

New-Build Gentrification

Forms, Places and Processes

Organization

The seminar is organised by Prof. Etienne Piguet, Patrick Rérat and Prof. Ola Söderström. It is held at the Institute of Geography, University of Neuchâtel, on 15th and 16th November 2007.

This event is part of a research project called "*Back to the city ?*" financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (National Research Programme 54 : "Sustainable Development of the Built Environment")

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Keynote speakers

Two keynote speakers will introduce the seminar:

- Loretta Lees (King's College London, UK): "New-Build Gentrification: its Histories and Trajectories"
- Mathieu Van Criekingen (Université libre de Bruxelles, BEL): "Demographic and Social Changes in Core Cities: Gentrifying the Reurbanisation Debate"

Theme

In its classical definition, gentrification refers to the physical and social transformation of existing districts. Recently, the concept has been extended to include high status developments and changes in the urban fabric such as the re-use of former industrial wastelands.

This seminar will focus on "new-build gentrification" and on some recent trends in urban development such as regeneration and densification policies. It will address questions regarding the roles of the actors involved in these phenomena: national and local authorities, actors of the housing market and households who settle in the new dwellings (new middle class, transnational migrants, dual career households, etc.).

The seminar thus gives the opportunity to investigate the demographic changes in core cities and their renewed residential attractiveness as well as to address different interpretations of these phenomena.

PROGRAMME

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PATRICK RERAT

Thursday, 15th of November 2007

8.45 - 9.10 am: Introduction

Etienne Piguet, Patrick Rérat & Ola Söderström (University of Neuchâtel, CH)

9.10 - 10.10 am: Discussing New-Build Gentrification I

Chair: Patrick Rérat (University of Neuchâtel, CH)

Loretta Lees (King's College London, UK)

New-Build Gentrification: its Histories and Trajectories

When luxury condos or townhouses are built on reclaimed industrial land does it count as gentrification? These are not old houses and there is no displacement of a low income community. When public housing is knocked down to make way for new-built middle-class homes in 'mixed communities' does this count as gentrification? These are the questions I answer in this paper. I begin by noting that until relatively recently there has been something of a consensus that new-build developments are part and parcel of the gentrification process, as Neil Smith (1996:39) outlines:

'How, in the large context of changing social geographies, are we to distinguish adequately between the rehabilitation of nineteenth-century housing, the construction of new condominium towers, the opening of festival markets to attract local and not so local tourists, the proliferation of wine bars – and boutiques for everything – and the construction of modern and postmodern office buildings employing thousands of professionals, all looking for a place to live? ... Gentrification is no longer about a narrow and quixotic oddity in the housing market but has become the leading residential edge of a much larger endeavour: the class remake of the central urban landscape'.

As such I try and understand why some authors, such as Lambert and Boddy (2002), Boddy (2007), and Buzar, Hall and Ogden (2007) are now questioning that consensus:

'...we would question whether the sort of new housing development and conversion described in Bristol and other second tier cities, or indeed the development of London's Docklands can, in fact, still be characterised as "gentrification" – post-recession or otherwise' (Lambert and Boddy, 2002:20)

I review some of the early in depth research on new-build gentrification, for example that undertaken by Caroline Mills in the 1980s on Fairview Slopes in Vancouver and look at her arguments on why this redevelopment was a form of gentrification. I draw parallels between some of her findings and those of a more recent in depth study by Mark Davidson on new-build gentrification along the River Thames in London. I then look at recent trajectories, especially the new-build gentrification that has emerged as part of a neo-liberal gentrification blueprint around the world that is sold to us through the discourse of 'mixed communities'. I discuss briefly the 'mixed communities' redevelopment of Elephant and Castle in London and post-Katrina New Orleans. The paper concludes with a discussion over whether we are stretching the term gentrification too far and with some useful words taken from some early gentrification researchers, Palen and London (1984:6):

'One of the lessons of the sociology of knowledge is that words are not passive; indeed, they help to shape and create our perceptions of the world around us. The

terms we choose to label or describe events, must, therefore, convey appropriate connotations or images of the phenomenon under consideration in order to avoid serious misunderstandings’.

