theories of Crime and Delinquency. *Criminology*, 26(4): 519-551.
- Butler, T. & Lees, L., 2006. Super-gentrification in Barnsbury, London: Globalisation and gentrifying global elites at the neighbourhood level. *Trans Inst Geogr*, 31: 467-487.
- Caldeira, T.P.R., 2000. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo*. London: Univeristy of California Press.
- Catungal, J. and Leslie, D., 2009. Placing power in the creative city: Governmentalities and subjectivities in Liberty Village, Toronto. *Environment and Planning A*, 41(11): 2576-2594.
- Christopher, A.J., 1989. Spatial variations in the application of residential segregation in South African cities. *Geoforum*, 20(3): 253-267.

Christopher, A.J., 1997. Racial land zoning in urban South Africa. *Land Use Policy*, 14 (4): 311-323.

Christopher, A.J., 2000. *The Atlas of Changing South Africa*. Routledge: South Africa.

Christopher, A.J., 2001. Urban Segregation in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Urban Studies*, 38(3): 449-446.

City of Cape Town, 2009. *Cape Town*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/MediaReleases/Pages/MediaBriefingonCapeTown'sCityImprovementDistricts.aspx> [Accessed 10 May 2014].

City of Cape Town, 2011. *Table Bay District Plan*, Cape Town: City Space: Planning Cape Town.

City of Cape Town, 2013. *Integrated Development Plan 2012-2017*. Cape Town.

City of Cape Town, 2014. *City of Cape Town*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/Pages/default.aspx> [Accessed 09 May 2014].

Clark, E., 2005. The order and simplicity of gentrification - a political challenge. In Atkinson, R. & Bridge, G. (eds.). *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 256-264.

Crime Statistics South Africa, 2014. Crime statistics per precinct, 2013. [Online.] Available: www.crimestatssa.com (10/08/14)

Davidson, M., 2008. Spoiled mixture: Where does state-led 'positive' gentrification end? *Urban Studies*, 45(12): 2385-2405.

De Filippis, J., 2004. *Unmaking Goliath: Community Control in the Face of Global Capital*. London: Routledge.

Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S., 2011. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Fourth Edition. United States of America: SAGE Publications Inc.

Department of Environmental Affairs, 2008. 2008-2009 Annual Report of the Department of Environmental Affairs [Online.] Available at: https://www.environment.gov.za/sites/default/files/reports/annual_report2008_2009.pdf

Design Indaba, 2014. *Walls Mark Passage of Time*. [Online.] Available: <http://www.designindaba.com/articles/creative-work/walls-mark-passage-time> [Accessed: November 2015].

Development Action Group (DAG), 2007. *Living on the Edge: A Study of the Delft Temporary Relocation Area*. Cape Town: Development Action Group.

Dewar, D., 1977. *Housing: A Comparative Evaluation of Urbanism in Cape Town*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

District Six, 2014. *About District Six*. [Online.] Available: <http://www.districtsix.co.za/> [Accessed: November 2015].

Du Plessis, K., 2012. Promoting inclusionary regeneration processes and outcomes in Woodstock, Cape Town: Local actors' and agencies' solutions to counter market-led gentrification in their neighbourhood. Unpublished dissertation. University of Cape Town. Cape Town.

Donaldson, R., Kotze, N., Visser, G., Park, J., Wally, N., Zen, J., Vieyra, O., 2013. An Uneasy Match: Neoliberalism, Gentrification and heritage conservation in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town, South Africa. *Urban Forum*, 24: 173-188.

Eades, L.M., 1999. *The End of Apartheid in South Africa*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Erasmus, Z., 2001. *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*. Cape Town: Kwela Books

Garside, J., 1993. Inner City Gentrification in South Africa: The Case of Woodstock, Cape Town. *GeoJournal*, 30(1): 29-35.

Glass, R., 1964. *London: Aspects of Change*. London: MacGibbon and Kee.

Goffman, E., 1963. *Stigma*. London: Penguin.

Guy Briggs Urban Strategy, Planning and Design, 2012. *The Fringe Draft Urban Design Framework*. Cape Town: Guy Briggs Urban Strategy, Planning and Design.

