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Gentrification and Displacement: a global phenomenon

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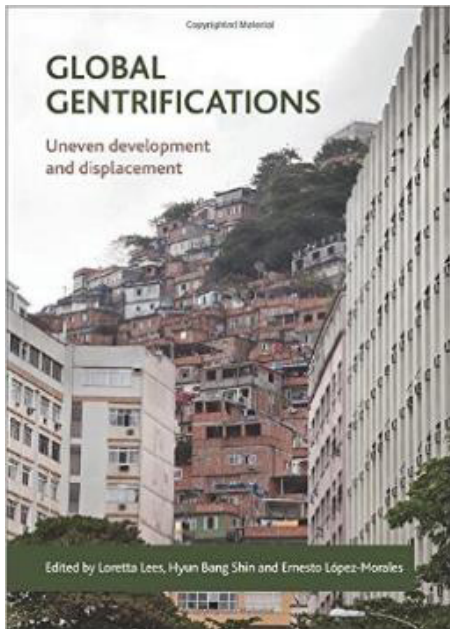
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Gentrification has gone global! (?)

Neil Smith (2002)

- Gentrification generalized
- The leading edge of neoliberal urban policy globally



URBAN FUTURES

Planetary Gentrification

Loretta Lees, Hyun Bang Shin
and Ernesto López-Morales



Our 'planetary gentrification' thesis:

- (i) narrates planetary gentrifications and the configurations *between* their paths, focusing on **the ascendancy of the secondary circuit of real estate** (offering a global perspective that considers colonialisms, globalization, and also the globalized effects of financial capitalism),
- (ii) acknowledges other (post)colonialisms (old and new),
- (iii) demonstrates planetary indigeneity (organic gentrifications that are not copies of those in the West),
- (iv) problematizes translations (West to East, North to South and vice versa).

A 'reloaded urban studies':

Which calls for the removal of centre-periphery binary thinking, acknowledging the emergence of multiple centralities across urbanising spaces and

'dispensing with all the old chestnuts between global North and global South, between developed and underdeveloped worlds, between urban and rural, between urban and regional, between city and suburb, just as we need to dispense with old distinctions between public and private, state and economy, and politics and technocracy' (Merrifield, 2014:4).

This builds upon Henri Lefebvre's (2003) ***the final frontier – the complete urbanization of society***, or what Brenner and Schmid (2012) call *the totalization of capital*.

We draw on the 'Subaltern Studies School':

Which **questioned universalizing Western Marxist categories** for studying historical social and economic change in South Asia but who **wanted to retain a Marxist analysis.**

Like them we separate ourselves from Marxism's universalist history of capital, the nation and the political, and from readings of class consciousness that do not travel well to contexts outside of the industrialized West.

And like them we also insist on a Marxist focus on the struggles of subaltern groups, the oppressed and the alienated in urbanising societies, that aligns with our critical political economy approach.

Urban governance has entered a ‘territorial moment’ = planetary gentrification

‘residents of, say, Lagos, Jakarta or Istanbul, may reasonably assume that in cities of such size they will be able to find a buyer for a luxury apartment in the future, while producing commodities – for domestic consumption or for export – is perceived as risky in comparison. Finally, middle classes in developing countries are not only local beneficiaries of the global regime of open markets and internationalized production, but ... they enjoy “almost entirely positive and unproblematic connotations” among many development agencies and governments. Thus, the construction of infrastructure and the development of a regulatory framework that encourages urban renewal and investment in real estate can be interpreted as attempts to “reinforce the conditions for their further accumulation” ’ (Schindler, 2015).