10.30 am – 12.30 pm: *Discussing New-Build Gentrification II*

Chair: Gianni D’Amato (University of Neuchâtel, CH)

Martin Phillips (University of Leicester, UK)

Is there any such Thing as New Build Gentrification?

Recent years have seen considerable debate over the meaning of the term gentrification, much of it expressing concern over the spatial and substantive extension of the term. In particular concerns have been expressed about the use of the term to encompass change in areas apart from the inner city and to the inclusion of new build as well as refurbishment projects. In this paper I wish to draw these two developments together by utilising a study of gentrification in rural space to ask some critical questions about the concept of new-build gentrification. The paper briefly reviews the debates over the meaning of gentrification to highlight the significance of the concept on the built environment to these debates, before drawing on a study of rural gentrification undertaken as part of the UK's Joint Research Council Rural Economy and Land-Use Programme. A key element of this research has been to consider the gentrification of environments around buildings, a focus that has led to reflection on the concept of the built environment. Attention is drawn to the relevance of the concept of the social production of nature to the study of rural gentrification and to its implications for understandings of the concept of the built-environment and, thereby, the concept of new-build development. The degree to which any development can be characterised as new-build is questioned, as is the value of the seeking to bound the concept of gentrification through a refurbishment/new-build distinction. The paper ends by considering the implications of these arguments for interpreting so-called new-build development in urban green and brownfield sites.

Mark Davidson (University of Western Sydney, AUS)

Gentrifying Place: The Coalescence of Urban Policy and New-Build Gentrification

Extending the concept of gentrification to include new-build residential developments is not only appropriate for a process of class-based neighbourhood change, but also necessary in order to critically understand the transformation of place occurring under current urban policy frameworks. Since Ruth Glass’s (1964) seminal observations of gentrification, the process has consistently been closely associated with particular housing types, such as Victorian terraces, Georgian townhouses and New York brownstones. Whilst these forms of housing have certainly been integral to gentrification, the strong association that has been forged between them and the concept has led to a very particular, but prevalent, stage-model understanding of the gentrification process. As a consequence, the immediate relevance of new-build developments to the concept of gentrification has been questioned (e.g. Boddy, 2007).

This paper claims that an under-appreciation of the various processes which contribute to the gentrification of a neighbourhood – the class-based transformation of place – has underlined this questioning of the conceptual relevance of new-build development. It argues that a more complex understanding of the numerous ways in which an influx of capital and high-income groups affects a

neighbourhood – achieved through new-build developments or not – offers a more productive conceptual framework from which to understand urban social change and critique current urban policy directions.

Developing a sophisticated conceptual framework that captures the multiplicity of neighbourhood changes associated with the gentrifying transformation of place is critical in an era where various urban policies are seeking to attract high-income groups to dis-invested urban areas through the construction of luxurious housing complexes on brownfield and derelict sites. Those who promote and support these urban changes laud the perceived benefits which might result from de-concentrating poverty, inducing social mixing and importing social capital. Others simply view them as benign forms of urban land use change. And yet while new-build developments might not resemble classical landscapes of gentrification, an understanding of the processes set in motion by such developments clearly reveals how they may potentially stimulate and contribute to the gentrification of vast swaths of urban space. This stated sweeping judgements about the consequences of this kind of gentrification need to be made cautiously. Perhaps even more than in classical forms (Freeman, 2006), the impacts of new-build gentrification are likely to be highly context dependent. The paper therefore concludes by posing key questions that should be asked when considering the implications of gentrification and related displacement.

Annegret Haase, Annett Steinführer, Sigrun Kabisch (Helmholtz-Centre for Environmental Research, Leipzig, GER), Stefan Buzar (University of Birmingham, UK) Ray Hall & Philip Ogden, (Queen Mary, University of London, UK)

Reurbanisation – just a Variety of Gentrification or a Comeback of City-Mindedness as a Housing Preference?