Google Images, 2015. *Pictures of Woodstock, Cape Town*. [Online.] Available: www.google.com/imghp [Accessed March 2015].

Google Maps, 2014. *Map of Woodstock, Cape Town*. [Online.] Available: www.googlemapssa.co.za [Accessed March 2014].

- Hackworth, J. & Smith, N., 2001. The changing state of gentrification. *Journal of Economic and Social Geography*, 92(4): 464-477.
- Hae, L., 2012. *The Gentrification of Nightlife and the Right to the City: Regulating Spaces of Social Dancing in New York*. New York: Routledge.
- Hamnett, C., 2003. Gentrification and the middle-class remaking of inner London, 1961-2001. *Urban Studies*, 40(12): 2401-2426.
- Harris, B., 2002. Xenophobia: A new pathology for a new South Africa. In D. Hook & G. Eagle, eds. *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, pp. 169-184.
- Hartman, C., 1979. Neighbourhood revitalisation and displacement: A review of the evidence. *American Planning Association*, 45(4): 488-491.
- Hendrickse, P., 2011. 'The meek shall inherit the dearth not the earth'. In Peach, M. (2011). *Being Coloured: Coloured Identity, History and the Future*. WB Peach Media and Communication: Cape Town.
- Huisman, C., 2013. Displacement through participation. *Economische en Sociale Geografie* 105 (2): 161-174.
- Howitt & Cramer, 2011. *Introduction to Research Methods in Psychology*. 3rd ed. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Kotze, N.J. and Van der Merwe, I.J., 2000. Neighbourhood renewal in Cape Town's inner city: Is it gentrification? *Family Ecology and Consumer Sciences*, 28: 39-46.
- Kirk, D. & Laub, JH., 2010. Neighbourhood Change and Crime in the Modern Metropolis. *Crime and Justice*, 39(1): 441-502.
- Landau, L.B., Ramjathan-Keogh, K. & Singh, G., 2005. *Unprotected Migrants: Zimbabweans in South Africa's Limpopo Province*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
- Lees, L., 2003. Super-gentrification: The case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City. *Urban Studies*, 40(12): 2487-2509.
- Lees, L., 2008. Gentrification and social mixing: Towards an inclusive urban renaissance?. *Urban Studies*, 45(12): 2449-2470.

- Leildé, A.C., 2008. Changing identities in urban South Africa: An interpretation of narratives in Cape Town. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.
- Lemanski, C., 2007. Viewpoint global cities in the South: Deepening social and spatial polarisation in Cape Town. *Cities*, 24 (6): 448-461.
- Ley, D., 1986. Alternative explanations for inner-city gentrification: A Canadian assessment. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 76 (4): 521-535.
- Ley, D., 2003. Artists, aestheticisation and the field of gentrification. *Urban Studies*, 40(12): 2527-2544.
- Low, S., Taplin, D. and Scheld, S., 2005. *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity*. Texas: University Of Texas Press.
- Mammon, N., 2003. Inner City Revitalisation: The Woodstock : Salt River Revitalisation Framework (Summary). NM & Associates Planners and Designers.
- McDonald, M., 2006. *Why Race Matters in South Africa*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Miller, A., 2010. Community voices on gentrification: A case study of the Neighbourhood Goods Market in Woodstock. Unpublished paper for the Council on International Education Exchange. 19 May 2010. Cape Town.
- Morrison, P. & McMurray, S., 1999. The inner city apartment versis the suburb: housing sub-markets in a New Zealand city. *Urban Studies*, 36(2): 377-397.
- National Treasury, 2004. *Urban Renewal Tax Incentive* [Online.] Available: mfma.treasury.gov.za [Accessed September 2014].
- NM & Associates Planners and Designers, 2001. *The Woodstock-Salt River Revitalization Framework*. Cape Town: The City of Cape Town Administration.
- Palms @ Woodstock, 2015. *About the Palms*. [Online.] Available: www.palms.co.za [Accessed July 2015].
- Papachristos, A.V., Smith, C.M., Scherer, M.L. & Fugiero, M.A., 2011. More coffee, less crime? The relationship between gentrification and neighbourhood crime rates in Chicago, 1991-2005. *City & Community*, 10(3): 215-240.