Key = reinvestment in the secondary circuit of capital (the built environment, real estate, here Istanbul)



Remaking cities in the Global South: gentrification and displacement



Pacification of Rio de Janeiro's slums: the precursor to 'slum gentrification'



Vila Autódromo favela



Favela chic



Spatial capital: connecting the favela to the downtown Rio



The revanchist city moves from NYC to Rio de Janeiro via NYC Mayor Gulliani





The Challenge of Slums: global report on human settlements, UN-Habitat 2003

‘This process of the physical deterioration of central city housing stock can be reversed through processes of **gentrification**, as has been frequently seen in ex-slum neighbourhoods in northern cities, where (usually young) professionals, themselves marginalized by the rising cost of ‘acceptable’ housing are willing to move into a traditional slum, attracted by the architecture and cheap housing prices, and, perhaps encouraged by official renovation programmes. **Gentrification** can lead to a rapid shift in population, with poor tenants being pushed out to make way for wealthier occupants and new commercial and service developments - for example, in Morocco’s development of medina areas in response to tourism and a conservation agenda. **However, gentrification in the cities of developing countries has been limited** and traditional slum housing remains very much the domain of the poor’

Mega projects eg. Eko Atlantic, Lagos, Nigeria



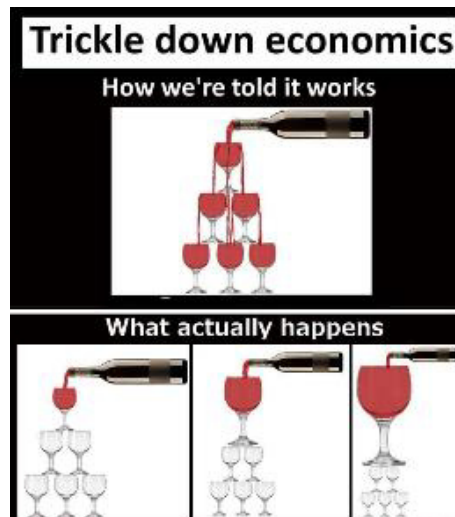
Displacement to periphery (here from central Istanbul to TOKI housing 40km away on outskirts of the city)



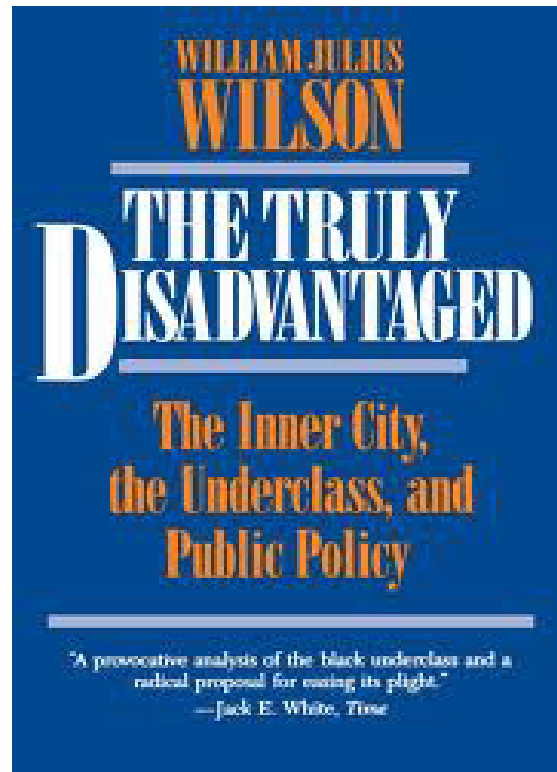
Ironically often supported by the very populations they dispossess

‘Mainstream Marxian theory narrates how (the proletariat) became a class-for-itself in the context of being collectively alienated from means of production. **But how do urban residents understand their place in the city, either individually or collectively, if they cannot realistically conceive of selling their labour power for a wage in an era of disconnected capital and labor?** Are residents in twenty-first-century metropolises subjectified by regimes of urban transformation in ways that activate them to participate in the transformation of cities? Or does antagonism over access to urban space, infrastructure, and material flows of resources produce a collection consciousness the way that struggles on the shop floor once did?’ (Schindler, 2016)

Remaking cities in the Global North: gentrification and displacement



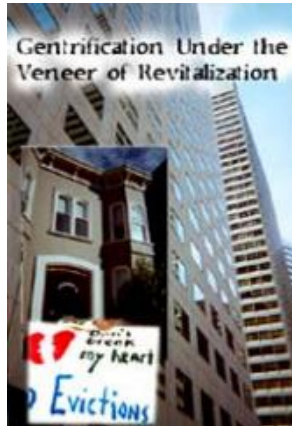
The Truly Disadvantaged William Julius Wilson (1987)



HUD's HOPE VI program: Home ownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere

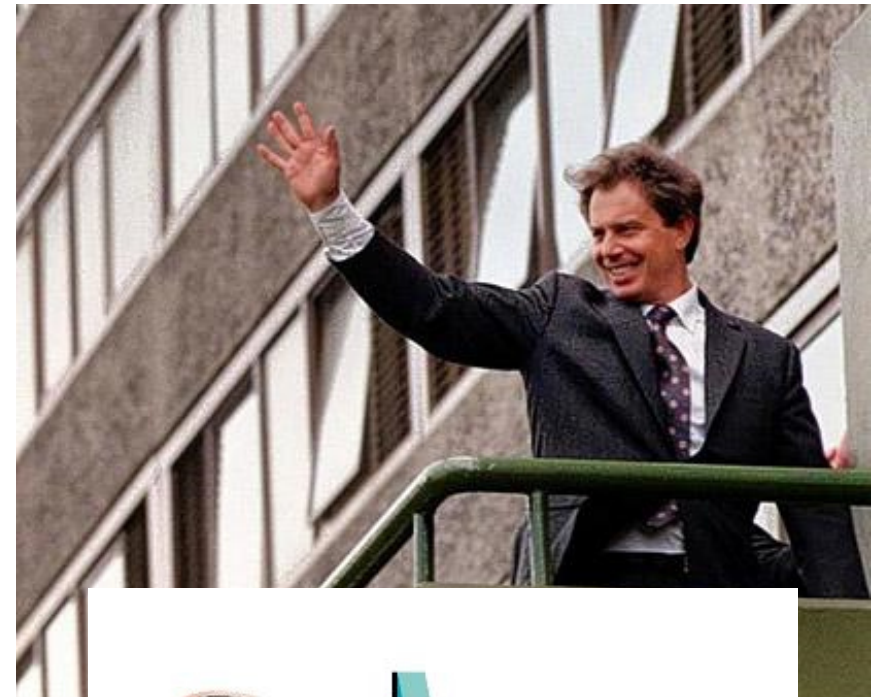
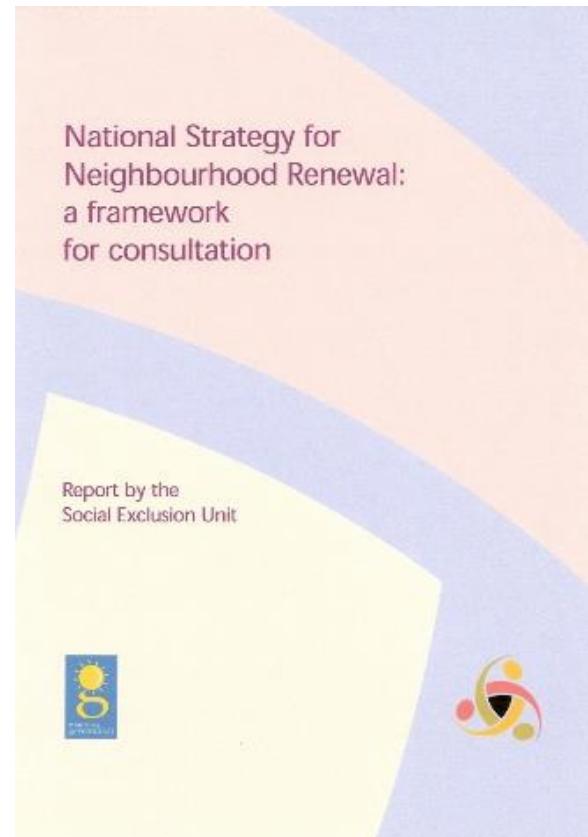
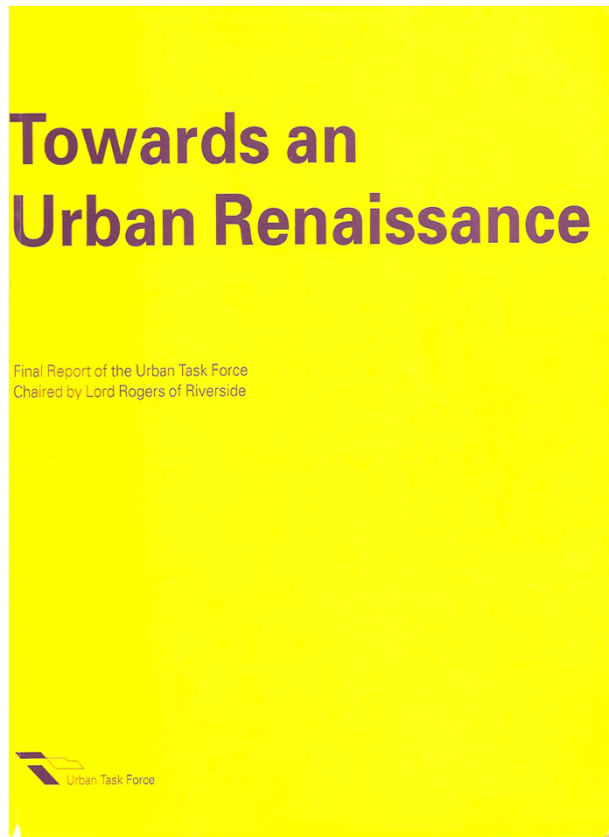


LAWRENCE J. VALE
Purging the Poorest
PUBLIC HOUSING AND THE DESIGN POLITICS
OF TWICE-CLEARED COMMUNITIES



THE END RESULT
IS THAT AS MANY AS TWO-THIRDS
OF THE FORMER RESIDENTS
OF A GIVEN HOUSING PROJECT
WILL BE UPROOTED.

New Labour's Mixed Communities Initiative



Mixed communities = social cleansing and gentrification

STOP HARINGEY COUNCIL GIVING £2 BILLION OF COUNCIL PROPERTY TO PRIVATE DEVELOPERS

COUNCIL HOMES • LIBRARIES • PARK SPACE • HEALTH CENTRES • COMMUNITY CENTRES • 500 SHOPS • SCHOOLS

COUNCIL PROPERTY AND LAND IN WOOD GREEN, TOTTENHAM, HORNSEY, MUSWELL HILL!

PUBLIC MEETING

Monday 13th February 2017
7pm – 9pm

Wood Green Social Club
Opposite Haringey Civic Centre
Stuart Crescent Wood Green N22 5NJ

CLLR STRICKLAND INVITED TO SPEAK

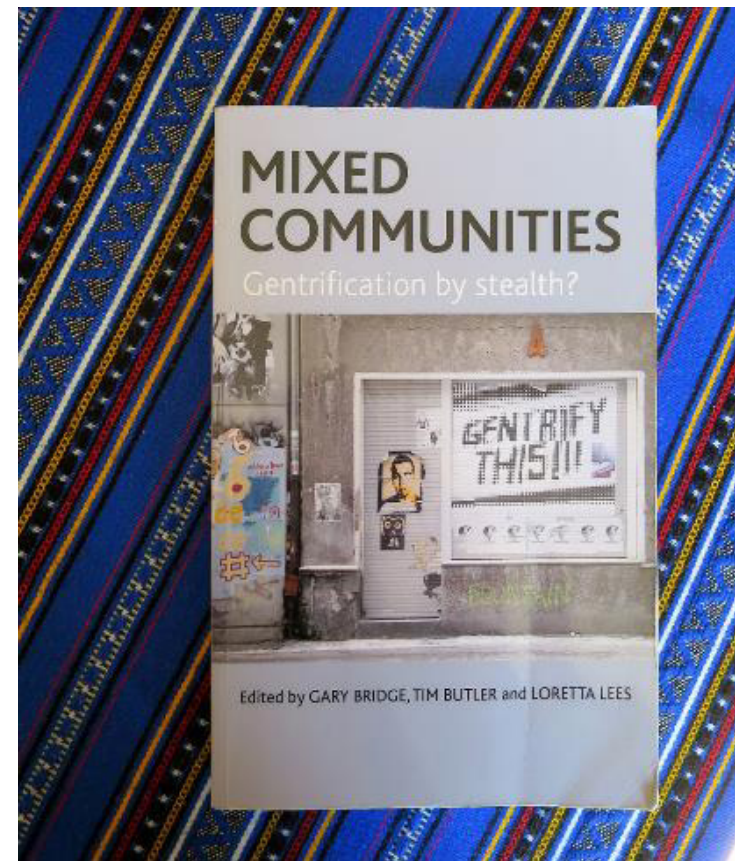
PUBLIC PROTEST

Tuesday 14th February 2017
5pm onwards

MARCH: Assemble 5pm Ducketts Common,
Wood Green

RALLY: 6pm Haringey Civic Centre

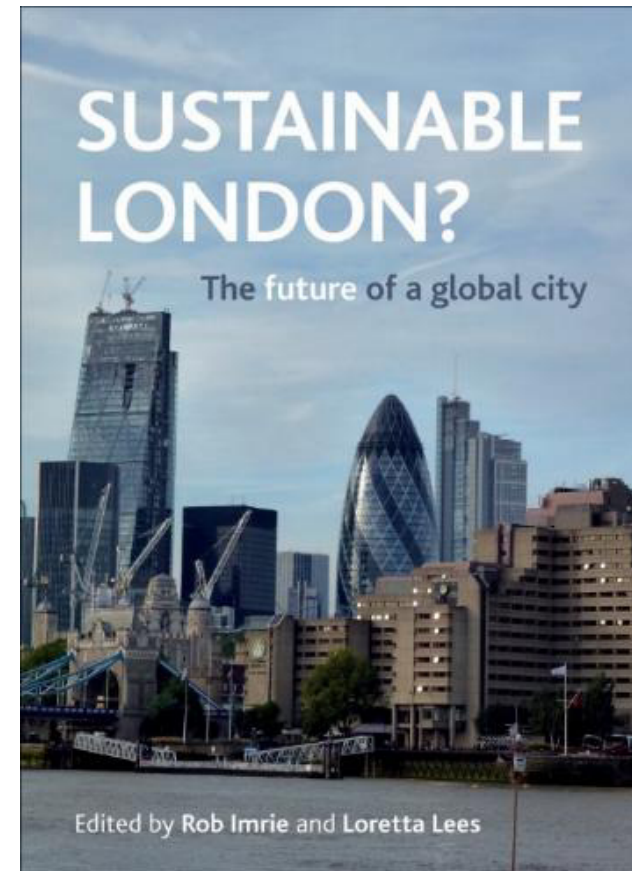
The council cabinet will decide at their meeting
on this date who private developer is



Social cleansing out of London

Hyper-gentrification (extremely high land values, speculation, money laundering, overseas buyers/investment).

Council estates are the final bricks in the wall re. the total gentrification of inner London.



London's newest gentrification frontier

- Since 1997 **54,263 units** have either been demolished or are slated for demolition on council estates *of more than 100 units* in London.
- If we take the London Housing Plan's average number of households per unit 2.5 *a conservative estimate* is that **135,658 council tenants and leaseholders have been/are being displaced**. The estimates in media reports have been 50,000, the reality is substantially higher!



Large scale low income/working class displacement

**GENTRIFICATION
TOP TRUMPS**
Strata Tower, SE1



Private: 76%
Intermediate: 24%
Social Rented: 0%
Top Price: £2.5 Million
Gentrification %: 90%
southwarknotes.wordpress.com

**No More Demolition!
&
No More Social Cleansing!**
- Of London's Communities



Aylesbury Estate
- We ♥ Our Council Homes
73% Residents Voted:
No Demo & No HT



The Heygate Estate: has become a symbol of the state-led gentrification in London



Elephant Park replaces the Heygate Estate



OLYMPIC RESIDENCE
The most luxurious residence in the heart of Mongolia
HIGH MTD RENTAL INVESTMENT

One The Elephant , A Landmark Central London Development, Launched By Lend Lease In Hong Kong, January 2012
January 09, 2013 - London

Like Send Be the first of your friends to like this. 0

Popular News

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- Top 10 world's most expensive homes
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- Top 10 most expensive streets in the world
- Paris Hilton's dog mansion

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The image shows a tall, modern skyscraper (One The Elephant) in central London, surrounded by other buildings and greenery. The London Eye is visible in the background.

Displacement from the Heygate Estate: council tenants and leaseholders



Impacts of displacement

- *Social* (destruction social networks, family support)
- *Economic* (leaseholders: loss investment, savings; all: loss job as have move too far to commute)
- *Cultural* (community support networks broken; loss sense of place)
- *Health* (mental and physical health issues, depression, suicide, etc)
- *Schooling* (kids may need move school or travel very long distance to stay at same school)



Massive negative consequences for longstanding communities



Here is one example from the Aylesbury Estate:

'...from the very first day that the demolition was announced, the social bond was affected, because people knew they wouldn't be seeing each other on a daily basis again. They wouldn't be part of the same community. I've got a friend of mine – **** - he could only afford to move out of the area with what the council was offering him for evaluation and ended up moving into a home somewhere just outside Sidcup, in Kent. ****'s probably in his late 50s and he lives with his wife. He's lived here all his life. He's got people that would see him on a daily basis and his family lives here in the area. He's now living there isolated just outside Sidcup having broken all of his social ties, he's now suffering from severe depression. I think that is symptomatic of a lot of people. There's a lady...she'll come back and she'll come back because she had to move out to **** Heights....she walks the dog around the estate, she'll call into a few people in the neighbourhood who she knows. She says she hates it where she is now. She's probably again in her late 50s. It's not easy to build new social ties, especially the older you are...I think it's had a profound effect on people...I mean the number of people I've heard who've died during this decanting process. I mean okay, they being elderly and you could argue that they would have died anyway. But I couldn't count them on my hands because I haven't got enough fingers, the number of people I heard who've passed away as a result of having to move...I have no way of keeping track of this. But for me, it's genocide' (tenant interview, 2011).

The day to day realities of phenomenological displacement and social tectonics in these new gentrified mixed communities



Moving beyond planetary gentrification?

UN Habitat 2010 said that Cities must prevent social segregation, ***gentrification, social apartheid***...as well as the increasing “ghettoization” of urban spaces that is becoming widespread across the world.

EveningStandard.

- Aylesbury estate residents 'elated' after the Government throws out bid to remove them
- [Jonathan Prynne And Mira Bar-hillel](#)
- Tuesday 20 September 2016 09:15 BST



Alternative models of inclusive urban development must include:

Affordability relates to cost of living, income, and economic opportunity.

Accessibility refers to transport, public space, goods and services, political participation, freedom to move through space or hang out, and access for varying abilities and opportunities.

Diversity means the full scope of social groups, races, cultures, religions, sexualities, political views, choices, etc.

Lessons for Barcelona



- Continued ascendance and dominance of the secondary circuit of capital – real estate.
- There is an economic assumption that folk will be able to find a buyer or renter for an apartment in the future (real estate seen as less risky despite the crash), whereas producing commodities is perceived as risky in comparison.
- Not just sanitized city but a dead city.

Barcelona is ahead of the gentrification game, indeed has been a leader of sorts, but this means it has even more of an obligation globally to find a new, more socially inclusive and sustainable path.