Inner-city residential areas of European cities have gone through fundamental changes during the last decades. After many years of decline and population losses, they have regained attractiveness as residential places. Notwithstanding the different interpretations, the transformation of the inner cities has been accompanied by far-reaching demographic changes. Since the late 1980s, reinforced since end of the 1990s, a rising influx of non-traditional or „new“ household types into the inner city has been observed. While academic debates ponder the “rebirth”, “renaissance” or “resurgence” of the inner city, mass media are already proclaiming the „triumph of the city“ with respect to suburban housing estates.

Different concepts are used to analyse and explain the above mentioned processes. Reurbanisation represents one of them. The concept has been discussed since the 1970s but was largely dwarfed by the debate on gentrification. Today, however, we can observe a kind of turnaround: While gentrification is facing increasing difficulties to encompass the complexity of urban change, reurbanisation is more and more accepted within the scientific community and has shifted beyond being a rather theoretical stage of urban renaissance towards an explanatory frame for both a strengthening and “reshaping” of the socio-demographic make-up of the inner city.

Reurbanisation, as it is understood by the authors, draws on both qualitative and quantitative changes in inner-city areas. Its focus is set, (and here it differs at least from the core of what is understood by gentrification) on their stabilisation by means of a sustainable use by a broader group of residential groups (also in terms of income, education, living arrangements etc.). Reurbanisation does not deal with displacement as an indispensable side effect of upgrading. It is used here as a concept that analyses and explains urban change with respect to its interplay with demographic and household shifts. The main focus is on the interplays between inner-city change and demographic and household

shifts, thus addressing a hitherto under-researched issue of urban processes. Reurbanisation is also linked to the preference of urban living by a variety of residential groups: Recent comparative findings in European cities made clear by evidence that, despite of all local specifics, reurbanisation in all cases is rather a comeback of city-mindedness as a housing preference than a return of suburbanites to the city.

The paper seeks to address the concept of reurbanisation from the theoretical as well as the empirical perspective. It sheds light on its commonalities with, but also its differences to the concept of gentrification. Drawing on our paper recently published in *Urban Studies* (vol. 44, no.5-6) and referring to one of the planned keynotes (M. Van Criekingen), we want to show whether and how recent residential and household change in European cities “has been reurbanising the gentrification debate”. Empirical evidence is provided from different European cities.

2.00 pm - 4.00 pm: Gentrification as an Urban Strategy

Chair: Ola Söderström (University of Neuchâtel, CH)

David Webb (Newcastle University, UK)

From New-Build Gentrification to NeoLiberal Revanchism? A Critique of the Gentrification Heuristic

The presentation of regeneration as state-led gentrification is gaining increasing momentum in the academic mainstream. This paper argues that to conflate the terms gentrification and regeneration obscures important influences on the design and implementation of regeneration schemes and leads to an overly homogenised, structural understanding of their actions. By contrast, an investigation that analyses the actors involved and the discourses used to guide and justify action can contribute to a fuller understanding. A combination of discourse analysis and actor-network theory is used to investigate strategies of action guiding the inception and evolution of the housing market renewal initiative, and its delivery in two cases of in the north west of England. This paper concludes that, rather than the repetition of fatalistic conclusions, these methods can open the door to a constructive commentary on regeneration, with the potential to uncover flawed logics and inequitable policy making.

Lorenzo Vicario & Arantxa Rodriguez (University of the Basque Country, ESP)

Gentrification as a Regeneration Strategy: Urban Policy and New-Build Gentrification in Bilbao

In recent years, there has been considerable debate over the contemporary nature of gentrification. Researches argue that gentrification is fundamentally different today from what it was before; that it has mutated clearly since the term was first coined in 1964. First, during the last two decades, gentrification has expanded both geographically and across the urban hierarchy, and it can be found in a great variety of sites. Secondly, the emergence of new forms of gentrification —‘new-build’, ‘commercial’, ‘supergentrification’— has also challenged traditional definitions, prompting a reappraisal of the notion of gentrification and the adoption of a broader, more inclusive definition. And finally, recent debates have suggested that the changing nature of gentrification is closely tied to increasing state involvement in the process, with a larger role being played today by urban governments in promoting and supporting gentrification. And, while the role of urban policy in assisting gentrification can be hardly considered as new, there has been mounting evidence that gentrification, far from an

unintended outcome, has turned into an integral component of numerous urban regeneration strategies. Indeed, urban regeneration policy is, way too often, a fertile ground for the emergence of new forms of gentrification such as ‘state-led, new-build gentrification’, and the production of distinctive urban landscapes such as new exclusive, high-status developments on former industrial sites. In this paper, the authors attempt to uncover the links between urban regeneration and gentrification in Bilbao. More specifically, they examine the role of urban policy in promoting ‘new-build gentrification’ using the case of the redevelopment projects undertaken during the last decade in Bilbao’s riverfront. The authors argue that in Bilbao local and regional governments are advancing a model for urban regeneration propped up by rhetoric of competitiveness, creativity and sustainability — with the so-called ‘Guggenheim effect’ providing the grounds for legitimation — that effectively adopts gentrification as a form of regeneration strategy. The paper points to the emergence of ‘state-led, new-build gentrification’ as a basic feature of urban regeneration schemes in Bilbao and examines the consequences and social costs of this model of regeneration.

Max Rousseau (Université Jean-Monnet, Saint-Etienne, FRA)

Excavating the Logic of Gentrification as an Urban Strategy. Roubaix, Saint-Etienne, Sheffield

Gentrification has often been viewed by critical research as a problematic process that deeply disturbs the urban social sustainability. Thus, a political strategy that would aim to favorize the development of gentrification would appear to be condemnable. However, the recent transformations of the economic and political system caused by the development of neoliberalism seem to lead to the spread of a new conception of gentrification among the urban elites: that of one of the main economic tools aiming at regenerating a declining city.

Thus, the objective of our communication is to understand how and why political gentrification seems to be the new leading strategy in a particular set of cities that we label “the losing cities”. This last term means that:

- because of the depth of the the socio-economic problems affecting their population, these cities appear to be *objective* losers of the recent economical and political transformations: the transition to an a post-industrial society and the competition between cities promoted by neoliberalism.
- these cities appear to be *subjective* losers because for several reasons, their public image is negative.

We will try to show that one of the main objectives of the urban policies implemented in these cities is to try to change the projected image to adapt it to the supposed taste of the middle-class. Based upon the examples of three “losing cities” (Roubaix, Saint-Étienne, Sheffield), our communication will focus on three aspects of this phenomenon:

- **the economic aspect of gentrification:** understanding the way gentrification is now seen in these cities as a new tool to regenerate an under-performing economy. We will focus both on the past economic strategies led in these cities to struggle against decline, and on the new economic theories that influence the political elites.
- **the political aspect of gentrification:** we would like to show the changes in governance that allow this new conception of regeneration to appear in the cities studied. The stare will be put here on the changes of the local political scene as well as on the role of the French and British central States.
- **the “symbolic policies of gentrification”:** finally, we would like to focus on the different sets of policies implemented by the elites of the cities studied to change the image of the city in

order to attract the middle-class, and which concern urban planning, housing, culture and urban marketing.

4.20 - 5.00 pm: The Dynamics of State-Led Gentrification

Chair: Roger Besson (University of Neuchâtel, CH)

Tolga Islam (Yildiz University, Istanbul, TUR)

The Changing Form of Gentrification in Istanbul: State-Led Gentrification in a Roman Neighborhood

Gentrification is a process that is taking place in Istanbul for the past 25 years. Until recently, gentrification has mostly been taking place in its classic sense, as the influx of middle and upper-middle class individuals into run-down neighborhoods within the city and upgrading the housing stock therein. The process, however, has entered into a new phase after 2005, following the enactment of a new law called “Renewal and Re-use of Deteriorated Historic Building Stock” by the central state that gives enormous powers to the local authorities to take action for the regeneration of dilapidated areas. With the approval of this law by the Parliament, a new era began in Istanbul that is characterized by the direct involvement of local municipalities into the gentrification process through ambitious urban regeneration schemes. Since then, several areas are declared as regeneration regions by the local authorities.

Sulukule, a region encompassing two old and dilapidated Roman neighborhoods in Fatih District of Istanbul, is one of these declared areas. The regeneration project proposed by the Municipality has two main goals: to move out all the original residents (except for few owners) to the periphery (by giving them an opportunity to buy cheap apartment units with reasonable payment conditions compared to the market) and to attract middle and upper-middle classes to the neighborhood by building new and luxurious houses and apartments.

Different actors have different perceptions about the project. The municipality regards the project as a tool to combat with the problems of concentrations of crime within its jurisdiction. The NGOs, who have given great efforts to stop this project, see the regeneration process as an attempt to erase the traces of Roman culture from the city. Some of the residents give support to the project, attracted by the chance of buying a new apartment unit in the periphery, while those who do not want to lose their social ties and central location seem to be against it.

The paper aims to reflect all these different perceptions and discuss the current and possible future impacts of the project on the current residents by relying on interviews made with the representatives of the aforementioned groups and a small survey with the original residents. The paper aims to provide new insights to the recent discussions about state-led gentrification by giving examples from a case in a developing world.

Kirsteen Paton (University of Glasgow, UK)

Gentrifying or Displacing Working Class Identities?: Exploring New Trajectories of Contemporary State-Led Gentrification in Partick, Glasgow

Despite over 40 years of research there is not as yet sustained empirical enquiry into the effects of gentrification processes on working-class communities. This is particularly critical since gentrification is increasingly institutionalised, even globally (Atkinson and Bridge 2005). Some researchers argue the

term can no longer account for changes such as ‘new-build’ regeneration and renewal in cities (Lambert and Boddy, 2002). However, gentrification remains a powerful discursive and policy strategy, and this requires broadening our present understanding. Uitermark et al (2007) suggest gentrification is implemented by local states in an attempt to control and civilise behaviours. As part of regeneration policy, gentrification may be implemented not only to gentrify in spatial terms, but it may also be to gentrify subjects. This then goes beyond Hackworth’s (2002) definition of gentrification as the creation of space for the progressively more affluent user, to suggest that it seeks to create the more affluent user within a moral as well as financial economy. Expanding the use is a response to the dearth of inquiry into the effects and strengthens rather than weakens its heuristic value. A new theory of gentrification could be predicated upon looking at the effects of contemporary forms.

This paper illustrates this with ethnographic data from a PhD study into the effects of the gentrification of Glasgow Harbour on neighbouring working-class Partick. This billion pound luxury ‘new-build’ development and accompanying 5000 residents replaces former shipyards and grain mills which were the main employment source for Partick residents. It explores the experiences of these residents and how space and the subject is affected by gentrification and how they themselves negotiate this. In doing so it suggests displacement should be more widely conceptualised beyond physical out-migration to include psychosocial and identity issues.

Friday, 16th of November 2007

9.00 - 10.40 am: Demographics Changes in Core Cities

Chair: François Hainard (University of Neuchâtel, CH)

Mathieu Van Criekingen (Université libre de Bruxelles, BEL)

Demographic and Social Changes in Core Cities: Gentrifying the Reurbanisation Debate

Parallel to ongoing dynamics of suburban population growth, the residential attractiveness of inner-city areas in European agglomerations for diverse population groups and household forms has been rising in recent years. These trends have motivated conceptual cases for representing contemporary urban change as “reurbanisation” and simultaneously dismissing the heuristic value of the better-known, class-based notion of “gentrification”. However, current demographic trends in inner cities are not socially and politically neutral. Against this background, I argue that the contemporary demographic diversification of inner cities do not stand for the obsolescence of gentrification as a key concept for understanding changing social geographies in these spaces but rather highlights the need to complement existing interpretations of gentrification with new insights into the urban implications of a new set of households dynamics. Among other dimensions, contemporary changes in young adults transitions have hardly been touched in gentrification literature in spite of the major social significance of these changes and their socio-spatial impacts in cities.

In this paper, I will discuss the urban implications of recent demographic trends and new households dynamics in Brussels, with a particular focus on how changes in pathways into adulthood are translated into urban space. This will highlight the particular relevance of a process generally overlooked in mainstream gentrification literature for it concerns circulation of middle-class young adults in the private rental housing market. I will refer to this process as rental gentrification for it adds noticeably to the marginalisation of other, working-class residents in the city. This process mainly

operates through rehabilitation of old dwellings. By contrast, there is (still) very little evidence of new-build gentrification in Brussels. I will finally discuss to what extent these findings are specific to Brussels. Although responses of the real estate market and in the political arena to rising residential attractiveness of inner-city areas are locally contingent, what is everywhere at stake is the need to keep a clear sense of who is benefiting from current waves of urban change and who is affected by them, and how.

Karin Johnson (Stockholm University, SWE)

Gentrification Generalized – Generic Gentrification: Social Geographic Change in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö 1986-2001

After more than forty years of gentrification debate, delineation of the process continues to be contested and the outcomes reassessed. In this paper we propose a new category of gentrification – ordinary gentrification – that strikingly surfaced in an extensive mapping of gentrification in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö between 1986 and 2001. Employing a comprehensive individual-based database, we map gentrification surfaces for Sweden’s three largest cities and find evidence of not only classic gentrification (of low income areas) and super-gentrification (the upper echelon), but also a grey mass of ordinary gentrification in the middle strata where little if any research has focused, a middle strata gentrification so ordinary that it fails to attract the attention of gentrification researchers. We conclude that during the fifteen year period in focus most gentrification occurred in areas already predominated by medium-to-high initial income levels, and that most of these areas are located in the Stockholm metropolitan area. The empirical analysis then focuses on continuous super-gentrification at one end of the social geographic spectrum and continuous filtering at the other end, and we argue that these processes are the social geographic manifestations of increasing polarization in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö.

11.00 am - 12.20 pm : Urban Regeneration and New-Build Gentrification

Chair: Corinna Heye (University of Zurich, CH)

Patrick Rérat, Roger Besson, Etienne Piguet & Ola Söderström (University of Neuchâtel, CH)

From Urban Wasteland to New-Build Gentrification? Residential Attractiveness and Demand in Swiss Cities

The evaluation of present trends of urbanization according to the principles of sustainability has led to a critique of urban sprawl. The model of the compact city, as well as several principles of land use (densification of the built environment, regeneration of urban wastelands), have been proposed as alternatives. In other words, the goal is “to rebuild the city within the city”. These principles have come increasingly to the fore in Switzerland in a wide range of planning documents. Their advantages have been thoroughly discussed in academic literature and political milieus. But some important questions remain unanswered: Which social categories are more likely to return to the city? Will this movement change the social structure of cities? Will it create new inequalities?

Based on a three-year project entitled “Back to the City?” focusing on the demographic evolution and the residential attractiveness of Swiss cities, our paper will address these questions. We will present the results of a survey (questionnaires dispatched to the inhabitants of the new dwellings in the city of Neuchâtel and in the district of Zurich West built on former wasteland) to determine:

- The profile of the people who have settled down in recently built dwellings (are there signs of a possible new-build gentrification?);
- Their residential trajectories (are they returning to the city or simply relocating in the city?);
- The motivations underlying the choice of a central location (in regard to other potential locations).

Studying the case of Switzerland gives the opportunity to better understand the demographic changes in core cities and their renewed residential attractiveness as well as the demand for city living expressed by different groups of the middle to high classes (young professionals, transnational elites, dual-career households, non family households, elderly people, etc.).

Damaris Rose (Université du Québec, CAN)

The Production and Consumption of “Infill” Gentrification in Montréal (Québec, Canada): Actors and Debates

The case of Montréal (Québec, Canada) – the core city of a sprawling metropolitan area of close to four million inhabitants – provides an interesting opportunity to explore some understudied aspects of “new-build gentrification”.

First, why and how does the local state intervene in new-build gentrification and what kind of debates and controversies does this generate? For almost three decades, the City of Montréal has pursued a highly proactive policy of residential intensification as part of a broader “repopulation” strategy designed to mitigate the fiscal, socioeconomic, demographic and (more recently) environment consequences of the lure of the outer suburbs for middle-income households. It has deployed a panoply of supply- and demand-side measures to this end. Increasing the supply of units for homeownership has been paramount in a context where most of the existing stock caters for private rental tenure. This policy pre-dates by some 15 years the shift to new-build gentrification identified in the literature. However, since the early 1990s, inner-city neighbourhoods have accounted for an increasing share of new-build activity on the City’s territory and support for “affordable” homeownership is one of the components of revitalization policies for economically moribund neighbourhoods. The City and some local development groups argue that helps to re-establish a healthy socio-economic mix, whether by attracting middle-income newcomers or providing better housing opportunities for upwardly-mobile incumbents, while for housing activists it is the thin edge of the gentrification wedge and the concept of “affordable” home-ownership is an oxymoron.

Second, the Montréal case could help us ponder the implications of a point fleetingly raised by Smith (2002), namely that outside the USA, visions of “urban regeneration” may not be able to totally exclude social housing. How might the production and consumption of new-build gentrification developments be affected by physical proximity to social housing, leading to extreme and enduring socio-economic mix unanticipated in the classic literature on stages of gentrification? The Montréal case shows two ways that this can happen. Public hearings have just been held on the progress of a recent local policy (in which the municipality is using its land reserve, urban planning controls and other government programs as leverage and is working simultaneously with for-profit and not-for-profit developers) requires most new developments to include a percentage of social housing for low-income and special-needs households. In addition, new-build gentrification in Montréal commonly takes the form of small infill developments which the City insists be physically integrated into the existing streetscape. Both of these developments raise intriguing (and troubling?) questions about how these micro-scale forms of social mix – less present in large scale brownfield redevelopment – are experienced by area residents.

1.40 – 3.00 pm: Gentrifiers in New Developments in Toronto

Chair: Richard Wolff (International Network for Urban Research and Action, CH)

Ute Lehrer (York University, CAN)

The New Gentrification: Condo-boom in Toronto

Over the past ten years, Toronto's inner city has seen a pronounced condominium boom in the form of high-rise buildings along railway corridors and other former industrial sites. Per year up to 15,000 new condominium units are put on the market, and are bought predominantly by people who are moving in from the suburbs around Toronto as well as from investors from abroad. We can identify three prevailing groups of buyers: first, the young urban professionals who are attracted by the proximity to the lively club scene as well as their downtown jobs, and who constitute the majority of the new inhabitants; second, the so-called empty nesters whose children have left home and who want to benefit from downsizing their households; and third, a mixture of new immigrants and speculators.

This boom of concentrated condominium towers not only constitutes a huge spatial impact but it also changes the socio-economic and political composition of the city. Because of its homogenizing and sanitizing effects – with a fairly large amount of people who have not grown up in an urban context and therefore are not used to the level of diversity and difference that one encounters in the urban environment – I call it the 'suburbanization of the urban' and argue that links to earlier waves of gentrification of the inner cities by the 'gentry' can be drawn.

This paper investigates the intensification of the inner city of Toronto through massive high-rise condominium buildings. It claims that the massive influx of newcomers constitutes a new form of gentrification, which is supported by local and regional policies that aim for sustainability through intensification of the built environment.

The paper will build on the most current debates on gentrification (Slater; Lees; Shaw, among others), and will try to prove the heuristic value of the concept of gentrification also in cases of newly built environments within urban areas. Specifically, the paper will address the role of local and regional policy documents for sustainable development as motors for the condominium boom and present them as contradicting to their own aim of sustainability. Secondly, the paper will present a socio-economic profile of the newcomers in order to see if they can be identified as gentrifiers, or if they are mere newcomers to a neighborhood. Lastly, comparison to other places, such as New York and Vancouver, will be made in order to demonstrate the applicability of the concept of gentrification to newly built environments.

Leslie Kern (York University, CAN)

Sex and the Reurbanized City: Gender, Everyday Life and New-Build Gentrification in Toronto

This paper addresses the gendered constitution of reurbanization policies in the context of a massive wave of condominium development in a postindustrial city seeking to "intensify or die." I examine how Toronto's residential intensification policies are shaped by gendered ideas about home ownership, community, governance and city life, analyzing the ways in which neoliberal notions of autonomy, freedom, and empowerment are mobilized to draw a particular group of gentrifiers, young and/or single women, into the city. Drawing on both a discourse analysis of city planning documents and

news media coverage of new-build gentrification, as well as in-depth interviews with women condominium owners, I explore how these gendered ideas produce particular forms and practices around new-build gentrification, and how these are enacted and experienced in and through everyday life. I suggest that these gentrifiers play a key role in reproducing an image of the revitalized, creative, spectacular city that can be sold to tourists, businesses, new residents and capital investors. However, the specific, everyday experiences of women condominium owners suggest that there are contradictions, tensions and a great deal of unevenness in the ways that neoliberal policy interventions to support reurbanization and intensification play out on the ground. I argue, finally, that the gendered constitution and consequences of new-build gentrification have broad implications with respect to the changing architecture of citizenship in contemporary postindustrial cities, and that these dimensions of new-build gentrification must continue to be substantively investigated.

3.20 – 4.40 pm: *The Dynamics of Gentrification in Shanghai*

Chair: Etienne Piguet (University of Neuchâtel, CH)

Shenjing He (University of Cardiff, UK)

State-sponsored Gentrification under Market Transition: The Case of Shanghai, China

The state, particularly the local state, is playing an increasingly important role in the recent wave of gentrification in advanced market economies. This paper aims to understand the role of the state within the gentrification process under market transition, by looking at two study cases of new-build gentrification in Shanghai, China. This study reveals that strong state intervention in Shanghai's new-build gentrification can be seen in three aspects. First, the state stimulates and accommodates the consumption demands of gentrifiers through a series of market reforms and policy initiatives. Second, to create optimal conditions for capital circulation and therefore to gentrify the inner city, the state makes policy interventions and invests heavily in environment beautification and infrastructure construction. Third, the state mobilises the most important resources, e.g. urban land and resettlement housing, to tackle the problem of fragmented property rights and to facilitate gentrification. The state is actually the first thrust of gentrification under market transition, since it has managed to assemble driving forces from both the production side and the consumption side, and to overcome inherent institutional constraints to initiate and promote gentrification. Motivated by the pursuit of economic growth and urban redevelopment/beautification, a particular form of state-sponsored gentrification is emerging in post reform China.

Deljana Iossifova (Tokyo Institute of Technology, JPN)

Borderlands between Old and New and the Creation of Socio-Spatial Identities – A Case Study on Urban Renewal in Shanghai

During the past decades, (re-)development has led to a drastic transformation of China's urban landscape. Grown and run-down neighbourhoods either disappear to give way for new developments, or maintain their existence in immediate proximity to the latter. Spatial juxtaposition of fragmented areas - contrasting in structure, condition, and use - thus makes for a typical attribute of the contemporary Chinese city, particularly perceivable at the borderlands between and around those areas.

This paper follows up on a recently completed case study on everyday life on the joint line between an old neighbourhood and a new compound in the city of Shanghai. Situated on the north banks of the

Suzhou Creek – its cleaning and regeneration being one of the most recent and popular projects implemented by the municipal government – the site selected for the small-scale qualitative study is an excellent example for the processes of "gentrification" within the Chinese context. Rather than focusing on the decision-makers involved in its "production", the present paper examines the "consumers" of urban space before, during, and after redevelopment, based on observation and photo elicitation interviews. Among the diverse actors impacted by urban renewal are long-term inhabitants of the old neighbourhood, residents awaiting relocation due to demolition of their homes, migrants of different background settling into the area, residents of the new compound. Issues addressed include those of the actors' relation to their changing environment; their means of interaction among each other; their participation in and perception of the ongoing socio-spatial transformation; their utilization of the borderland as a way of integration - or segregation.

In addition to the attempt to position "gentrification" within the specific Chinese setting, the paper is particularly concerned with the significance of borders and borderlands between neighbouring old and new parts of the city for the creation and establishment of its inhabitants' identities.

4.40 – 5.00 pm: Concluding Remarks

Patrick Rérat (University of Neuchâtel, CH)