- Pirie, G., 2007. Reanimating a comatose goddess: Reconfiguring central Cape Town. *Urban Forum*, 18: 125-151.
- Redfern, P.A., 2003. What makes gentrification 'gentrification'? *Urban Studies*, 40 (12): 2351-2366.
- Sandercock, L., 2003. Out of the closet: The importance of stories and storytelling in planning practice. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 4 (1): 11: 28.
- Schutte, G., 2000. Being African in South Africa: the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion. *Social Identities*, 6(2): 207-222.
- Shaw, C.R., & McKay, H.D., 1942. Social disorganisation theory. In Cullen, T & Wilcox, P (eds.) *In Encyclopaedia of Criminology Theory*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications
- Slater, T., 2014. Unravelling false choice urbanism. *City*, 18(4-5): 517-524.
- Smith, N., 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, N. & LeFaivre, M., 1984. A Class Analysis of Gentrification. In J. Palen & B. London, eds. *Gentrification, Displacement and Neighbourhood Revitalisation*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 43-64.
- Smith, N. & Williams, P., 1986. Alternatives to orthodoxy: Invitation to a debate. In Lees, L., Slater, T. & Wyly, E. (eds.), 2010. *The Gentrification Reader*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 9-10.
- SA History Online. 2014. *Woodstock, Cape Town* [Online.] [www.sahistory.org.za>places](http://www.sahistory.org.za/places) [Accessed: September 2014].
- Soudien, C., 2001. Distric Six and its uses in the discussion about non-racialism. In Z. Erasmus, ed. *Coloured by History Shaped by Place*. Cape Town: Kwela Books, pp. 114-129.
- Statistics South Africa. 2013. *Publications*. [Online.] Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/report-03-51-02/report-03-51-022012.pdf> [Accessed 29 Septemeber 2014].
- The Old Biscuit Mill, 2014. *About the Mill*. [Online.] Available at: <http://www.theoldbiscuitmill.co.za/about-the-mill/> [Accessed 20 July 2014].

The Woodstock Exchange, 2014. *About the Woodstock Exchange* [Online.] Available at: www.woodstockexchange.co.za [Accessed 20 July 2014].

Turok, I., 2001. Persistent Polarisation Post-Apartheid? Progress towards Urban Integration in Cape Town. *Urban Studies*, 38(3): 2349-2377.

Turok, I., 2011. Deconstructing density: Strategic dilemmas confronting the post-apartheid city. *Cities*, 28(5): 470-477.

Victoria & Alfred Waterfront. 2015. *About the V&A Waterfront* [Online.] Available: www.waterfront.co.za [Accessed July 2015].

Visser, G., 2002. Gentrification and South African cities: Towards a research agenda. *Cities*, 19 (6): 419-423.

Visser, G. & Kotze, N., 2008. The state and new-build gentrification in central Cape Town, South Africa. *Urban Studies*, 45(12): 2565-2593.

Watson, V., 2009. The planned city sweeps the poor away: Urban planning and 21st century urbanisation. *Progress in Planning*, 72: 151-193.

Wenz, L., 2012. Changing Tune of Woodstock: Creative Industries and local urban development in Cape Town, South Africa. *Gateways: International Journal of Community*, 5: 16-34.

Wenz, L., 2013. *Photograph of The Kitchen*. [Online.] Accessed: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-03-15-woodstocks-urban-renewal-much-more-at-stake-than-the-loss-of-parking/#.Vj2MqrcrLIU> [Available: November 2015].

Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign. 2013. *Anti-Eviction Campaign*. [Online.] Available at: <http://westerncapeantieviction.wordpress.com/>

Western Cape Government. 2010. *Cape Town Central City Regeneration Programme*. [Online.] Available at: https://www.westerncape.gov.za/text/2011/10/cc_regenerationprog.pdf [Accessed 20 July 2014].

Western Cape Government. 2014. *Western Cape Crime Statistics*. [Online.] Available at: <http://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/community-safety/woodstock.pdf> [Accessed 20 July 2014].

Western, J., 2002. A divided city: Cape Town. *Political Geography*, 21(5): 711-716.

Wilkinson, P., 2000. City profile: Cape Town. *Cities*, 17(3): 195-205.

Winkler, T., 2009. Prolonging the global age of gentrification: Johannesburg's regeneration policies. *Planning Theory*, 8 (4): 362-381.

Worden, N., Van Heyningen, E., & Bickford-Smith, V., (1998). *Cape Town: The Making of a City: An Illustrated Social History*. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren.

Woodstock Improvement District. 2014. *Woodstock Improvement District*. [Online.] Available at: <http://www.wid.co.za/about-us> [Accessed 10 May 2014].

XO Africa. 2013. *Street Art Tour Cape Town*. [Online.] Available at: <http://blog.xoafrika.com/destinations/street-art-tour-cape-town/> [Accessed: November 2015].

Appendix 1:

Interview schedule

Research Participant: No. _____

Gender: M/F

Age:

Race:

How long they have lived in the area:

House: Own/Rented

Type of House:

Occupation:

Date:

Time of interview:

Informed consent: Verbal/Signed

Follow Up Interview: Yes/No

If yes:

Date:

Time:

Venue:

Resident/former resident/displaced resident of Woodstock/Business (local)

- 1) For how long have you been a resident of Woodstock?
- 2) Can you tell me about your history with Woodstock? For example: Did you go to school in the area? Etc. (Have you always lived in Woodstock?)
- 3) What did you think of Woodstock when you first moved here?
- 4) Why did you initially move to Woodstock?
- 5) Do you work in Woodstock?
- 6) Are you part of any community groups/institutions/projects?
- 7) What were the positive aspects of living in Woodstock?
- 8) What were the negative aspects of living in Woodstock?
- 9) How have these aspects changed over time?
- 10) Do/ Did you enjoy living in Woodstock?
- 11) Describe the racial profile of Woodstock when you first moved here.
- 12) Describe the racial profile of Woodstock as it is currently.
- 13) Are there any physical changes taking place in Woodstock?
- 14) Who benefits the most from these changes?
- 15) What has the reaction of the local residents (your community members) of Woodstock been to these changes?
- 16) Describe the new residents of Woodstock.
- 17) How do you feel about them?
- 18) Describe the relationship between the new residents and the broader community of Woodstock.
- 19) How do you think the new residents think of/see you, as a local resident?
- 20) Describe the identity of Woodstock as an area.
- 21) Do these changes have an impact on the identity of the area?
- 22) Do these changes have an impact on your identity and other local inhabitants?
- 23) Is there a difference in the identity of Woodstock during the week when compared to the weekend?
- 24) Have you visited the Old Biscuit Mill? The Bromwell? The Woodstock Foundry?
- 25) Any other new place?
If yes:
 - How many times have you visited it?
 - Describe your experience when you visited it.*If No:*
 - Why have you not visited it?
- 26) What do you think the attraction of a place like the above mentioned is?
- 27) Has it become more expensive to live in the area since the changes have taken place?
- 28) How has your life changed since the processes of urban renewal started taking place in the area?
- 29) What is your future in W/S?

Appendix 2

Interview Schedule for key informants

Town planner/Developer/Any other key informant

Research Participant: No. _____

Gender: F/M

Race:

Occupation:

Date:

Time of interview:

Informed consent: Verbal/Signed

Follow Up Interview: Yes/No

If yes:

Date:

Time:

Venue:

Town planner/Developer/Any other key informant

Personal Information:

- 1) Can you tell me about your job?
- 2) How long have you held this position?
- 3) How long have you been working in the area of Woodstock? [or] How long have you been involved with property developments in the area of Woodstock? [or] How long have you been involved in the urban renewal projects taking place in the area of Woodstock?
- 4) Do you live in Woodstock?
If yes:
 - what do you like most about the area?
 - what do you like least about the area?
 - why did you choose to live in the area?If no:
 - have you ever lived in the area?
If yes:
 - what did you like most about the area when you lived here?
 - what did you like least about the area when you lived here?
 - Is there a possibility that you would move back to Woodstock? If yes: Why? If no: Why not?

Questions on Woodstock:

- 5) What are the positive aspects of Woodstock as an inner city area?
- 6) What are the negative aspects of Woodstock as an inner city area?
- 7) Describe the area of Woodstock in terms of its socio-economic status.
- 8) Describe the current racial profile of the area.
- 9) How has the area changed racially in the years you have been involved in the area?
- 10) Describe the class profile of the inhabitants of the area.
- 11) How has the area changed in terms of class in the years you have been involved in the area?
- 12) Describe the process of revitalization that is taking place in Woodstock.
- 13) Would you describe this process as urban renewal or gentrification?
If Urban renewal:
 - why would you describe it as urban renewal instead of gentrification?If Gentrification:
 - why would you describe it as gentrification instead of urban renewal?
- 14) What do these processes mean for the community of Woodstock?
- 15) What negatives do these processes pose for the community of Woodstock as whole?

- 16) What does the process of revitalizing Woodstock as an inner city suburb mean/ benefit the City of Cape Town as a whole?
- 17) Who are the main beneficiaries of the changes (Urban renewal processes/gentrification) in Woodstock?
- 18) What has the reaction of the old residents of Woodstock been to these changes? (By local I am referring to those people who have been living in Woodstock for more than +/-5 years) (*Own opinion of participant*)
- 19) Describe who the new residents in Woodstock are.
- 20) What has the reaction of the new residents been to Woodstock, in your opinion?
- 21) How are the new residents perceived by the older residents, in your opinion?
- 22) How do the new residents perceive the older residents, in your opinion?
- 23) Describe the identity of Woodstock as an area.
- 24) Do the urban renewal/gentrification processes have an impact on the identity of the area?
- 25) Do the urban renewal/gentrification processes have an impact on the identity of the older residents?
- 26) Through the processes of urban renewal/gentrification there is an influx of various backgrounds into the area of Woodstock, how do these interact with each other? Is there a blending of cultures in the area?
If yes:
 - a) What is the result of this blending for the area as a whole?
- 27) Describe the level of possibility for local residents to be directly involved in the processes of urban renewal taking place in Woodstock.
 - Are the local people involved?
 - If not, why so?
 - What are the possible results of their involvement?
 - What are the possible consequences of their non-involvement?
- 28) Are the investors/developers concerned with the opinions of the local residents regarding the processes of urban renewal/gentrification being implemented? Elaborate.
- 29) Are the investors/developers concerned with the participation of the local resident in the processes of urban renewal/gentrification in the area?
- 30) Does the increase in tourism have an impact on these urban processes in Woodstock?
- 31) In South Africa we see an increase in Black African foreigners fleeing to our country because of war in their own countries and in general a search for a better life. There are many foreigners living in Woodstock, how does this impact the neighbourhood and the process of urban renewal/gentrification?
- 32) Woodstock survived the Group Areas Act under the Apartheid regime, unlike District Six, how did the forced removals of District Six impact Woodstock as an area?
- 33) What was the relationship between Woodstock and District Six before the forced removals?
- 34) How will the redevelopment of District Six impact Woodstock?
- 35) What is the future of Woodstock, in terms of the urban renewal processes taking place, in your opinion?

Appendix 3

Informed Consent form

University of Stellenbosch

Sociology and Social Anthropology Department

MA Sociology

Kim Carls

Informed Consent Form:

Dear Participant,

I am doing my Masters Thesis on Urban Renewal in the area of Woodstock, and my focus is the perceptions and attitudes of the residents on the changes taking place.

I would appreciate your participation in my study as your contribution is considered valuable, however, you do not have to feel obligated in any way to participate.

If you do choose to participate, the interview will take about 45 minutes to an hour. The interview will also be voice recorded with your permission.

You may refuse to answer any question you are not comfortable with and you may end the interview at any moment.

Your personal details (name, address and phone number) will not appear in my study.

My study does not promise to yield any results that will be of any specific benefit to the participant and Woodstock in general.

If you agree with and understand the above, please grant me permission to proceed with the interview by providing your signature below:

Signature:

Date:
