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February 2005
The Dilemmas of Displacement:
Revitalisation and Gentrification in Inner City
Wellington, New Zealand

Charlotte Emily Crack

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
Master of Regional and Resource Planning
at the University of Otago, Dunedin,
New Zealand

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Abstract

This thesis examines the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement within the context of inner city Wellington, New Zealand. Revitalisation of inner city areas that have been acknowledged as underused or simply deteriorating has become an increasingly familiar mission. Gentrification is often a by-product of such revitalisation. By enticing in new residents and making central city places more liveable and vibrant, revitalisation may also serve to modify the existing demographic composition of residents toward the more affluent end of the spectrum, thereby increasing the potential for displacement of lower income residents. Although there are a number of international studies pertaining to the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement, there are none that investigate these processes in the New Zealand context.

The current research attempts to remedy this shortfall through an examination of the revitalisation of Wellington’s inner city, particularly in terms of processes of gentrification and their implications regarding the displacement of existing residents and businesses. The reasons why, and how, displacement is occurring in Wellington’s inner city is assessed, as are local government policy responses to the issue. Data was based on a series of semi-structured interviews with key proponents involved in the revitalisation of the Wellington city core.

The results of this research have highlighted a number of key issues, including the specific revitalisation processes undertaken in the Wellington context, the increasing popularity of inner city living, the extent of industrial displacement in the downtown area, and how issues of justice and sustainability pertaining to these processes are being addressed in Wellington’s inner city. From these results recommendations are given as to how revitalisation endeavours might be addressed in the future so as to ensure environmental and social justice for all inhabitants of the central city, and also for the long-term sustainability of these inner city areas. This thesis also highlights the need for further research to be undertaken in other New Zealand cities, in order to extend the findings reported in this study. The need for further research is particularly to determine whether these processes of revitalisation and industrial displacement are unique to the Wellington context, and also to assess the justification of broadening the term of gentrification to include both the restoration and re-use of the building stock and also new-built inner city development.
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The revitalisation of inner city areas that have been acknowledged as underused or simply deteriorating has become an increasingly familiar mission in New Zealand and around the world. Such revitalisation commonly aims to draw people and development back into the inner city, whether for commercial or residential purposes. Gentrification is often a by-product of such revitalisation. By enticing in new residents and making central city places more liveable and vibrant, revitalisation may also serve to modify the existing demographic composition of residents toward the more affluent end of the spectrum.

This thesis examines the relationship between revitalisation and gentrification. The study is grounded by a case study of the inner city revitalisation of Wellington. In the New Zealand context, few studies have been undertaken that investigate inner city revitalisation and the ways in which this process may serve to displace people. Of the studies that do exist, the focus appears primarily to be an investigation of revitalisation or of displacement, with few studies creating a definitive connection between the two processes. These studies are also limited in describing any policies that relate to revitalisation, gentrification, or displacement of individuals, or that ensure environmental justice for inner city inhabitants in the New Zealand context.

Wellington was chosen as the most suitable study site for a number of reasons. First, it was crucial to choose a location within New Zealand that shows evidence that significant inner city revitalisation is taking place. Wellington can indeed be seen to have experienced revitalisation in its inner city, with the District Plan stating that it is the Council's intention to encourage positive growth in the central area, through strategic planning initiatives. Second, as a large metropolitan area, it provides a wide geographical inner city district in which to assess the ways revitalisation is taking
place. Any revitalisation within such a large inner city area will have inevitable effects, positive or negative in nature, for its inhabitants. Finally, examples of gentrification, a common by-product of such revitalisation activity, can already be seen within many of the city's inner city streets. This may indicate the potential for gentrification-induced displacement within Wellington's inner city.

1.1 Key Concepts

A number of key concepts are integral to this thesis and they require specific definition. The first of these key concepts is Inner City Revitalisation. This is the process of renewing and revitalising inner city areas that have been acknowledged as underused or simply deteriorating. Inner city revitalisation is thus seen by many urban policy makers and politicians as an important strategy to ensure the well-being of cities, as healthy and productive downtown areas can offer numerous goods, services and opportunities to their inhabitants. Revitalisation processes may, therefore, increase vitality of city centres, attracting business and residents to the central city. Gentrification is one such revitalisation process.

In this thesis Gentrification is seen as the most significant by-product of revitalisation. The process of gentrification involves a reinvestment of capital at the urban centre which causes a dramatic shift in a neighbourhood's demographic composition toward better educated and more affluent residents (Freeman and Braconi, 2004). This process encourages higher income residents to the city core, raising income and property values and thus stimulating further activity. As an urban process, it can be described as one that combines economics with social change, bringing the middle class into areas that are predominantly undervalued.

While gentrification may serve to create opportunities in the inner city, it may also carry the potential for Displacement. This 'darker' side of gentrification, and factors that are associated with it, including rising rents and property rates, threaten to displace existing residents who cannot compete financially. Redevelopment projects and rising rents may mean that lower income inhabitants are left with little choice other than to relocate to other areas within the city. As revitalisation and gentrification become more prolific, displaced individuals may find it increasingly
difficult to find affordable housing within the inner city. Affordable housing for these groups may only be available in peripheral areas, and transportation may not be easily accessible, making it hard to commute into the central city for jobs or educational opportunities.

_Environmental Justice and Social Justice_ therefore become important concepts to the inhabitants of central areas who face the consequences of inner city revitalisation. Both these forms of justice deal with the distribution of society’s benefits and burdens, that is, who will benefit from the process of revitalisation and who will not. _Social Justice_ is a very broad concept concerning the way in which fairness and equity can be ensured to all people. Smith (1994) describes inclusion and exclusion as significant constituents of social justice, which in a geographical sense would include gentrification-induced displacements in the inner city. _Environmental justice_ seeks the well-being of a community from a social justice perspective, and can be seen as a socio-political movement involving geography and environmental ethics (Johnston et al., 2000). Revitalisation should progress in such a way so as to ensure that all inhabitants of inner city areas are exposed to social and environmental justice at every stage, perhaps in turn serving to reduce negative consequences such as displacement.

Long term _Sustainability_ of these newly revitalised inner city areas becomes very important. In an urban context, _Sustainability_ means producing a city that is user friendly, participative and socially equitable (Freeman and Thompson-Fawcett, 2003). Indeed, sustainable development has become an important initiative in urban centres, whereby cities have the capacity to be more resourceful; integrating nature with city design to create a more natural inner city environment. _Sustainability_ also encompasses notions of design and specific planning rules, objectives, and guidelines, for the promotion and longevity of these central city areas. These key concepts warrant specific definition at this early stage because an understanding of their meaning is important throughout this thesis, particularly in the next section where the research aim and objectives are clarified. Further key terms and concepts that warrant definition will be explained as they arise in subsequent discussion.
1.2 Aim and Research Objectives

The overview of key concepts presented above in section 1.1, is of critical importance to an understanding of the overall aim of this thesis, which is to examine inner city revitalisation, particularly through processes of gentrification and their implications in terms of displacing existing residents and businesses in Wellington,

as investigated in the context of the following three research objectives:

1. To ascertain the extent of inner city revitalisation and gentrification in Wellington

Inner city revitalisation and the process of gentrification is occurring in cities throughout the world in order to enhance vibrancy and development in central areas that have become increasingly underused or are deteriorating. With this in mind, then, Research Objective One is informed by the presumption that there are significant inner city revitalisation and gentrification processes occurring in Wellington’s inner city. This objective therefore aims to ascertain what the specific processes of inner city revitalisation entail, and the extent to which these processes, including gentrification occur.

2. To identify whether displacement is occurring as a result of these processes

Research Objective Two is closely related to the first objective in that it seeks to establish a deeper understanding of the processes of revitalisation and gentrification by way of its potential consequences. In this case the consequence that is of most importance to the current research is displacement. As noted above, the presumption is that inner city revitalisation is occurring. This objective then seeks to elucidate whether these revitalisation processes, specifically looking at gentrification, work as catalysts to inducing displacement.
3 To ascertain how the processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement can be addressed to ensure social and environmental justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants

In this objective the focus is on two significant elements; the key processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement and the way in which these processes relate to issues of social and environmental justice and sustainability. This is essentially a contextual objective, in that clarification is required from Research Objective One to understand the specific revitalisation activity that is occurring in the Wellington context. These specific activities must then be assessed in a legislative and policy context to determine the ways in which potential consequences are addressed in order to take into consideration issues of justice and sustainability.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

This thesis is organised into seven chapters in order to investigate the three research questions detailed in section 1.2 above. These questions are not mutually exclusive but are interrelated, as Chapters Two to Six will reinforce. Chapter One serves to introduce the research questions and aims, while Chapter Two explores and evaluates the literature pertaining to the theory and knowledge of inner city revitalisation and its implications in terms of displacing residences and businesses. This literature explores the nature and scope of these circumstances in New Zealand, and also international examples, predominantly from the United States of America, and the United Kingdom. This chapter will also analyse the role of gentrification in the revitalisation process, the means in which it can modify existing demographic composition of residents, and how displacement can occur. Finally, this chapter will use international best practice examples to critically analyse the revitalisation and displacement circumstances operating in New Zealand.

Chapter Three provides the context for this study. This context chapter describes inner city revitalisation as an increasingly familiar worldwide planning mission, the role of gentrification as a by-product of such revitalisation, and the implications of such activity in terms of displacement in the Wellington context. The chapter therefore discusses the legislative context under which these three processes of inner
city revitalisation, gentrification and displacement may operate, namely the Resource Management Act, Local Government Act, Historic Places Act, and the Building Act. Specific policies of the Wellington region are also discussed in this section, where the Wellington City District Plan Design Guides and the Waterfront Framework are analysed in terms of their role in revitalisation and gentrification. The New Zealand context is then given, referring to specific inner city revitalisation and gentrification activities that are occurring in three of the country's large urban centres, Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin, followed by a discussion of the Wellington situation.

In Chapter Four the research methods undertaken in this study are discussed. In order to appropriately inform this research, and to satisfy its core concerns most effectively, a qualitative approach is used, and an interpretive paradigm has been chosen. This methodology chapter describes the research design where a case study analysis of Wellington, New Zealand, key informant interviews and a contextual analysis of planning legislation and policy were used to best serve the objectives of this thesis. Data analysis of the key informant interviews is discussed, with the limitations of this process then concluding the chapter.

In Chapters Five and Six, an examination of the evidence of inner city revitalisation and the circumstances involved in displacement, in regard to the research questions introduced in section 1.2, is undertaken. This involves the presentation of findings from the key proponents who participated in this study, the relationship between revitalisation and displacement in the Wellington context and the local government responses to this issue. These results and discussion chapters also investigate the evidence of revitalisation in terms of environmental and social justice and the long term sustainability of the Wellington inner city area, and the implications of this for planning practice.

This thesis concludes in Chapter Seven with a review of the principal findings of the study and an assessment of the potential for further research. The conclusion provides a synthesis of this thesis, where key themes and findings from previous chapters are discussed and recommendations and avenues for further research on this topic are considered, as are its implications for planning practice, theory, and the wider planning discipline.
2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

A significant element of this study is a review of the literature that concerns inner city revitalisation and its related processes and consequences. Such a review is intended to inform the current study by gaining background knowledge and by developing a deeper understanding of the various concepts that are used. It also serves to evaluate and interpret the approach of others in light of the objectives of this research, and to identify gaps in the literature that the current research may fill.

This review of literature seeks to elucidate the relationship between inner city revitalisation, gentrification, displacement, and how these issues affect sustainability, and social and environmental justice for the inhabitants of the inner city. The process of inner city revitalisation is explained, using case studies as evidence. Gentrification as part of this revitalisation process is then discussed, where it is defined as a process and a profile of those who undertake it is given. Gentrification has often been the subject of negative media, with displacement becoming a prolific example of a detrimental impact of the process. The issue of gentrification-induced displacement ultimately raises significant concerns relating to social and environmental justice and equity, and also to the concept of urban sustainability. A theoretical framework is also introduced, describing the major underpinnings of revitalisation through gentrification, which will serve as a base to the current research, aiding in the investigation in the context of inner city Wellington.
2.2 Inner City Revitalisation

What is Inner City Revitalisation?

Inner city revitalisation has emerged in the post ‘urban renewal’ years since the 1970s as a way of addressing the social and economic problems of cities (Zielenbach, 2000). Couch and Fraser (2003) expand on this, stating that revitalisation is concerned with the re-growth or restoration of function or activity where it has been lost in the past. Revitalisation usually involves the eradication of blight, and promotes increased economic activity through business development and private investment. While revitalisation strategies cannot in themselves alleviate the poverty of low-income residents, or the social and economic inequalities of society, they can “increase the safety of an area, enhance its appearance, and make it a more liveable place for its residents” (Zielenbach, 2000:4).

Inner city revitalisation is thus seen by many urban policy makers and politicians as an important strategy to ensure the well-being of cities. Cities with troubled central environments can find their future economic prospects limited, as can areas with high levels of crime and poverty (Zielenbach, 2000). Conversely, healthy and productive inner cities can provide numerous benefits to their inhabitants. Zielenbach (2000) also states that increased goods, services and opportunities all can emerge from healthy cities, as can higher levels of social interaction among its individuals.

The revitalisation of inner city areas that have been acknowledged as underused or simply deteriorating has become an increasingly familiar mission in New Zealand and around the world. Problems of deterioration and related social ills call for intervention; urban sprawl is often the result of measures that are induced to eradicate slums and blighted areas of the inner city. While urban sprawl and suburbanisation have occurred in Britain since the late 1800s, particularly around train and tram links, widespread sprawl did not eventuate until after World War Two (Couch and Fraser, 2003). During this time large concentrations of city residents relocated to the suburbs, often due to the increasing deterioration of the inner city. Businesses such as shopping malls and other industries also began to locate themselves in or around the
suburbs, thus sending more residents towards the periphery of metropolitan areas to seek employment opportunities (Ley, 1983).

Changing lifestyles and household structures also contributed to urban sprawl. In the USA people wanting to live the ‘American Dream’ of owning a home and having a yard moved to the suburbs (Zielenbach, 2000), as did those who were concerned with the increasing poverty rates, crime, and poor educational systems the inner city was offering (Grogan and Proscio, 2000). Inevitably, the increasing incidence of sprawl frequently left the inner cities in a much more dilapidated state, with revitalisation in recent years often regarded as the only option to increase both economic and residential vitality in the inner city once again.

Types of Revitalisation Processes

As can be seen above, revitalisation processes may be used to solve problems of deterioration in inner city areas and may in turn increase vitality and wellness of city centres, attracting business, investment and residents to the central city. The revitalisation processes that achieve these results are diverse, varying in size, design and scale. For the purposes of this thesis, several of these revitalisation processes are explored, including slum clearance and waterfront revitalisation. Gentrification is a significant form of revitalisation activity which will be explored more fully in following sections of this report.

Slum Clearance

Slum clearance is a method of redevelopment for revitalisation, where existing buildings are removed and the land is then re-used for the implementation of new projects (McGill University, 2005). Industrial expansion from the mid 1800s to the mid 1900s in the United Kingdom and Europe led to unprecedented growth in urbanisation and population (Home, 1982). However, during a period of decline that inevitably occurred after World War Two, physical deterioration was becoming apparent among the warehouses and other buildings constructed to accommodate the increased populace of the industrial expansion (Koebel, 1996). This extensive dilapidation, predominantly arising in inner city areas, characterised these areas as
slums. Slum clearance was then initiated ostensibly to promote the construction of low and moderate income housing, to provide the residents of these areas with safer environments in which to live (Koebel, 1996).

However, this slum clearance can carry many social and environmental costs. The demolition of architectural environments is believed to be detrimental to inner city communities, jeopardising cultural heritage values and community identity in many cases (McGill University, 2005). In the United Kingdom, the Housing Act 1957 was passed which renamed the process of slum clearance into ‘urban renewal’ (Fraser, 2003). While inner city buildings were still bulldozed after the implementation of this Act, it did acknowledge the problems such clearance could bring, such as displacement and housing loss, and led to the creation of cheap high rise estates in the 1960s and 1970s (Fraser, 2003). Slum clearance is now seen by most people involved in revitalisation processes as an out of date and controversial process, with the majority of developed countries discarding this form of revitalisation (Zielenbach, 2000). However, in some developing countries redevelopment through slum clearance may be deemed the only way in which healthy, safe, and modern inner cities may be produced (McGill University, 2005).

Waterfront Revitalisation
Over time, many of the world’s ‘working’ waterfronts have ceased to exist, and the waterfront has often become a derelict area of town. However, many cities have discovered the benefits and unique assets that waterfronts can provide in the revitalisation of downtown areas (Kotval and Mullin, 2001). To achieve successful waterfront revitalisation there are a number of key objectives and principles that must be taken into consideration. Kotval and Mullin (2001) describe several of these principles, pertaining to historic and cultural assets, mixed use, tourism, recreation, open space and the connection between the inner city and the waterfront, all of which can be seen as effective methods to nurture and enhance these unique areas.

Kotval and Mullin (2001) state that successful downtown waterfronts typically build on their historic and cultural assets. These assets draw tourists and residents alike, and their elements are important to further marketing and planning of the waterfront.
Historic, cultural, and aesthetic attributes can be protected through zoning regulations, architecture and design controls and site planning regulations. Gentrification is one way in which the area may be revitalised, and the use of design controls will ensure that historic assets of the area are maintained through this process.

Mixed use, and the need to appeal to multiple publics is another principle of waterfront revitalisation advocated by Kotval and Mullin (2001). A working waterfront can co-exist with recreation if the area is well planned and managed. Tourism can provide a significant economic boost to older waterfront areas, and these areas are considered to be important recreational amenities for communities. Open space on the waterfront provides an area for the community to converge, and offers a reason for people to come to the waterfront; to engage in recreational pursuits or with one another.

The nurturing of a connection between downtown and the waterfront is another key principle given by Kotval and Mullin (2001). Finding ways to reconnect with the water is essential for any city wanting to revitalise the inner city through waterfront development. The importance of connecting the waterfront to the downtown area is reiterated by Dovey (2004: 132), who argues that this connection may mean the city attracts new flows of global capital and re-invents itself by connecting to the inner city and “turning its face to the water”.

There are several international examples that document the success of waterfront revitalisation, most often including the aforementioned principles and objectives. Toronto’s waterfront development is one such example. Over three decades from the 1960s to the 1990s, seven development projects were planned for the Toronto waterfront, representing a broad range of approaches to planning and development, with an aim to create opportunities for growth on land close to Toronto’s urban core (Greenberg, 1996).

Historically, the relationship between the Toronto city centre and the waterfront was interrupted by a port and industrial district; a segregation of urban functions formed by planning officials to reduce conflict and interference. This segregation ultimately sanctioned the separation of work-places from living and recreational areas
The separation of uses was increasingly challenged over time, eventuating in the reclamation of the waterfront as a valuable public resource by the people of Toronto. Redevelopment of the waterfront areas were particularly advocated by architects and planners, who looked to the successful waterfront revitalisation projects in cities such as Boston, where effective connections were made between city and water, and new uses of retailing, residential and leisure activities were created (Wang, 2003).

The seven development projects described by Greenberg (1996) do not represent all the revitalisation efforts that have been advanced for the Toronto waterfront, but are broadly indicative of the various approaches and ideas that have informed these efforts. The most significant projects involved the creation of offices, hotels, residential units and various commercial uses, and increased transportation networks described as the “apogee of the technological city of the 1970s” (Greenberg, 1996: 201). Many of the revitalisation efforts involved the newest techniques of landfill, with aims to create substantial new residential populations and to significantly reconnect the inner city to the waterfront (Malone, 1996).

This Toronto example highlights the move the city has taken away from the segregation of urban functions of the waterfront and the inner city. This has been achieved through various measures, particularly through the removal of free-standing projects that turned their back on the city, giving way to mixed patterns of land use, and traditional forms of public space (Malone, 1996). The emphasis on reconnecting the waterfront to the urban core has also raised questions about the appropriate uses of land on a public waterfront, and the need for greater public access (Greenberg, 1996). The revitalisation of the Toronto waterfront reflects ambitions for better planning and architecture, such as those advocated by Kotval and Mullin (2001) above, particularly with the ultimate aim of reconnecting the city to the water.

2.3 Gentrification

What is Gentrification?

An explanation of gentrification as a revitalisation process is far from simple, especially given the complex theoretical and political backgrounds of the many who
research it as an urban process. The original definition, and the one that has remained as an overarching view, was coined by Ruth Glass in 1964, describing the changes she observed in both the social structure and the housing market of various parts of inner London (Hamnett, 2003). Ruth Glass’s classic description follows:

One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower. Shabby modest mews and cottages – two rooms up and two down – have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. 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: From Smith, 1996: 33)

In order to understand this process of gentrification it is important to review its history thus far. Although gentrification was officially first coined in the 1960s, Smith (1996) describes several precursors to the process that are considered important in its development. Examples of gentrification as a revitalisation process can be traced back through the literature to Baron Haussman’s reconstruction of Paris in the 1600s, acknowledged as the first large scale gentrification of a city. Into the 1930s and 40s gentrification remained a sporadic process, although evidence suggests that it was occurring throughout Europe and the United States (Smith, 1996). A world wide economic crisis during the 1930s brought about suburbanisation, which subsequently led to a deepening disinvestment of inner city areas, while the 1960s saw an expansion of the middle class who were in need of housing; gentrification can very much be seen as a result of this (Johnston et al. 2000).

This early gentrification advanced through the large old cities of London, New York, Philadelphia and Toronto, where class politics threatened working classes and aimed to consolidate bourgeois control of the city, while negative consequences of the process such as displacement, slowed it down during the 1980s (Smith, 1996). Gentrification expanded once again through the 1990s into unaffected areas and was intensified in pioneer locations, as cities found themselves competing in the global market, and classes remade themselves in the “central urban landscape” (Johnston et al. 2000:39). Smith (1996: 38) describes gentrification today as “ubiquitous in the central and inner cities of the advanced capitalist world”, that is gentrification has evolved as a widespread experience, differentiating it against earlier initiatives of ‘spot rehabilitation’, or site specific processes, in revitalisation.
Since the coining of the term gentrification, a growing body of literature has developed and thus a significant amount is now known about the characteristics of gentrification and of the gentrifiers themselves. From this body of literature we can deduce that gentrification involves a reinvestment of capital at the urban centre causing a dramatic shift in a neighbourhood’s demographic composition toward better educated and more affluent residents (Freeman & Braconi, 2004). Johnston et al. (2000) expand on this, stating that gentrification is quintessentially about urban reinvestment, embracing commercial development and ‘loft conversions’, the development of lofts and warehouses into apartments, which results in a restructuring of the urban environment. As an urban process, it can then be seen to combine economics with social change, bringing the ‘gentry’ into areas that are predominantly undervalued. The question may then be asked: who is gentrifying, revitalising and restructuring the urban environment of the inner city?

**Who Gentrifies?**

In determining who is revitalising our city centres through gentrification, Smith (1996) emphatically states that there is no sign that the rise of gentrification has diminished contemporary suburbanisation, or that an increase in suburbanisation will affect gentrification. Hamnett (2000: 332) believes that the two processes are not mutually exclusive, stating that “although there is a continued outward movement of professionals and managers from the inner cities to the suburbs, they appear to be replaced by an even larger flow of young professionals, managers, and workers in finance, business services, and the cultural and creative industries”. Therefore, while the flow of people away from the inner city through the process of suburbanisation appears to be reducing the ‘pool’ of potential gentrifiers, this reduction is countered by an equally significant number of people who wish to live in the inner city.

However, Ley (1996) cites that the profile of the typical gentrifier has too often been reduced to the cliché of these young urban professionals, or yuppies as they are commonly known. Such an individual can be described as well-educated, upwardly mobile in a professional or managerial occupation, single or living with their employed partner, and with adequate discretionary income to engage in the rituals and
culture of consumption that is the inner city (Ley, 1996). Furthermore, the level of educational attainment in a household is acknowledged throughout the literature as the single most reliable indicator of determining socioeconomic class, as educational levels achieved by an individual are permanent and not able to decrease over time (Vigdor, 2002). Marcuse (2000: 277) exemplifies the stereotype of this typical gentrifier, stating that “mapping the location of Starbucks coffee bars, the latest craze in yuppie relaxation, provides a good map of the location of the gentrified city in New York”.

Extensive research undertaken by Ley (1996) in Canada on the new middle class arriving in central city areas reaches beyond this cliché of the yuppie. Middle-class families are gentrifying with their children and are purported to be somewhat older than the stereotype would suggest. There also appears to be evidence of the ‘marginal gentrifier’, often single women looking for affordable housing who may be engaged in professional work, but whose job is precarious or temporary (Ley, 1996). More recent work by Ley (2003) also points to the incidence of artists in gentrified areas, who have often attained very high levels of education but who can frequently be considered economically impoverished. These people are drawn to the centre city for the same reasons as others, high levels of cultural capital and activities that suit their chosen lifestyles, but somewhat skew the stereotype of the typical gentrifier and the common assumption throughout the literature that educational attainment represents a higher socioeconomic class in terms of gentrification. Therefore, research by Ley shows that assumptions cannot be made regarding who qualifies as a ‘typical’ gentrifier, as an increasing number and variety of people in today’s society are presenting an attraction or predisposition to inner city living.

**Gentrification Today**

The emergence of revitalisation through gentrification is exemplified through global case study examples given throughout the relevant literature. Two such examples include Caroline Mills (1993) and her work on Fairview Slopes in Vancouver, and Chris Hamnett (2003) and his review of gentrification in inner London.
Fairview Slopes is a small inner city neighbourhood overlooking the business centre of Vancouver. Before the 1970s this area was perceived as “a quiet backwater” (Mills, 1993: 152), but today is dominated by upwardly mobile singles and couples, and some older empty-nester households. Mills (1993) describes the way this gentrification process was predominantly based on an explicit marketing text, a strategy of ‘place advertisement’, initiated by developers to sell their post-modern architectural products. The lifestyle they are selling is defined by place, the inner city, designed to appeal to residents fitting the yuppie mould – those of youth and professional status. This explicit use of place marketing excludes various groups of people from the neighbourhood, raising issues of social justice and equity, and also affirms the stereotypical profile of those who gentrify. This use of place marketing in order to ‘sell’ gentrification in an international location exemplifies the need to undertake more research in a national context, in order to assess whether similar issues regarding social justice and equity are occurring.

Chris Hamnett (2003) discusses the future of gentrification by reviewing the process as it is taking place in inner London. Since Ruth Glass coined the term, gentrification has grown considerably in London, in terms of its rate of incidence and its importance to urban reinvestment. Growth during the 1960s and 1970s was particularly steep, peaking during the 1990s. During the 1990s loft living became a fashionable concept and was quickly introduced into the inner city. Such developments are described by Zielenbach (2000) as ‘adaptive re-use’, where used inner city warehouses, industrial factories and office space are redeveloped into housing. The gentrification of such buildings can indeed be seen as a key revitalisation tool, bringing neighbourhood amenity to the inner city urban environment.

While inner city London has a long history of revitalisation through gentrification, four factors have been identified by Hamnett (2003) for their potential to limit or slow gentrification. The first of these is if London should lose its place as the leading European financial centre. While Hamnett believes that this is unlikely, should it occur it would weaken the economic base of the city, thereby reducing the size and purchasing power of the middle class. Second, is the expansion of the ethnic minority population of London and the competition for space that may ensue from such expansion, which ultimately may limit gentrification in the inner city. The third factor
relates to the increase of street crime occurring in much of inner London. The middle class has more freedom of residential choice, and may decide to move to the suburbs, thus slowing the process of gentrification (Hamnett, 2003). This example shows that gentrification may be limited by other processes occurring in the inner city. Other issues that occur in the inner city may slow down gentrification, which in turn may serve to give the gentrification process negative press. The following section explores these issues and the negative consequences that gentrification may bring, attempting to clarify whether gentrification is indeed a 'dirty word'.

**Is Gentrification a Dirty Word?**

Opportunities for increased socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic integration may evolve out of gentrification. Freeman & Braconi (2004) discuss the way in which an increasing middle class, drawn to the inner city by the gentrification process, could help desegregate urban areas. Moreover, patterns of concentrated poverty may be dissipated by an influx of middle-income residents into formerly depressed neighbourhoods. New housing investment, the stimulation of additional retail and cultural services, and increased quality in public services may all be advanced in a gentrified neighbourhood, benefiting not only the new residents but existing residents also (Freeman & Braconi, 2004). Employment prospects of existing low-income residents may also be enhanced if gentrification contributes to job creation, for example in new retail ventures, or in the development of improved public services for the neighbourhood. By increasing the amount of neighbourhood interaction between households of varying socioeconomic status, gentrification may also bring about the improvement of living standards for poor households (Vigdor, 2002).

While gentrification holds many positive attributes, as mentioned above, it also has been associated with a number of negative social consequences, particularly relating to issues of social justice and equity. The first of such consequences is described by Atkinson (2003) as internalised social conflicts over the ownership of local space. Feelings of belonging are integrally tied to a specific place (Fried, 1966), so when residents move into revitalised and gentrified new environments, they are already lacking this sense of spatial identity. Although such identity can be learned and

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1 From Smith. (1996: 30)
created, as new residents come and go, often forcing out existing residents, it becomes hard for individuals to assimilate and create continuity in terms of spatial identity. Conflicts can thus arise when a ‘new’ neighbourhood seeks to establish ownership of the local space, serving to further create dislocation and lack of continuity in terms of place.

Another negative social consequence may arise when it is decided that a neighbourhood will gentrify. In many cases, the residents may not believe this is a positive step, fearing that they may be displaced or lose ownership of their local space as aforementioned. Marcuse (2000: 274) states that when neighbourhoods are identified for higher use their inhabitants, under the guise of protecting their neighbourhoods, have been known to “give rise to some of the most militant social movements of our time”. The occurrence of one such social movement is exemplified by Cameron (2003) who describes the city-wide regeneration strategy known as ‘Going for Growth’ adopted by Newcastle City Council in the United Kingdom. The strategy was designed in order to solve some of the increasing problems in the area that relate to its deprived and stigmatised neighbourhoods, characterised by population loss and housing demand (Cameron, 2003). Cameron (2003) goes on to describe the core of the strategy for these deprived and disadvantaged neighbourhoods as a large-scale housing development. Here, some 6000 dwellings would be demolished in order to accommodate new housing that was intended to introduce a new middle class to the area, thereby creating more population diversity. However, controversy began as soon as the strategy was published, with local residents immediately initiating protest meetings and holding demonstrations marching against the proposed gentrification scheme. This social movement called for a more efficient consultation process, to determine the needs of the people and appease their fears of potential displacement and dislocation.

The issues above concerning social justice and equity have shaped the view that gentrification can have a corrosive influence on urban neighbourhoods (Atkinson, 2003). Perhaps the most significant of these influences that has been documented throughout much of the literature, is that of displacement. Atkinson goes on to state that displacement is an unfortunate corollary of processes of inner city revitalisation, raising the question of whether the benefits of gentrification are negated by the
detrimental impacts that it can produce. The following section discusses the issue of
gentrification-induced displacement, reviewing its causes, consequences and
incidence, and whether it does indeed counter the positive influence that gentrification
can have on the urban environment.

2.4 Displacement

What is Displacement?

Schill and Nathan (1983) describe displacement of a neighbourhood’s residents as the
most controversial cost of neighbourhood reinvestment through gentrification. This
‘darker’ side of gentrification and the factors that are associated with it, such as rising
rents and property rates, threaten to displace existing residents who are unable to
compete financially. The most widely accepted definition of such displacement is that
advocated by Grier and Grier:

Displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its
residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or its immediate
surroundings and which:
1. Are beyond the household’s reasonable ability to control or
   prevent;
2. Occur despite the household’s having met all previously
   imposed conditions of occupancy; and
3. Make continued occupancy by that household impossible,
   hazardous, or unaffordable

(Grier & Grier, 1978; From Freeman & Braconi, 2004: 2)

Marcuse (1986) extends this definition, to include physical, economic, and
exclusionary displacement. Economic displacement covers causes such as rent
increase, while physical displacement relates to the property itself, for example the
landlord neglecting a property which in turn forces the tenants to leave. Exclusionary
displacement is more complex, but may be defined as when “a particular housing unit
is voluntarily vacated by one household and then gentrified, so that another similar
household cannot: move in, and the total number of units available to such a household
is thereby reduced” (Marcuse, 1986: 156). This exclusionary displacement would
particularly affect those residing in low socio-economic neighbourhoods, thus making
it of particular relevance to inner city areas which the literature predominantly
describes as being populated by the economically disadvantaged.
The reasons behind displacement and the likelihood that it will occur are discussed at length throughout the relevant literature. Palen and London (1984) suggest that it is an almost inevitable product of the gentrification process, but that it can affect people in different ways and to varying degrees. For example, the effects that displacement has to renters, as opposed to home owners, are particularly contrasting. Schill and Nathan (1983) discuss this difference, stating that tenants are more widely displaced as a result of their vulnerability. Landlords may increase rents in correlation to increasing property values in gentrified areas, or may even evict tenants in order to renovate or convert housing into condominiums or owner-occupied dwellings.

Conversely, property owners are not normally as vulnerable to displacement in gentrified areas. Gentrification is seen as a process that commonly increases the neighbourhood property values, therefore many owners benefit from this by renovating and selling on for a satisfactory return (Schill & Nathan, 1983). However, owners of property still may have no choice but to relocate when an area becomes gentrified. Increased property values inevitably incur higher rates, with existing residents often unable to compete with the higher-income people that are moving into these gentrified areas. This may be especially true of inner city neighbourhoods, where poorer home owners, including the elderly, often choose to reside.

Henig (1984) agrees with other thinkers, that displacement is indeed a factor of gentrification, and that its likelihood can be increased by a number of spatial and economic factors. Henig particularly focuses on the likelihood of displacement to the elderly, as spatially there appears to be evidence of concentrations of elderly residents within the CBD of many major cities, the very same areas that the gentrifiers find so appealing. Economically, the elderly often have no option but to relocate when gentrification becomes prolific in these inner city neighbourhoods, inevitably raising property prices and rent.

The Consequences of Displacement

A review of relevant literature shows that displacement is seen as a significant product of the process of inner city revitalisation through gentrification (Schill and Nathan, 1983; London and Palen, 1984; Cameron 2003). Displacement as a result of
gentrification is often forced, but even when the relocation is voluntary, negative consequences can ensue. Fried (1966: 359) describes forced relocation as a "highly disruptive and disturbing experience", stating that such a dislocation with an established sense of space, that is the existing environment of the displaced, can only be described as a feeling of grief. Fried expands on this, stating that grieving for a lost home is evidently a widespread phenomenon that follows in the wake of urban dislocation.

Such psychological costs to displacees are also discussed by Henig (1984). Henig believes that emotional difficulties, intricately tied to a resident's sense of spatial identity, may be magnified for the elderly. This is based in part on an assumption that the elderly population is more dependent upon a stable environment, and also that relocation may pose a health risk to the elderly, with potential negative effects on "activity levels, mental health, life satisfaction, and mortality" (Henig, 1984: 172). The elderly may also be more vulnerable to the social costs of relocation, such as loss of community support and friendship networks, which are then further exacerbated by additional economic costs individuals would be expected to incur. Therefore, the elderly may be viewed as 'doubly jeopardised', having to cope with both the likelihood of displacement, and then its impacts.

Schill and Nathan (1983) expand on this list of negative consequences of displacement, stating that segregation may occur, along with an increasing destabilisation of surrounding neighbourhoods. Segregation may occur as neighbourhoods lose their ethnic diversity when low-income families are forced to leave, because as was previously indicated, new residents of revitalised neighbourhoods do appear to have significantly higher incomes than those they replace, and in the majority of cases these new residents are white (Schill and Nathan, 1984). Displacement can thus often lead to a polarisation between races, which ultimately has the potential to create both racial and class confrontation.

Destabilisation of neighbourhoods surrounding those that have been revitalised through the gentrification process is also a potentially common occurrence (Schill and Nathan, 1983). This occurs when displacees seek out affordable housing in surrounding neighbourhoods. Such neighbourhoods may be selected because quality
of life does not have to dramatically change for the displacees, in terms of established community networks and residential opportunities, such as schools. However, such an influx of displaced residents into these adjacent neighbourhoods, who through the literature are also typically identified as lower class, may cause problems such as a loss of confidence in the area by the existing residents and property values may suffer.

Another negative social consequence that potentially may arise as a result of gentrification is homelessness. Smith (1996) elucidates on the events that unfolded in Tompkins Square Park, New York City, which relate to the aforementioned theme of social movements and protests as a response to gentrification. Many of the homeless residents of Tompkins Square Park were the victims of the gentrification movement. Their displacement led them to seek out any available space in which to survive, with the public space of Tompkins Square Park being a viable option for many. However, the citizens of New York believed that the homeless population affected many residents’ “quality of life” and so a ‘sweep’ of the Park was carried out (Smith, 1996: 221). Smith (1996) describes this event as a sure sign that gentrification, displacement and segregation together point towards a significantly restructured urban geography.

Additionally, positive outcomes of displacement are also documented through the literature. Schill and Nathan (1983) discuss the way in which revitalisation initiatives that are taking place in gentrified neighbourhoods may have positive spin-offs for surrounding neighbourhoods. An example of this would be increased opportunities and services that are created through gentrification, such as specialist shops, improved resources for local schools, and improved infrastructure, which are made available to surrounding individuals and adjacent communities (Vigdor, 2002). This increased pool of services to neighbourhoods adjacent to gentrification activity not only benefit the existing residents, but also means that those who were forced to relocate into these surrounding areas because they could not compete financially, are also benefiting from gentrification in the long run.
**Is Displacement the 'Darker Side' of Gentrification?**

The positive spin-offs of gentrification-induced displacement highlight an interesting point that many recent writers on gentrification have brought forward: is displacement really the 'darker side' of gentrification? One writer who believes that the evidence of gentrification-induced displacement to the financially disadvantaged is purely anecdotal is Vigdor (2002). While there seems to be a focus on how displacement harms the poor, the link between gentrification and how it causes displacement is often weak. The main weakness seems to be in distinguishing between voluntary and involuntary moves in gentrified neighbourhoods, failing to “convincingly demonstrate that rates of involuntary displacement are higher in gentrifying neighbourhoods” (Vigdor: 2002, 149).

Claims are also emerging that gentrification indeed benefits the poor, rather than displacing them,

...by increasing the tax base, bringing middle class energy to the job of improving the schools, and introducing economic variety. Many older residents are not pushed out. What disappears instead is the 'monoculture of poverty' that is replaced by the kind of economic mix that is essential to social health

(Fulford, 2004:2)

Gentrification brings with it neighbourhood improvements that disadvantaged households value, consequently meaning that greater effort is made to remain in the neighbourhood, even if a significant proportion of their income is devoted to rent increases.

To assess these claims that are becoming more prolific in the literature, Freeman & Braconi (2004) undertook a comparative study of research by Schill and Nathan (1983) and Vigdor (2002) on gentrifying neighbourhoods in the United States, with the results of their study surprisingly inconclusive. The research showed that a relatively small percentage of housing moves can be attributed to displacement with little evidence implicating gentrification in the process. Further research on gentrification in New York City by Freeman and Braconi (2004) showed that there is, however, a strong need to reconsider the gentrification process, as exit mobility rates from gentrified neighbourhoods seem inconsistent with a process of mass displacement of disadvantaged residents. It seems to be normal housing succession,
as a result of demographic change, that is determining the exit rate of residents. This inconsistency arising amongst recent literature exemplifies the need to undertake more research on the gentrification process and its implications in displacing existing residents. The following section will describe how these processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement are related to issues of justice and sustainability within the inner city.

2.5 Justice and Sustainability

The preceding sections have demonstrated that issues of social justice and equity are tied to the processes of inner city revitalisation and gentrification, due to the fact that inner city inhabitants are inevitably affected, to either their benefit or detriment, through such processes. Such issues of justice are especially raised for these residents when revitalisation through gentrification induces the displacement of people from the inner city. Environmental justice, and the endeavour to create sustainable neighbourhoods and urban environments, also become significant issues for these revitalisation processes. The following section seeks to address such issues of justice and sustainability, and clarify how an understanding of these issues can help redress problems that have been encountered in the past.

Social Justice

Social Justice is a complex notion that can be defined as the distribution of the benefits and burdens of society and how this comes about (Johnston et al., 2000). Smith (1994: 26) expands on this definition, stating that "the term social justice is taken to embrace both fairness and equity in the distribution of a wide range of attributes, which need not be confined to material things". Furthermore, Tonkiss (2000) believes that the notion of social justice should go beyond the formal rights of citizenship, where it is concerned not with the formal equality of citizens but with the substantive inequalities that exist among them.

Indeed, social justice can be seen as a very broad concept, and one that partially stems from the work of John Rawls and his Social Contract Theory in the 1970s. Rawls based his principles on the idea of equal rights for all, and that a just society should
arrange its economic and social inequalities so as to be of the greatest benefit to its least advantaged members (Johnston et al., 2000). These principles led to the creation of many further explanations, including a post-structuralist critique that "social injustice concerns the domination and oppression of one group or groups in society by another, not merely the distributional outcomes. Democracy is central to social justice...we require real participatory structures" (Young, 1990, as cited in Johnston et al., 2000).

Young (1990) also describes the key elements involved in the notion of social justice. She identifies the "five faces of oppression" (Harvey, 1996: 349) as exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. These key elements of social justice have similarities to those given by Smith (1994), who describes ethics and morality, rights, membership, space, time, inequality, and difference as the main constituents of the concept of social justice. Such considerations ultimately deal with inclusion and exclusion, particularly in terms of geographical space, an example of which could be gentrification-induced displacement in the inner city.

**Social Justice and the Urban Environment**

The concept of social justice is cited by Smith (1994: 25) as predicated primarily on the structure of society, "made up of the institutions that together determine the access (or chances of access) of the members of society to resources that are means to the satisfaction of a wide variety of desires". That is, justice requires a society where aspirations of well-being and happiness are not impeded by oppression or domination.

Of the key elements of social justice cited above, several are particularly pertinent to the processes of revitalisation through gentrification, and gentrification-induced displacement. Marginalisation, membership, inequality and difference are all important, as is space. Although not mentioned above, a person's sense of place is also integral to the idea of social justice and equality, especially in terms of inclusion. Smith (1994: 253) describes place as "necessary for human existence", going beyond basic needs and the physical occupation of space. Place and geographical space merge with our broader sense of identity, thus losing one's place can be much more
traumatic than simply changing location (Smith, 1994). Therefore, it is hard to justify revitalisation processes that serve to displace people, even in the interests of what is believed to be a wider social purpose.

Urban policy can play its part in realising social justice. Ley (1996) describes how issues of social justice can be expressed in terms of the urban environment, using the Canadian housing policy and its connection with neighbourhood planning processes as his example. Here, in line with new appreciation for socially just housing and planning processes, a more decentralised and participatory management tool was enunciated (Ley, 1996). The drive behind such just processes developed out of past projects that called for segregated land use and homogenous user groups which served to stigmatise residents. New developments were specifically designed with an emphasis on land-use mixing, modest-scale projects with enhanced design criteria so that developments fit into their immediate urban surroundings (Ley, 1996). Such land use mixing and attention to design protocol would allow for gentrification to proceed with few or no ill effects in terms of social justice, as residents would feel less socially excluded or segregated.

In the British context, Tonkiss (2000) describes the way in which issues of social justice have been addressed by the government in order to enable individuals and communities to realise the opportunities that are open to them. ‘The Urban Programme’ is one such British policy method, allowing for social and economic problems, such as unemployment, low educational attainment and substandard housing, to be addressed through the management of specific urban spaces (Tonkiss, 2000). As low educational attainment has been identified as the most reliable indicator of low socioeconomic status (Vigdor, 2002), and these disadvantaged areas are renowned for their gentrification, areas in which this is a prolific problem would most benefit from policy that would allow for social justice to prevail.

Such urban policy could serve to appease issues of social injustice that are occurring as a result of revitalisation processes through gentrification. Smith (1994) believes that those who take other people’s places should have very good reasons, and in turn be able to validate these reasons in terms of social justice and equality for all.
Environmental justice, as an ancillary element of social justice, is another issue that should be acknowledged when revitalising inner city areas through gentrification.

**Environmental Justice**

Environmental justice also has relevance for this study of revitalisation processes and its consequences; Johnston et al. (2000) state that environmental justice serves to seek justice against the forces that undermine the well-being of a community. While environmental justice seeks the well-being of communities from a social justice perspective, it can be seen as a socio-political movement involving geography and environmental ethics (Johnston et al., 2000). That is, it seeks to expand the fundamental right to well-being into some larger concept of nature.

The concept evolved out of the 1980s as marginalised communities around the world confronted various environmental problems. Harvey (1996) describes two particular incidents that spawned the movement. The first is the case of houses being built on the in-filled Love Canal in Buffalo, New York, where their basements were found to contain noxious liquids that resulted in serious health effects on the children. The second arose from protests in North Carolina, when a burial site for soil contaminated with PCB’s was located in an area most significantly populated by African-American residents (Harvey, 1996). Both incidents produced significant movements against the environmental injustices that were undermining the well-being of groups who were predominantly ethnic minorities and of low socioeconomic status.

In this way environmental justice can serve alongside issues of social justice that can arise out of gentrification and displacement. Both aim to ensure fairness and equity to all, which is especially pertinent when the groups involved are often of a low socioeconomic status, or of an ethnic minority. Environmental justice also has links to sustainability, as Johnston et al. (2000) cite that such justice includes not only the needs of present populations, but of past and future generations also.
Sustainability

The concept of sustainable development emerged during the 1980s, when the World Commission on Environment and Development defined it as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987: 42). This definition was framed within the context of environmental, social and economic perspectives, acknowledging the interrelatedness of these three spheres. That is, if a decision was made in one sphere it would inevitably impact the others. This focus was acknowledged at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, where sustainable development was accepted as the overarching policy for the 21st century (Basiago, 1999).

This focus has led planners to apply notions of sustainability to contemporary issues seen in the development of urban areas. An example of this is the development of ‘sustainable communities’, where communities are to adopt a more ecologically sustainable lifestyle because it is believed that neither governments nor individuals can achieve sustainability by themselves (Chanan et al., 1999). Indeed, sustainable development has become an important initiative in urban centres, as Haughton and Hunter (1994) describe urban areas as the worst offenders in causing environmental problems, such as pollution and the disruption of natural habitats. Haughton and Hunter (1994) do expand on this however, citing that cities have the capacity to be more resourceful, by integrating nature with city design, allowing for the enjoyment of a more natural environment.

The social environment, as an interrelated sphere of sustainable development, is very important to the urban setting. Therefore, issues relating to social justice, equity and well-being for inner city inhabitants become very important in creating a sustainable urban environment. Whilst New Zealand has diverged somewhat from international positions on sustainability by introducing the Resource Management Act that focuses on sustainable management as opposed to sustainable development, there is still a recognised need “to focus on improving the efficiency of resource use and integrated management of the urban environment, with people and communities being
recognised as core elements of that environment" (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 1998:4).

It can then be seen that there is a strong link between social and environmental justice and the concept of sustainability, in that all are aiming to provide for the well-being of both the urban environment and for the people who reside there. Revitalisation through gentrification, and gentrification-induced displacement may threaten this well-being. Therefore, means must be developed, often through the creation of policy documents that will serve to protect these inner city inhabitants, and ensure that justice and sustainability prevail.

2.6 Theoretical Underpinnings of Gentrification

From a review of relevant literature, concerning the aforementioned themes of revitalisation, gentrification, displacement, and the endeavour to ensure social justice and sustainability, two significant theoretical underpinnings are revealed. These viewpoints offer theoretical explanations for the process of gentrification, and are therefore integral to gaining a deeper understanding of this process and its related consequences.

The first theory originates from Neil Smith and concerns the economics of these processes, and the relationships between flows of capital and the production of urban space, also known as the 'production-side' argument (Slater, 2002). The second theory, as will be outlined in following sections, originates from the work of David Ley, who discusses the 'consumption-side' argument, and whose interest lies in the characteristics of the gentrifiers and their patterns of consumption in a post-industrial society (Slater, 2002). These theories can then be placed within two wider theoretical approaches; the neo-Marxist view of Smith, and the post-structuralist influenced argument of Ley.

'Production' Argument

The 'production', or 'supply', argument, advocated by Neil Smith has been described almost universally as Smith's Rent-Gap Theory, describing the discrepancy between
actual rent attracted by a piece of land ('capitalised ground rent') and the rent that could be obtained under a higher and better use ('potential ground rent') (Johnston et al., 2000). Johnston et al. (2000: 702) further expand upon this rent-gap theory geographically, by stating that it has emerged in inner city areas where “disinvestment was not sufficiently compensated by reinvestment and a distinct valley in land values resulted”.

Smith has long been a highly influential spokesman on the process of gentrification. In 1979, his paper entitled ‘A back to the city movement by capital, not people’, initiated significant argument for and against his explanation of the process with its overt economic bias (Slater, 2002). With this idea in mind, Smith describes the rent-gap; the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent level, as “produced primarily by capital devalorisation, which diminishes the proportion of the ground rent able to be capitalised, and also by continued urban development and expansion, which has historically raised the potential ground rent level in the inner city” (Smith, 1996: 68). As neighbourhood decline increases the rent gap widens, gentrification then occurs when this rent-gap is wide enough for developers to purchase structures cheaply, and then sell them on for a satisfactory profit. The ground rent then is capitalised, and the neighbourhood can begin a new cycle of use (Smith, 1996). This theory of gentrification can thus be seen as offering an explanation as to the timing and pattern of gentrification in cities.

Gentrification can also be explained on a broader level. Indeed, Smith viewed gentrification as a process of ‘uneven development’ of urban space under the capitalist mode of production, regarding the geography of capital disinvestment and reinvestment in the inner city (Slater, 2002). This link between gentrification on the local level and at a city-wide level provides a theoretical link between gentrification and other urban transformations, such as property booms, suburbanisation, inner city revitalisation and displacement.

This rent-gap theory falls under a wider theoretical framework of structuralist Marxism, or neo-Marxism. Marxism, although not inherently limited to one kind of society, tends to focus on the varying characteristics of the capitalist society (Johnston et al., 2000). Smith’s Marxist perspective of gentrification can be seen as an overtly
economic viewpoint, detailing patterns of investment and disinvestment in the inner city. Gentrification is given as a structural product of the land and housing markets, with the Marxist view specifically looking at its implications as uneven development.

**Criticisms of 'Production' Argument**

Criticisms of this neo-Marxist viewpoint and Smith’s overtly economically based explanation of gentrification, led to many critiques and the development of further explanations. These criticisms were predominantly rooted in the way that Smith stressed the importance of production at the expense of consumption, that is money and property were deemed of more relevance than the gentrifiers themselves or their cultural preferences in terms of housing. In light of this, various key criticisms of the rent-gap theory can be identified.

First, the rent-gap theory does not discuss the people who are involved in the gentrification process, although as Slater (2002) discusses, the people who gentrify can be seen as integral to the process. Hamnett (1991:180) argues that although the gentrification process indeed involves capital flows, it also involves people and this is the “Achilles heel of Smith’s supply side thesis”. Research by Munt (1987) expands on this, stating that gentrification cannot take place without a pool of gentrifiers, or consumers, who have a preference to live in the inner city. Such a preference is seemingly ignored by the neo-Marxist analysis, favouring approaches that emphasise capital fluctuations within urban areas.

A second criticism of the rent-gap theory is the problem it seems to encounter under empirical research. David Ley, who Slater (2002) describes as the chief proponent of consumption-side explanations, states that it still has not been made accountable under empirical research, despite its long history as perhaps the most significant explanation of gentrification. Extensive empirical research has been undertaken concerning gentrification, its causes and consequences, and the rent-gap seems to consistently fail to explain why gentrification occurs in some cities and not in others.

As demonstrated above, it is without doubt that Smith’s rent-gap thesis attracted widespread criticism. Slater (2002) believes that to understand the nature of such
criticisms, one must also analyse the arguments of the consumption-side school, in order to gain an overall understanding of both theoretical underpinnings. The work of David Ley is integral to this consumption, or ‘demand-side’ argument.

‘Consumption’ Argument

Research conducted by David Ley into the realm of gentrification can indeed be considered under the wider theoretical umbrella of post-structuralism. Ley’s interpretation of gentrification is vastly different from the work of Neil Smith, taking a ‘demand side’, or consumer preference’ approach, as opposed to the capitalist ‘supply side’ theory that follows an overtly economic viewpoint. Rather, Ley holds the belief that the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy results in an expanding new middle class. The explanation that David Ley puts forward is as follows:

...that the roots of gentrification lie in the changing industrial structure of major cities with the switch from manufacturing industry to service-based industries and a concomitant change in the occupational class structure from one based around the dominance of a large manual working class to one increasingly dominated by white-collar professionals, managers and technical workers in the financial, cultural and service industries which are concentrated in major cities.

(Hamnett, 2003: 2402)

Ley argues that this change in class composition to a ‘new middle class’ has resulted in changes in cultural preference and working patterns that have predisposed them to inner city living, rather than commuting from the suburbs (Hamnett, 2003). The argument advocated by Ley views the gentrifiers themselves as the key to understanding the process of gentrification and its subsequent social consequences, such as homelessness and displacement.

Lees (2000) describes Ley’s work on the new middle class as synonymous with discussions based around the ‘emancipated’ geographer, that is, the new middle class is able to exploit the emancipatory potential of the inner city, creating a sophisticated inner city class. This culturally sophisticated urban class faction is described by Lees as less conservative than the ‘old’ middle class, with their cultural values rooted in the critical youth movements of the 1960s; so these post-industrial gentrifiers were once hippies, but now are yuppies (Lees, 2000). This notion strengthens the argument of
Ley; that the gentrification process is driven by the gentrifiers themselves, who are drawn to the uniqueness of the inner city. It is this humanist ideal that identifies it as a post-structuralist approach to the gentrification process and the consequences that it produces.

This research will take the Ley approach, concentrating on the post-structuralist 'human' nature of gentrification and its potential consequences. The following section will elaborate on the post-structuralist approach, thus further clarifying its relationship with David Ley's thesis on the new middle class, and its appropriateness for the current research.

**The Emergence of Post-structuralism**

Post-structuralism can be characterised as a mode of thinking, a set of critical practices of reading, a style of philosophising, and a kind of writing, yet the term should not be used to convey a sense of homogeneity, singularity, and unity.

(Peters, 2001:1)

The emergence of post-structuralism is associated with several French philosophers, including Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, who were influenced, yet felt constrained, by the narrowness and formalism of structuralism (Howard, 2000). While many thinkers abandoned structuralist ideals completely, several philosophers agreed with the fundamental principles, and therefore simply expanded upon them. As an example of this, Jacques Derrida viewed the 'post' in 'post-structuralism' simply as a way of extending the ideas of structuralism (Peters, 2001). This extension of ideas thus emphasises the fundamental inconsistencies of the method which structuralists seemingly had ignored.

Integral concepts of structuralist thought, which were then expanded and developed to satisfy the post-structuralist theorists, include traditions of linguistics and analysis. These concepts and traditions were based upon the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, Roland Barthes, Louis Althuser, and Claude Levi-Strauss, and demonstrated the applications of linguistics to the arena of social science (Peters, 2001). In this arena, language is seen as the medium for defining and contesting social organisation and
subjectivity, and that social phenomena are understandable as languages (Johnston et al., 2000). Therefore, language is viewed, in this context, as the medium of all thought and human expression, which in turn engenders a structure in which we can conceptualise personal and individual experience (Tew, 2002).

In its broadest sense, post-structuralism is a move away from the meanings of individual words, to an “analysis of how meanings may be constituted in language, and how these may, in turn, structure power relations between social participants” (Tew, 2002: 71). That is, post-structuralism can be seen as a shift from ‘language’, individual words and their meanings, to ‘discourse’, understanding language in terms of social groups and power relations. Indeed Foucault’s disagreement with structuralism was that one could not simply use individual words to explain the human condition, but that a deeper understanding of social relationships, and economic, political, and social practices, could only come through discourse (Howard, 2000).

**Post-structuralism, Gentrification, and Displacement**

As mentioned above, discourse as a method of speech, knowledge, cultural practices, and symbolic representations, can be seen as an important conceptual element of post-structuralism. Discourse has the potential ability to create power relationships within groups of people, and to influence and determine social relationships (Tew, 2002). This idea is integral to the examination of gentrification and subsequently displacement, as is demonstrated through the work of Mills (1993) who states that the project of gentrification is a discourse about landscape which offers, in turn, a discourse about society. Methods of post-structuralist thought, such as discourse analysis, may therefore be used to examine the relationship between revitalisation, gentrification and displacement. Such analysis is useful to understand whether displacement is indeed occurring in the inner city, to what extent, and whether the benefits of gentrification as a revitalisation tool are negated by the incidence of displacement, in terms of social justice and equity.
Need for a more Integrated Theory?

While the theories of the rent-gap and of consumption, and the approaches of neo-Marxism and post-structuralism are critical to understanding the relationship between revitalisation, gentrification, displacement and the endeavour for social justice and equity, Atkinson (2003) suggests that there is a need for a more integrated theory. Property must be available for gentrification in economic terms, but people must also be prepared to occupy these inner-city dwellings. Lees (1994) contends that the two theories should develop together. Juxtaposing a Marxist analysis with a cultural analysis would allow "political economy, culture and society to be considered together, enabling a more sensitive illustration of the gentrification process", and in turn a deeper understanding of the relationship between the aforementioned themes (Lees 1994: 148). As discussed earlier, this research will take the post-structuralist approach advocated by Ley. However, in order to thoroughly illustrate the gentrification process that is occurring in Wellington, and to recognise the argument put forward by Lees above, an economic viewpoint will also be taken into consideration.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored inner city revitalisation, particularly through gentrification, and the consequences of this process. The reviewed literature demonstrates that while benefits can be gained through revitalisation, such as increased employment opportunities and public services, negative consequences may also prevail. Displacement is highlighted by many scholars as perhaps the greatest threat to inner city communities as a result of gentrification; dislocating individuals from their existing neighbourhoods, thereby jeopardising already established community networks and the spatial identity of each affected individual. Issues of social justice and sustainability also come into play when residents are forced to relocate.

However, the literature also demonstrates, through international case study examples, that perhaps gentrification does not necessarily harm these inner city neighbourhoods by displacement, suggesting that it is indeed a predominance of beneficial
consequences that accrue. It is therefore the aim of this study to inform the gaps in
the literature pertaining to inner city revitalisation through gentrification. The
theoretical framework outlining the rent-gap and the consumption arguments, and the
approaches of neo-Marxism and post-structuralism will aid in this study, serving as a
base on which the extent of displacement will be explored through the context of
inner city Wellington, New Zealand. The issues of revitalisation, gentrification and
displacement will all be investigated, in terms of ensuring sustainability in the inner
city, and social justice for all its inhabitants. The following chapter will outline the
context in which the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement are
operating in New Zealand.
3

Context

3.1 Introduction

In order to analyse the processes of inner city revitalisation, gentrification and displacement in inner city Wellington, it is necessary to ascertain how these processes are operating within the wider New Zealand context. The chapter therefore discusses the legislative context under which these three processes of inner city revitalisation, gentrification and displacement may operate, namely the Resource Management Act, Local Government Act, Historic Places Act, and the Building Act. In section 3.3 the New Zealand context is given, referring to specific inner city revitalisation activities that are occurring in three of the country's large urban centres, Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. The increasing incidence of gentrification is discussed, and the often negative consequence of displacement that can occur from this. Taking this wider New Zealand context into consideration, section 3.4 discusses the Wellington situation, outlining the revitalisation and gentrification initiatives undertaken in the inner city and central city suburbs, and the occurrence of displacement. Specific policies of the Wellington region are also discussed in this section, where the Wellington City District Plan Design Guides and the Waterfront Framework are analysed in terms of their role in revitalisation and gentrification.

3.2 Legislative Context

The following section analyses New Zealand legislation with regard to the processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement. The overarching nature of planning legislation in New Zealand creates a means by which these processes may be addressed.
Resource Management Act 1991

The Resource Management Act is the major piece of legislation in New Zealand “that sets out how we should manage our environment. It is based on the idea of sustainable management of our resources and it encourages us to plan for the future of our environment” (Ministry for the Environment, 2001: 4). The Resource Management Act takes a sustainable management approach, that is, it strives for sustainable development in an environmental sense (Ministry for the Environment, 1994).

This sustainable management of resources, in an urban context, inevitably leads to sustainable management of the built environment as a planning endeavour (Aburn, 1993). This is especially pertinent for the current research, in that it is this mandate that underpins a council’s commitment to urban design and heritage planning, and in turn to revitalisation and gentrification.

Local Government Act 2002

The Local Government Act 2002 aims to ‘provide for democratic and effective local government that recognises the diversity of New Zealand communities’, to promote community participation, and increase the accountability of the council to the public. The Local Government Act is a means by which the community and the council can make mutual decisions about the future of the community in which they live.

A major method of implementation of the Local Government Act into the local community is through the Long Term Council Community Plan. This Plan sets out the community and council vision for the future, providing a means of involvement through extensive consultation processes, where people can become involved in the local planning of their community. In terms of the current research, the Local Government Act, and the Long Term Council Community Plan are very relevant. In such plans, the council may outline revitalisation initiatives for the inner city, including its building stock. The plans also allow for extensive participation from the community, which in turn may lead to council-led community partnerships and the rise of resident action groups that seek to protect against inappropriate development.
Revitalisation, and the ways through which it is implemented into the community, such as through gentrification, is most successfully achieved when the local community is supportive. Therefore the *Local Government Act* is fundamental to such revitalisation processes.

**Building Act 1991**
The *Building Act 1991* is a provision that aims to consolidate and reform the law relating to building and to provide better regulation and control of such buildings. The Act is primarily designed to protect people from poor and unsanitary developments, and to ensure that buildings are safe and accessible to all people. In terms of the current research, the *Building Act* is relevant in its effect on the conversion and adaptive re-use of heritage buildings. The Act includes provisions of importance to the process of gentrification, including specifications that would not have been necessary when the buildings were constructed, such as earthquake-proofing and the provision of disability access.

**Historic Places Act 1993**
The role of the *Historic Places Act* is to promote the identification, protection, preservation and conservation of the historical and cultural heritage of New Zealand. This Act is relevant to the current research on a number of levels. Firstly, as an Act that seeks to provide statutory protection for significant heritage sites, it will inevitably protect historic buildings that lie within the inner city. Secondly, the Act is facilitated by the Historic Places Trust, which in turn liaises with developers and owners of heritage buildings. As the majority of heritage buildings are privately owned, the Act together with district plan and urban design guidelines ensures that all development and change is appropriate. Adaptive re-use and gentrification are therefore encouraged and facilitated through this Act. Taking this wider legislative context into consideration, the following section discusses the New Zealand context in which revitalisation activities are occurring.
3.3 The New Zealand Context

Population Growth and Change

In order to analyse the New Zealand context in which revitalisation, gentrification and displacement is taking place, it is important to investigate the nature of population growth and change, and the incidence of urban drift in this country. Crews et al. (2003) of Massey University have investigated the projected population increase of this country to the year 2021, when population numbers are expected to break 4.5 million, a 16% increase from the 2001 census numbers. This growth is expected to occur unevenly, predominantly in the northern regions, and specifically in Auckland. Further research deduces that the territorial authority areas, those of the 16 regions within New Zealand, will decline in population numbers, suggesting a significant pattern of rural to urban population drift (Crews et al., 2003).

This occurrence then needs to be explored; why are population patterns changing, and why are more people choosing to live in the urban environment? Bellingham (2003) describes the way in which an ageing population and the trend towards smaller families might not only draw people to the convenience of the urban lifestyle, but may also be two of the significant driving forces behind the inner city apartment market. Inner city apartments are on the increase in the largest of New Zealand’s urban centres, Auckland and Wellington, and there appears to be little expectation within the real estate industry of any imminent slump in this property boom (Bellingham, 2003).

The increasing predominance of urban and inner city living is addressed in the following section that discusses the relationship between revitalisation, gentrification and displacement in urban settings in a New Zealand-wide context.

Revitalisation, Gentrification and Displacement in New Zealand

Revitalisation

Revitalisation of inner city areas is becoming increasingly popular throughout New Zealand as a way to increase vibrancy and vitality, and to accentuate and maintain the unique attributes the city holds. A significant method of revitalisation that many cities have utilised is waterfront revitalisation. This is an appropriate form of
revitalisation to discuss in this context chapter due to the close proximity of Wellington's inner city and the harbour. Waterfront revitalisation is undertaken for a variety of reasons but most specifically aims to increase connectivity between the waterfront and the inner city, and to intensify use and accessibility of these areas to the city's population.

Waterfront initiatives in New Zealand include the Auckland Viaduct and the proposed Dunedin 'Harbourside' development. In Auckland, plans were developed to revitalise the waterfront to accommodate mixed use property including restaurants, bars, residential accommodation, green spaces, and commercial ventures (American Planning Association, 2002). The plan was to utilise the area's unique location, and has since undergone some dramatic changes, including the construction of the America's Cup Village in 2000 and 2003 (Auckland City Council, 2005). Revitalisation plans for Dunedin's Harbourside is underway. It is hoped that this area, presently under-utilised by the general public and disconnected from the CBD, will become an accessible place that will connect the city to the harbour, and enhance public facilities, amenities, and character in the area (Dunedin City Council, 2005). The Auckland Viaduct and the Harbourside development in Dunedin are both excellent examples of inner city revitalisation methods in New Zealand.

An example of inner city revitalisation that is aimed solely at the central city as opposed to the waterfront is the Christchurch Central City Revitalisation Project. The aim of this project is to create a vibrant, exciting, safe and sustainable inner city, one that maintains a strong and healthy economy, environment, culture and society (Christchurch City Council, 2001). The Christchurch City Council recognises the importance of the inner city on many levels, providing facilities, attractions, and services to residents and tourists alike. The Council also acknowledges the problems overseas cities have encountered in the way of run-down and unsafe central areas, and states that "the central city is important to all of Christchurch and that is why revitalisation has become a top priority" (Christchurch City Council, 2001: 10). The main areas revitalisation initiatives are focussing on are increased transportation, parking, safety, and more green and open space.
Gentrification

Gentrification is often a direct or indirect method of the revitalisation processes mentioned above. That is, gentrification may be undertaken as a revitalisation method in itself, or it may be simply a by-product of wider revitalisation initiatives. Gentrification seems to be on the increase in New Zealand, especially in newly revitalised inner city areas and their surrounding suburbs. In Dunedin, in the aforementioned Harbourside development project, there are plans outlining the redevelopment objectives in terms of the area’s heritage value. In this case, new residential development is to be enabled while protection is given to key heritage elements. This could be achieved by identification and protection of any significant buildings through adaptive re-use, or gentrification (Dunedin City Council, 2005). The character of the area could thus be retained, aided by the imposition of design controls on new buildings.

Gentrification seems to be prevalent in other areas of New Zealand also. Auckland is the largest city in New Zealand and, as mentioned previously, is experiencing increased numbers of inner city dwellers. To this end, Auckland’s urban landscape is undergoing a transformation in its housing stock, one that includes “luxurious Viaduct Basin apartments, high-rise studio and one-bedroom pads, and elegant older buildings converted into apartment blocks” (Bellingham, 2003: 24). These older converted buildings are seen in Auckland’s inner city as well as spreading to the city’s suburbs, such as Ponsonby. The intensification of these urban environments is supported in the Auckland Regional Growth Strategy which seeks to address the problems of urban sprawl and traffic congestion (Bellingham, 2003). Revitalisation of central city areas, where housing, employment, recreation and services will be sited in close proximity, is seen as an important tool to fix these problems, and gentrification is therefore a successful by-product of such revitalisation initiatives. This case also shows the potential benefits that planned revitalisation of central city areas can produce. However, revitalisation and gentrification processes are demonstrated in the literature to also create detrimental effects such as displacement, which will be discussed in the following sections.
Displacement

Anecdotal evidence and the literature reviewed in Chapter Two suggest that revitalisation, particularly through gentrification, can lead to the displacement of inner city residents. In the New Zealand context there is insufficient literature that suggests that this is happening in this country. While the New Zealand example clearly shows a relationship between revitalisation and gentrification, a gap exists in terms of information regarding New Zealand and the incidence of gentrification-induced displacement, therefore reiterating the need for the current research. The following section discusses the Wellington context in which the processes of inner city revitalisation, gentrification and displacement are occurring, and the specific policies used to address these processes.

3.4 The Wellington Context

The following map (Figure 3.1) defines the area which is to be considered ‘Inner City Wellington’. The inner city includes the CBD and the waterfront and extends to the inner city suburbs of Te Aro and Thorndon. This map highlights the ‘Character Areas’ of Thorndon and Cuba, and Wellington’s Civic Centre. The Character Areas are subject to specific design guidelines that address the processes of revitalisation and gentrification, which will be discussed in subsequent sections.
Figure 3.1 Map of Inner City Wellington

Source: KiwiMaps (2005)

Thorndon Character Area
Civic Centre
Cuba Character Area

Scale 1:17500
Revitalisation

As aforementioned, the waterfront has been a significant area of revitalisation in Wellington's inner city. This area has been recognised as important to the Wellington area as a whole and special attention has been paid to ensuring connectivity exists between the water and the downtown area. However, the inner city does feature other significant revitalisation activity. This section will describe apartment living as one such initiative.

Apartment Living

One of the most significant ways in which revitalisation of the inner city may be measured is through the increase in the popularity of downtown living, particularly in apartments. Revitalisation involves the eradication of blight, and promotes increased economic activity through business development and private investment. Zielenbach (2000: 4) states that revitalisation strategies cannot in themselves alleviate the poverty of low-income residents, or the social and economic inequalities of society, but that they can "increase the safety of an area, enhance its appearance, and make it a more liveable place for its residents". Increased apartment living is therefore a product of the 'more liveable' revitalised inner city.

In Wellington, the population is increasingly embracing the concept of apartment living. The attraction of such inner city living seems to be proximity to amenities and services of downtown Wellington, and the lifestyle that such proximity provides, including access to restaurants and bars, retail activity, and employment (Bayleys Research, 2005). The inner city has also been described as 'Wellington's Fastest Growing Suburb' (Capital Times, 29 June, 2005, 20), where a wide range of different age groups, including retirees and young families are moving. Bayleys Research (2005) shows that apartment growth in the next two years is expected to climb to as high as 1500 apartments, with 21 apartment complexes currently under construction. The most prevalent inhibiting factor to this new trend of CBD apartment living is the high cost. While there are people who may pay over $1 million dollars for a piece of this prime real estate, it also serves to exclude those who do not have the financial ability to do so.
Johnston et al. (2000) highlight the corollary between gentrification and its high cost, stating that gentrification is quintessentially about urban reinvestment, embracing commercial development and loft conversions which results in a restructuring of the urban environment. As an urban process, it can then be seen to combine economics with social change, bringing the 'gentry' into areas that were predominantly undervalued. Such urban reinvestment will inevitably require large amounts of money, which is essentially why it is an urban process undertaken by the middle class. Another corollary can then be made; between the inner city revitalisation that is increasing the desire to live in apartments in the inner city, and the revitalisation that is causing the same group of wealthy, middle class residents to gentrify the inner city suburbs.

**Gentrification**

*Tinakori Road*

An area of inner city Wellington that is purported by various literature sources (Murry-Oliver, 1971; Otto, 2002) to have undergone gentrification is the suburb of Thorndon, particularly along its northern boundary of Tinakori Road. Tinakori Road displays many features that suggest the middle class have spread into the area and that gentrification has ensued. The incidence of gentrification in this area can be investigated through the social and socio-economic conditions that have existed in the area through time. Social conditions, including housing, and the migration of different socio-economic groups serve as good indicators of how affluent the area has been.

The suburb dates back to the 1840s when European settlers set up rudimentary shelters in small camps which grew as more settlers arrived and the economy increased (Murry-Oliver, 1971). Through the 1850s the settlement continued to grow, leading to a demand for better infrastructure and in turn attracting a higher social and economic group. While the area had a high number of 'higher class' residents, there still existed a wide variety of residents in the area, with Murry-Oliver (1971) stating that tradesmen, such as blacksmiths and builders lived in small run-down cottages on the edges of the suburb. One of the more famous cottages on Tinakori Road was inhabited by Katherine Mansfield in the 1880s (Murry-Oliver, 1971), while the higher
socio-economic status of the area is exemplified by Premier House, the residence for the Prime Minister that remains in use to this day.

The area remained one of high economic status until the end of World War Two, when the country's poor financial health led to the neglect of many of its buildings, a pattern that remained through until the 1970s and 1980s when the area was recognised for its architectural and historical significance and many began to re-inhabit (Priestley, 1988). Buildings were renovated and conserved, and Design Guidelines coined in the 1990s limited any new development that was not in-keeping with the existing character of the area. Small scale retail establishments were also created in the area, adding to the diversity and vitality of the street, thus revitalising and encouraging the incidence of gentrification and the emergence of more 'gentry' into the area.

Census and other statistical and population information are very important in tracing the movement of social classes and the changes in housing patterns in urban areas. Although information of this nature changes from year to year, it is still viewed as an excellent way in which patterns of movement may be traced. An example of such information is the Residential Property Sales Summary (2001) which traces the rise and fall of property values in areas in and around Wellington. Although the figures that formulate this document do show that housing prices in the Tinakori Road area have markedly increased during past decades, with anecdotal evidence suggesting that this is because of gentrification, it may also be simply because of inevitable economic inflation which pushes up housing prices. However, other statistical information also infers that gentrification in the Tinakori Road area is indeed occurring.

Occupation has traditionally been a popular indicator of those who gentrify and if an area can indeed be considered as gentrified (Marcuse, 2000; Ley, 2003). Furthermore, throughout the literature educational attainment in a household is acknowledged as the single most reliable indicator of determining socioeconomic class, in terms of its permanence (Vigdor, 2002). The presence of the young urban professional can thus be seen as an indicator of the process of gentrification. New Zealand Census information from 2001 shows that residents of the Tinakori Road area, of a population size of 1716, are predominantly made up of professionals (624
people), followed by legislators and administrators (357 people) (Department of Statistics, 2001). At the other end of the scale, Agriculture and forestry workers number only 15 people. If there is a correlation between educational attainment and professional occupations, then the Tinakori Road area in Thorndon can indeed be considered as predominantly middle class, and therefore an area in which gentrification is likely to take place.

Gentrification is not only restricted to the young urban professional and is increasingly undertaken by a wider spectrum of people, including single women, couples with young children and those seeking the bohemian lifestyle of the inner city, such as artists (Ley, 1996; Ley, 2003). Tinakori Road is home to a wide variety of people; however, the 'yuppie' does seem to be the predominant gentrifier in this case, as highlighted by the census data outlined above.

Freeman and Braconi (2004) describe the way in which gentrification can increase new housing investment, the stimulation of additional retail and cultural services, and increased quality in public services, benefiting not only the new residents but existing residents also. All these factors have occurred in the Tinakori area through history as outlined in the above summary.

Neighbourhood interaction is another aspect that may be improved when an area becomes gentrified. Resident groups, such as recreational and educational groups, can be considered a product of such interaction and can be seen as an indicator of gentrification in an area. The Thorndon Society, a resident action group aimed at protecting the character of the neighbourhood from unwanted development, is one such group that has been established in the Tinakori area (Otto, 2002). This group, made up of middle class residents or 'gentry' has been known to challenge many of the decisions made by local authorities on development issues. These gentrifiers have invested in the renovation and conservation of the buildings in this area, and seek to encourage legislation to facilitate more of this type of investment, and to maintain the aesthetics and historical importance of the area. This idea is reiterated from the work of Zielenbach (2000) who states that 'adaptive re-use', the gentrification of office and retail space that are often characterised by architectural or historical importance, is a
key revitalisation tool. Such adaptive re-use and reinvestment is apparent in the inner city suburb of Thorndon.

**Holloway Road**

An area documented by Hodgkinson (2004: 104) as a site of the process of gentrification in inner city Wellington is Holloway Road, where “yuppies have moved in with renovation ideas gleaned directly from DIY home improvement programmes”. Holloway Road lies at the base of the Aro Valley, an inner city suburb, and like Tinakori Road and the suburb of Thorndon mentioned above, it shares a long history. The street dates back to the 1850s when it was a self-contained workingman’s settlement, and many of the houses on Holloway Road remain, with fourteen listed as heritage sites with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust (Hodgkinson, 2004). The resulting streetscape is colourful and aesthetically pleasing, making it an ideal location for the occurrence of gentrification.

Gentrification may increase neighbourhood interaction. However, the process of gentrification may result in a break-down in community relations, and internalised social conflicts over the ownership of local space (Atkinson, 2003). Fried (1966) explains that feelings of belonging are integrally tied to a specific place, meaning that when residents move into revitalised and gentrified new environments, they are already lacking this sense of spatial identity. Although such identity can be learned and created, it can become hard for individuals to assimilate and create continuity in terms of spatial identity when the neighbourhood populace is constantly changing. Conflicts can thus arise when a ‘new’ neighbourhood seeks to establish ownership of the local space, serving to further create dislocation and lack of continuity in terms of place. In the context of Holloway Road it can be seen that this sense of spatial identity has been threatened, with residents stating that “they’re strangers...we don’t know them, it never used to be like that” (Hodgkinson, 2004: 104).

The gentrification of Holloway Road in inner city Wellington is well underway. The street fits the bohemian nature and varied community that the literature (Ley, 1996; Ley, 2003) expects from a gentrified neighbourhood; the middle class ‘gentry’ of young urban professionals, members of the cultural and creative industries, and young
families. It has become a “nouveau chic place to live” (Hodgkinson, 2004) and is an excellent example of the way in which a revitalised downtown area can spur the further revitalisation of inner city residential areas, particularly through gentrification. The next section will look further at a negative aspect that gentrification often creates; that of displacement.

Displacement

Some evidence does exist that gentrification-induced displacement is occurring in inner city Wellington. Hodgkinson (2004: 104) states that gentrification on Holloway Road in the inner city suburb of Te Aro has meant that the “long stayers are dwindling as property values catch up with the rest of Wellington’s inner city”. This statement supports the work of Schill and Nathan (1983), who argue that those who are displaced are most commonly those who cannot compete financially with the incoming gentry. The following section analyses the Wellington Planning policies that are relevant to the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement.

3.4.1 Wellington Planning Policy

New Zealand Urban Design Protocol

The New Zealand Urban Design Protocol was formally released in March 2005, setting down design principles to ensure that towns and cities are liveable, environmentally responsible, offer equal opportunities and have distinct identities (Ministry for the Environment, 2005). While not a specific Wellington policy, the Protocol is to be applied to the particular urban design requirements of each individual city, thus ensuring unique application to the Wellington context.

The Protocol is a voluntary commitment by central and local government, property developers, design professionals and others to create quality urban design and to undertake specific urban design initiatives. The Value of Urban Design is a document that has been designed to aid in formulating policy to support a better urban environment. The principal values of ‘good’ urban design that are to be considered when revitalising and developing urban environments are illustrated in Table 3.1 below.
Table 3.1: Principal Values of Good Urban Design

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal</th>
<th>Value to Urban Design</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>The Value of Local Character</td>
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<td>Two</td>
<td>The Value of Connectivity</td>
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<td>The Value of Density</td>
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<td>The Value of Adaptability</td>
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<td>Six</td>
<td>The Value of a High Quality Public Realm</td>
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<td>Seven</td>
<td>The Value of Integrated Decision-making</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>The Value of User Participation</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As Wellington is a key signatory to the Urban Design Protocol, these principal findings are all of relevance to the urban design of the inner city. However, for the purposes of this study concerning revitalisation, gentrification and displacement, the ‘value of connectivity’, and the ‘value of adaptability’ are deemed the most relevant.

The value of connectivity relates to the way in which transportation networks, including those for pedestrians, are designed to interconnect. Well-connected cities are those that enhance access to all areas, which in turn can increase land values, make local shops and facilities more viable and serve to enhance people’s feelings of safety and security (Ministry for the Environment. 2005). Increased connectivity is a revitalisation initiative of the inner city in that it encourages more physical activity, thus decreasing car dependence. More activity within the inner city has economic spin-offs for retailers in terms of high pedestrian traffic, and encourages safer and more vibrant areas. Connectivity may also serve to revitalise areas that were previously dislocated from the inner city, increasing access from the CBD to areas such as the waterfront.

Adaptability describes the capacity of urban buildings, neighbourhoods and spaces to be adapted to suit the changing needs of an area. Adaptive re-use can extend the economic life of buildings and spaces, and increase the diversity of use in an area. Therefore, the use of these buildings is identified as a more sustainable means of
revitalisation than new development. The value of adaptability relates to gentrification processes that are taking place in Wellington’s inner city, an example of which is shown in Figure 3.2 below.


Figure 3.2: Former BNZ buildings Restored and Converted into Old Bank Shopping Arcade

*District Plan Design Guides*

As noted above, the influx of the middle class and subsequent gentrification of an area often leads to the rise of groups and associations that deal specifically with ensuring the area’s character and heritage values are maintained. This ensures that the urban reinvestment of housing that takes place through gentrification is facilitated and encouraged through legislation and policy. The resident action group known as the Thorndon Society is an excellent example of such an association which seeks to maintain the area’s character by lobbying against inappropriate development.

In the Wellington context, the District Plan and its Design Guidelines ensure that areas of historical and cultural significance are protected against inappropriate development. For the purposes of this study, the Thorndon Character Area and the Cuba Character Area have been selected. This is because these popular inner city suburbs are the sites of extensive gentrification and thus have extensive design guidelines associated with them for those who wish to undertake new building development or refurbish existing buildings. The result is a set of urban design
principles that are not imposed rules but aim to identify significant existing features of the central city and suggest ways in which new development can contribute positively to the area (Wellington City Council, 2000).

**Thorndon Character Area**

The Wellington City District Plan Design Guidelines describe the Thorndon Character Area, which includes the aforementioned Tinakori Road, as an area of "considerable historical significance" (Wellington City Council, 2000: 2), where the buildings offer unique evidence of the social structures of times past. This means that the area holds significant relevance to Wellington and therefore all new building and development is to be controlled by these design guidelines to ensure its special character is protected. The District Plan states that all new building development within this area is a controlled activity and applicants must demonstrate a commitment to maintaining the character of this area.

![Figure 3.3: Gentrified Retail and Residential Premises on Tinakori Road within the Thorndon Character Area](image)

Source: Personal Collection (2005)

The following table outlines the objectives of the Design Guidelines for the Thorndon Character Area that provide for, and encourage gentrification:
Table 3.2: Thorndon Character Area Design Guide Objectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General</th>
<th>1) To maintain and enhance the existing physical character of the area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Heritage</strong></td>
<td>1) To perpetuate the unique historic quality of the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) To promote historical features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) To encourage retention of historical buildings to enhance visual amenity of the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Townscape</strong></td>
<td>1) To ensure distinctive townscape characteristics are maintained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Building Form and Detail</strong></td>
<td>1) To ensure new development is in harmony with existing character and context of the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) To encourage recognition of historical character and maintenance in additions and alterations to buildings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 above demonstrates that the District Plan Design Guidelines not only provide for the undertaking of gentrification through its objectives, but they can also be viewed to encourage gentrification as an urban design principle in inner city Wellington. The Thorndon Character Area has been outlined in the Guidelines for its unique historical significance, and these objectives will serve to encourage gentrification and continued reinvestment and in turn will ensure the area’s character and aesthetic uniqueness are maintained and protected.

**Cuba Character Area**

The District Plan Design Guidelines describe the Cuba Character Area as one of the few remaining older parts of the central city, with a unique social, cultural, physical and economic character (Wellington City Council, 2000). The Design Guidelines recognise its dense mixture of uses, including retail, restaurants, entertainment, light industry, social services, and residential accommodation, and its equally diverse population. The area’s mixed use environment is very expressive of its social and economic life (Wellington City Council, 2000), which includes the continual conversion of older buildings for new uses whilst still maintaining evidence of their previous role, Figure 3.4 is an example of this, showing a building on Cuba Street now used as apartments that has preserved its relationship with its historical use as a hotel.
The Figure above also exemplifies the Design Guidelines that are outlined for the Cuba Character Area. These guidelines concern the heritage character of the buildings and the ways in which residential development should be undertaken in the area. These are described in Table 3.3 below:

Table 3.3: Key Design Guidelines for the Cuba Character Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heritage Character</th>
<th>Encourage the protection, rehabilitation and continuing use of key buildings considered essential for maintaining this character</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residential Development</td>
<td>Design of residential accommodation should not detract from the quality of the environment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are the guidelines that most effectively exemplify the way in which gentrification in the Cuba Character Area is used as a way to maintain the historic character of the area. The Cuba Area is also renowned for having a unique character of vibrancy and diversity which epitomises the role of revitalisation in the inner city environment. Therefore we can see that in Wellington’s inner city revitalisation and gentrification are very much mutually inclusive, all with the same vision of drawing more people to the inner city and making these places vibrant, liveable and diverse.
Waterfront Framework

As in other New Zealand cities, the waterfront is a significant revitalisation initiative of Wellington’s inner city, one that ultimately serves as a tool in further revitalising and gentrifying the city’s inner suburbs. The waterfront has been recognised as a special part of the city with its connection to the sea, its open space and its historical importance, and one that needs to be enhanced and maintained for future generations (Waterfront Leadership Group, 2001). The strong link between the city and the water is perhaps the most significant aim of the waterfront development, where a revitalised waterfront will spur further revitalisation within the CBD and then into the inner city suburbs in the form of gentrification.

Gentrification itself is also taking place around the waterfront. The significant areas of revitalisation addressed by the Waterfront Framework are North Queens Wharf, Queens Wharf, Frank Kitts Park, Taranaki Street Wharf/Lagoon, and the Chaffers area. Within each of these areas heritage buildings stand, which are to be restored and used to contribute to the vitality of the waterfront (Waterfront Leadership Group, 2001). These heritage buildings are also to be converted to other uses, activities that will be accessible to the users of these areas, including gentrification into residential accommodation.

This expectation of conversion and gentrification of heritage buildings as a tool of revitalisation is in line with the RMA and the current District Plan where it is believed that the planning provisions for the waterfront should be 'effects based'. That is, planning provisions will not give rules as to how the revitalisation should occur, but will specify the outcomes that should be achieved through such revitalisation initiatives.

Civic Square is another area that can be considered an integral part of the revitalisation of the Wellington waterfront. Since its development in 1992, Civic Square has provided a space within the inner city that serves as an open area in which people may gather for varied events (Chamberlain, 1997). Civic Square holds an important place in the inner city due to its neighbours: the Michael Fowler Centre, the Wellington Library, and the Wellington City Council chambers, making up the Civic Centre of Wellington (see Figure 3.1). Perhaps the most important feature of Civic
Square however, is its pedestrian over-bridge to the waterfront that connects the vibrant CBD to the sea, illustrated in Figure 3.5 below.

![Image: Pedestrian Over-bridge Connecting the Waterfront to Civic Square and the CBD](image)

Source: Personal Collection (2005)

**Figure 3.5: Pedestrian Over-bridge Connecting the Waterfront to Civic Square and the CBD**

### 3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed inner city revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement in the New Zealand context. This included analysis of inner city revitalisation and gentrification initiatives in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin, and discussed evidence that suggests an increasing rural to urban drift. Increasing popularity of revitalisation and gentrification processes are discussed through relevant planning policies, including the *Resource Management Act*, *Local Government Act*, *Historic Places Act*, and the *Building Act*, which are then viewed in terms of the current research in the Wellington context. The Wellington context section looks specifically at Design Guides and the Waterfront Framework and the ways that these deal with the aforementioned processes and their relationship to planning endeavours in the inner
city. Having established the context for the study, this thesis now moves to Chapter Four, where the methodological and ethical issues involved in the research will be outlined.
4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

To achieve the research objectives outlined in Chapter One, namely to ascertain the extent of inner city revitalisation and gentrification in Wellington, to identify whether displacement is occurring as a result of these processes, and to ascertain how these processes may be addressed to ensure social and environmental justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants, a detailed research design and process was created. Such a detailed research process aids in generating data that will allow assessment, or construction of theory, and serves to assess how long the study would take or cost (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). To this end, the current chapter outlines the methodological and ethical issues involved in this research.

The chapter commences with a consideration of the qualitative research approach used in this study, and with a discussion of the interpretive paradigm that has been employed to inform the research. This is followed in section 4.3 with a justification of the Wellington case-study used to elucidate and answer the research questions by providing in-depth information for analysis and interpretation. Section 4.4 and its subsequent subsections outline the research design methods, while 4.5 provides the approach taken to data analysis. Reflections on the research process are given in section 4.6, and the chapter is concluded in section 4.7

4.2 A Qualitative Research Approach

A qualitative approach was chosen for this research, due to its emphasis on methods of data collection and its aim towards the exploration of social relations and reality that is experienced by respondents (Sarantakos, 1998). Qualitative methods derive
from the view that “meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world” (Merriam, 2002: 3). Thus a qualitative approach allows for research participants to provide information in their own words and from their own lives. That approach is most appropriate for the present research, where key informant interviews were undertaken with individuals representing various views on the processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement.

An integral part of the qualitative approach is the use of a research paradigm. Research paradigms are the theoretical perspectives that influence the structure, process and direction of social research (Sarantakos, 1998). The interpretive paradigm was deemed to be the most appropriate for this research. The interpretive paradigm aids in interpreting and understanding people’s reasons for social action, “the way they construct their lives and the meaning they attach to them, as well as to comprehend the social context of social action” (Sarantakos, 1998: 38). Through the interpretive paradigm, all data was gathered with the aim to increase understanding of not just the case study, but of the various theories and concepts too (Patton, 1990). This paradigm thus allows for the interpretation of the qualitative data obtained in the present study, and therefore a deeper understanding of the results has been achieved.

4.3 The Case Study

To answer the research questions and provide in-depth data for analysis and interpretation, a case study approach was taken. A case study may be defined as “an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (Yin, 1989: 23). Sarantakos (1998) expands on this, stating that case studies provide observations and generalisations which can then be analysed against theoretical foundations and principles.

For this study Wellington was selected to provide insights on the processes of revitalisation through gentrification, and gentrification-induced displacement, in the inner city. Wellington was chosen primarily due to anecdotal evidence that suggested revitalisation initiatives in the inner city were leading to increased gentrification. A large amount of literature, as reviewed in Chapter Two, suggests that gentrification-
induced displacement is on the increase. Wellington was therefore considered an appropriate location in which to undertake research into this relationship.

The idea of using a comparative case study approach was rejected, as the primary goal of this thesis was to undertake an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement in the inner city. Despite the advantages a comparative case study could have, in terms of measuring the extent of this relationship in inner city environments, it was not possible in the time frame of this research. This in-depth case study of Wellington does allow for consideration and evaluation of the context, therefore this research provides a basis from which further research could be undertaken.

4.4 Research Design

The objectives of this thesis were best served by the aforementioned case study analysis of Wellington, New Zealand, key informant interviews, and a contextual analysis of planning legislation and policy. A literature review was also undertaken to provide an international context for the current study. The first stage of the research process was to gain ethical approval for the study (Appendix B), which will be discussed in the following section.

**Ethical Considerations**

There are a number of principles associated with ethical standards of research. Participants must be treated respectfully, while continuing to create an environment that provides for academic freedom. In general, these principles require researchers to consider the well-being and peace of mind of the participant, while ensuring the research is necessary and of good quality in design (University of Otago, 2003).

In order to maintain such standards in the current study, key informant interviews were undertaken with the full and informed consent of the participants. To this end, the information statement about this research topic given to key informants included a consent form for each of them to sign (Appendix A), indicating their agreement to participate in this study. Interviews were entirely voluntary and respondents were
notified in the consent form of their right to anonymity, to refuse to answer any given question, or indeed to discontinue the interview at any time.

Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were the principal form of data collection used in this thesis. Initial interviewees were chosen because of the relevance of their position to the present research; a purposive sampling technique (Hay, 2000). Further informants were then selected through the snowball sampling technique, whereby interviewees were asked to recommend further people who they believed may also be useful to interview (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997).

To identify appropriate participants for the present research, the Wellington telephone directory was consulted. This was followed by an internet search to obtain further information and contact details from each organisation found in the telephone directory. Such a technique identified representatives of the Wellington City Council, social housing experts, inner city developers, urban designers, and real estate agents, all of whom were chosen to gain different perspectives of the revitalisation and gentrification processes that are occurring in the Wellington inner city. The interviewees were then contacted by the researcher to ascertain their interest and, if possible, arrange a suitable time to conduct an interview at their place of work.

The interviews themselves were conducted in early July 2005, and were tape-recorded and then transcribed. The tape-recorder was an integral tool for the interview process, allowing an open level of conversation, and the ability to probe for further information which may not have been possible if the interview relied solely on comprehensive note taking (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997). The use of the tape-recorder was approved by all interviewees, who each signed the consent form (Appendix A).

These interviews followed a semi-structured format, used to guide the focus of the topic and allow the interview to progress in conversational form (Valentine, 1997). This technique allowed for the interview to be governed by the key objectives identified in Chapter One, but also for other related topics of interest to be explored
and for peripheral issues to be probed as they arose. The way in which the semi-structured interview allows for participants to express their own perspectives in their own words, reiterates the appropriateness of the interpretive paradigm for this thesis.

Although key informant interviews provide valuable information that may not have been available through other research means, some authors have identified some potential problems that may arise. Interview bias is perhaps the most significant of such criticisms of the process. Kitchin and Tate (2000) cite that 'intellectual gate keeping' is a common bias, as the researcher not only has power to choose what information is included in the study and what is not, but also who is to be included.

Sarantakos (1998) states that key informant interviews may also be a time-consuming research method. Travelling to people to conduct these interviews can be time-consuming, as can the transcription process that follows the interview. As the current research is based on the Wellington case study, the issue was a significant one. However, the insights gained from these interviews provided valuable information through which to understand the revitalisation and gentrification processes occurring in the Wellington inner city.

**Literature Review**

A review of literature involves a secondary analysis of information already published in some form, aims to increase the familiarity of the researcher with the research object, and provides an evaluation of the suitability and effectiveness of work that has already been undertaken (Sarantakos, 1998). The literature review thus aims to base the current study within the context of previous research and within a wider body of knowledge.

Of the literature found, very few explicitly relate to the New Zealand experience of revitalisation and displacement. Also, some readings were reviewed that refuted the claims of gentrification-induced displacement through revitalisation of inner city centres. Such an outcome re-emphasises the need for the current study, in order to investigate the extent of the relationship specifically in the context of Wellington, New Zealand.
Contextual Planning Legislation and Policy

The context chapter, Chapter Three, discussed the legislative context under which these three processes of inner city revitalisation, gentrification and displacement may operate; namely the Resource Management Act, Local Government Act, Historic Places Act, and the Building Act. Specific policies of the Wellington region were also discussed in this chapter, where the Wellington City District Plan Design Guides and the Waterfront Framework were analysed in terms of their role in revitalisation and gentrification.

4.5 Data Analysis

Sarantakos (1998) describes data analysis as the way in which to make sense of all the information gathered through the previous stages of research and to identify its meaning. This analysis is ongoing, whereby it continues as data is collected, recorded and reflected upon (Ruane, 2005). The key informant interview process was analysed in light of these comments, as is discussed below.

Key Informant Interview Analysis

The key informant interview transcripts were analysed individually and coded into the key themes identified from the literature in Chapter Two, and from any other issues brought up by the participants. This coding technique was based on the system advocated by Neuman (2000), where the first stage of coding involves reviewing all of the primary and secondary data sources in order to identify the key themes. The axial coding stage is then used, in which transcripts are marked with the codes. Selective coding is the final stage to be carried out, where specific cases that illustrated particular themes were marked to be used during the discussion of results.

Coding techniques promoted by Minichiello (1990) were also used in the key informant analysis. Minichiello states the importance of taking into account all of the information provided by the key informants, to ensure that the interviews were still viewed holistically as well as undertaking detailed coding. For example, some of the interviewees described revitalisation as a positive occurrence for the inner city.
environment, yet still acknowledged the negative points and problems that such revitalisation may produce. Therefore, the chapter of results, Chapter Five, considers all the opinions, positive and negative given by the informants regarding revitalisation.

4.6 Reflections and Limitations

In retrospect, the research design used in the undertaking of this study may have been changed in a number of respects. These changes may have served to improve the quality of the empirical information obtained. For example, while undertaking data collection in Wellington, a number of limitations arose. Perhaps the most significant of these limitations was that key informants proved very difficult to find. Displaced tenants, or those that live under the threat of displacement or eviction are very difficult to track down, and time constraints for the current research meant that interviewing these people was not possible.

People who were contacted regarding potential interviews were either very delayed in their response to interview requests, or simply did not respond in many instances. This response rate was a reflection of the informants that were chosen, rather than the process undertaken in selecting these proponents. That is, the informants that chose not to respond were all busy, high profile individuals, who may not have felt comfortable discussing the issues of the current research, or were simply unavailable for an interview. Many of the informants that were selected did respond, only to state that they did not believe their organisation could be of any assistance, or that they were too busy to help. This was particularly pertinent in the case of Real Estate agents and Developers. These constraints meant that fewer interviews were undertaken than had been expected, thereby reducing the amount of key informant data collected. This was a difficult problem to counter, especially as the data collection period was limited to 10 days, as aforementioned.

To overcome this limitation, several email interviews were conducted on return to Dunedin. These limitations were also addressed by widening the research sample; including proponents that were not initially considered as potential interviewees, for example, incorporating an interview with the University Accommodation Service.
Despite the limitations encountered in securing interviewees, widening the research sample provided a broader illustration of the processes occurring in Wellington's inner city, ultimately ensuring that a valid research base was established.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research design and process used for this study. Based on a qualitative research approach, this methodology has defined and justified the use of various techniques, namely a case study of Wellington, New Zealand, and key informant interviews. A literature review was also undertaken in order to increase the familiarity of the research topic and to provide an international context for the problem, and the legislative context under which the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement operate was analysed. This thesis now moves, in Chapter Five, to the presentation, discussion, and critical evaluation of the research findings using the framework described above.
5

Results

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the results of key informant interviews, addressing the issues of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement in inner city Wellington. These results are based around questions that aim to ascertain what revitalisation activity is being undertaken in the central area and the positive and negative consequences of this revitalisation. Further questions seek to discover to what extent gentrification is taking place in the inner city, in which areas, and the extent of displacement as a result of this gentrification. Finally, respondents were asked what policies or initiatives they were aware of that concern revitalisation and its potential consequences, and in what way such revitalisation methods can be monitored to ensure social justice prevails for the displaced or those at risk of displacement.

Key informant interviews were thus used to inform the current research on the revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement processes occurring in the Wellington inner city. The key informants used in this research come from a variety of relevant backgrounds and employment, all of whom were chosen to gain different perspectives of these inner city processes. The key informants chosen for this research are listed in Appendix A. The interview respondents were asked questions based around the research objectives outlined in Chapter One, resulting in information regarding the incidence of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement in inner city Wellington, namely;
1. To ascertain the extent of inner city revitalisation and gentrification in Wellington

2. To identify whether displacement is occurring as a result of these processes

3. To ascertain how the processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement can be addressed to ensure social and environmental justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants

This chapter presents the key informant interview responses to issues of inner city revitalisation activity taking place in Wellington, and the positive and negative consequences of this revitalisation. Gentrification-induced displacement, of both residences and of industry is discussed, as are policy initiatives that deal with revitalisation and its potential consequences. This chapter provides an analysis of the key respondents' comments and insights regarding these questions.

5.2. Inner City Revitalisation in Wellington

The first question the key informants were asked was what revitalisation activity they were aware of in inner city Wellington. The respondents identified a number of revitalisation initiatives that have occurred or are occurring in Wellington's inner city. The following sections outline the five most significant projects as identified by the informants. These are the revitalisation of the bypass, the waterfront, public space, and the revitalisation that has occurred through the apartment boom and through physical improvements to the inner city. The significance of these projects is illustrated in Table 5.1 below.
Table 5.1: Significant Revitalisation Initiatives of Inner City Wellington

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revitalisation Initiatives</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bypass</td>
<td>“The bypass and the waterfront would be the two biggest projects at the moment, and maybe even in the last 10 years or so” (Architect and urban designer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterfront</td>
<td>“The waterfront is an enormous inner city revitalisation project” (Council planner A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public space</td>
<td>“There are heaps of people living and working in the inner city. Revitalised areas like Civic Square are important and are well maintained too” (Housing New Zealand representative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment boom</td>
<td>“The apartment boom is definitely a result of all that revitalisation activity” (Council planner C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical improvements</td>
<td>“Just general improvements – they help make the place look good. That’s why it’s good the University has moved into the central city too; its helping revitalise the area” (University Accommodation Services representative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bypass**

The bypass that is being constructed in the inner city to link the current end of the motorway to the Basin Reserve is described by Council planner A as “the biggest central city activity going on at the moment”. This planner acknowledges this revitalisation initiative as one “with quite a lot of history and one that has been highly controversial”. The architect and urban design informant agreed that this can indeed be classified as a revitalisation project, but intimates that its highly controversial nature may mean it can only be classified as inner city revitalisation in a very broad sense. This key informant does believe, however, that it is going to lead to massive improvements in Te Aro, where traffic pressures will be removed from Taranaki Street and Ghuznee Street, and “the whole area can revitalise in the best sort of way”. 
Another revitalisation activity that is occurring in Wellington’s inner city is the upgrade of the waterfront. Several of the key informants believed that this was the most significant revitalisation initiative taking place in the central city, with the architect and urban design informant stating that “the waterfront is probably the biggest project, and really it has been about creating a really high quality public environment”. Council planners described it as the most “obvious” of the city’s revitalised and “jazzed up” areas. All key informants recognised the enormity of this revitalisation effort, and its impression on the inner city.
Inner city revitalisation initiatives in inner city Wellington include the upgrade of public space, according to many of the key informants. The architect and urban designer expressed this, stating that “the argument that has advanced is that people want to have nothing but open space in inner city areas”. Council planner B agreed with this statement for the need of such revitalised public open spaces “because we now have 15,000 people living in the central city, and some of those are families – there are children and so on – providing some open spaces for them is important”. A representative from an Inner City Residents’ Association acknowledged that “as more and more people live in the central city and spend the majority of their time there, then you get the issue of providing urban parks and the increased importance of the waterfront as a public space that those people can use to get out”. The Council planners identified this need also, stating that there is “a project” underway to cater for these needs.

In the context of revitalised open and public space in inner city Wellington, many of the key informants discussed the stadium. The architect and urban designer informant described it as a “politically driven exercise”, which has benefited the “city and the
The stadium is highlighted by the Citizens Advice Bureau representative as a place for “the whole family” and by Council planner B as an effective revitalisation initiative that “serves to reinforce a sense of community, something that all good public space revitalisation initiatives should achieve”.

Figure 5.3: Public Space in the Inner City: Queens Wharf

Figure 5.4: Public Space in the Inner City: Civic Square

**Apartment Boom**

When asked what inner city revitalisation was occurring in Wellington the increasingly prevalent apartment boom was acknowledged by Council planners A and C, the Housing New Zealand informant and by the representative of the University Accommodation Service. People “re-inhabiting the central city” is described by the Housing New Zealand informant as a major revitalisation development that has been happening particularly in suburbs such as Te Aro. Council planner C highlights the importance of this private development, stating that “we wouldn’t have a revitalised city centre without it”. Increased safety was noted by the University Accommodation Services representative as “an important effect that inner city apartment living has created” and the Housing New Zealand respondent believes “that there is a safer feeling about the inner city now, I feel like that is because we have so many more people living down town – have you seen all those new apartments?”
Physical Improvements

Several of the key informants acknowledged the way in which general street and physical improvements are occurring in Wellington’s inner city. The Citizens Advice Bureau representative commented that “the current council is spending a lot on physical improvements, like Civic Square, and making the place look good”. Planners from the Council reiterated this sentiment, stating that general council improvements and the focus on urban design improvement of the downtown area “has been a big thing in the last couple of decades”. These physical improvements are described as measures to keep the city looking fresh and beautiful, through “street furniture and the paving, lighting, banners and all those sorts of things to try and create the vibrant inner city”. Infrastructure and general facilities that the city needs to function and to progress, such as roads, pipes and drains, are also labelled by the Council planners as physical improvements under the wider revitalisation agenda.
5.3. Consequences of Revitalisation

Key informants were asked questions pertaining to the consequences of revitalisation processes in inner city Wellington, namely what they believed were the positive and negative consequences of this revitalisation activity. First, positive consequences were addressed with respondents identifying increases in vibrancy, events and activities, social diversity, restoration of heritage buildings, and pedestrian connectivity. Negative consequences of this inner city revitalisation were then identified by the respondents, namely issues of reverse sensitivity, destruction of character, social justice, and intensifying development.

5.3.1 Positive Consequences

The following section outlines the positive consequences of revitalisation occurring in inner city Wellington. Table 5.2 below illustrates some of these consequences, specifically highlighting the significance of increased vibrancy, events and activities and social diversity that are expanded upon in the current section.

Table 5.2: Positive Consequences of Revitalisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewees</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect and urban designer</td>
<td>“When I think of revitalisation in inner city Wellington I always think how great it is to see such a busy and vibrant central area. I think this vibrancy is very important to Wellington”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Accommodation Services representative</td>
<td>“Revitalisation in the inner city has brought heaps of events and activities downtown. The students are in the central city too now, so there is a great social diversity as well. It’s really good.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vibrancy

All eight of the key informants described increased vibrancy and vitality of the inner city area as a significant positive consequence of revitalisation in Wellington. This vibrancy is evident in many ways, with the respondent from the Citizens Advice Bureau commenting that “the inner city is alive at night, almost every night of the week there is a lot going on and there are people around – it’s very much more
lively”. Planners from the Council reiterated this comment, stating that Wellington is now a good vibrant city that people feel comfortable in, and that there is “a growing awareness that now the central city is an almost 24 hour environment”.

The respondents also commented on why they thought there was increased vibrancy and vitality as a result of revitalisation initiatives. The architect and urban designer stated that “the mix of office space and residential makes the city much more vibrant, it’s a much more amenable place to be for all sorts of people”, while Council planner B commented that there is “now a major focus on urban design and vitality in the inner city”. Students were also mentioned by various key informants as a reason for increased noise, activity and “livening the city up”. Council Planner A also perceived a general attitude from people that they want to see “a city that is exciting, vibrant, vital and all that sort of thing”, and that Council revitalisation initiatives aim to ensure this is achieved.

Some benefits of this increased vitality and vibrancy were raised by several of the key informants. The representative from an Inner City Residents’ Association commented that “vibrant areas tend to be safer for the inner city community”. The respondent from Housing New Zealand also inferred that safety is a major component of increased vibrancy, adding that “Wellington has perhaps the most vital, busy and effective inner city living environment of any of the Australasian cities.” Council planner C summed up these benefits, stating that “revitalisation definitely brings about the creation of a vibrant inner city”.

Events and Activities

Events and activities are another positive consequence of inner city revitalisation identified through the results of the key informant interviews. Among the comments relating to this perceived benefit is a consensus that there are a lot of events and activities for people to attend, and that people seem to feel positive about coming into town. Council planner A believes that “events that occur in the inner city make it an attractive place for people to come and they think Wellington is a great place for things to happen”, and Council planners B and C also comment that the waterfront is
an area of amazing revitalised public space where a whole range of different events and activities can be held.

**Social Diversity**

Increased social diversity is another positive consequence of inner city revitalisation identified by the key informants. This increase in social diversity is described by the architect and urban designer as “inevitable due to inner city accommodation being made up of apartments and also low cost student accommodation type buildings”. The University Accommodation Services representative noted that this social diversity is also due to an ageing inner city population, “because a lot of people will choose to stay here in their retirement”. Planning respondents from the Council commented that in “terms of the social dynamic, it is desirable that people come into contact with people who are different from themselves. You typically get a real social diversity where you have got low cost accommodation”. The Inner City Residents’ Association representative commented that revitalisation has brought about this increased diversity and has meant that “people are much more ready to mix with other people, and that mix is quite desirable”. The Citizens Advice Bureau representative effectively summarises this increased diversity, stating that “the whole social situation of the inner city is starting to change because of revitalisation”.

**Restoration of Heritage Buildings**

The results of the key informant interviews highlight the restoration of heritage buildings as a positive consequence of inner city revitalisation activity. The Inner City Residents’ Association informant commented that revitalisation has been taking place in the central city in the “last 5 or 6 years, especially in the form of restoration of important buildings and aesthetically pleasing redevelopment”. The architect and urban designer added that “if we don’t get revitalisation and gentrification we lose our heritage fabric. If we don’t get re-inhabitation, buildings being strengthened, being waterproofed, being repaired, if you are looking at areas that are starting to become really shabby, there is a real risk that you will lose them altogether”. The bypass, identified by the key informants above as a revitalisation initiative being undertaken in the central city, is purported by Council planner B to have encouraged “many
heritage buildings to be fully restored or at least to be done up on the outside, and protected in perpetuity. And so that’s a positive that those buildings are going to be in a better state than they are currently”.

Figure 5.6: Gentrification of Dental School Building into Apartments

*Pedestrian Connectivity*

Another positive consequence identified through the findings of the key informant interviews regarding inner city revitalisation in Wellington is the issue of pedestrian connectivity within the central area. The key informants who commented on this issue specifically discussed it in the context of the inner city bypass, under construction at the time of this research. Council planner A commented that “the most positive consequence of the bypass is that pedestrians will be able to get further up Cuba Street before they hit part of the state highway system, so in that sense it should make Cuba Street a little more pedestrian friendly and allow the street to become a little more connected to the inner city”, while the architect and urban designer noted that “the bypass will connect more people to the central city”. In this same vein, Council planner A stated that “the council has been very mindful of how to try and ensure the bypass, while it is part of the State Highway, also becomes part of the city, as just a normal 50km an hour street”. Additionally, the Housing New
Zealand representative stated that “there is now a growing awareness that how buildings relate to the street has a big influence on how much people enjoy moving around the city, and how well the city works as a place for people to spend time”.

5.3.2 Negative Consequences

Table 5.3 below illustrates the results of the key informant interviews pertaining to the most significant negative consequences of revitalisation activity in inner city Wellington. These consequences will be discussed more fully in the current section.

Table 5.3: Negative Consequences of Revitalisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewees</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University Accommodation Services representative</td>
<td>“The inner city is great, but noise issues, especially from the bars and nightclubs, seems like a big issue”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing New Zealand representative</td>
<td>“Some of these inner city areas have changed quite a bit – maybe that’s because of revitalisation?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect and urban designer</td>
<td>“There are areas in Wellington, and especially right in town here, where there is large scale, high density development going on”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reverse Sensitivity Issues

Inner city revitalisation initiatives also have negative consequences according to the interview respondents, such as issues of reverse sensitivity. This is acknowledged by Council planner C, commenting that “probably the main downside we are getting with that sort of more general revitalisation and changing urban character is the reverse sensitivity problems with having residential in close proximity to entertainment – bars and nightclubs”. Noise is identified by all of the key informants as the most significant reverse sensitivity issue in relation to inner city revitalisation, with the Citizens Advice Bureau representative stating that “the more development there is the more noise will develop”. The representative from an Inner City Residents’ Association notes that amenity values of neighbourhoods can be seriously affected
when too many residents try to live in the inner city. This is affirmed by Council planner B who adds that:

> It seems to be an issue that is only going to become more and more pressing. There is a bit of an irony there that a lot of people want to live in the centre of town to be close to bars and restaurants and theatre and so on, but the nights that they are not out there taking advantage of the bars and nightclubs they would quite like it if they were shut!

**Changing Character and Social Justice Issues**

Council planner A states that “sometimes revitalisation can bring about a change in character in an area – the bypass in Te Aro is a good example of this”. This comment is reiterated by the Citizens Advice Bureau representative who notes that “with the bypass, there is the destruction of community basically”. This changing character is identified by Council planner B who warns “not to throw the baby out with the bath water, and keep what is important; some of the building stock and some of the big communities and so on that live in that area to try to give them a place or retain them a place in the central city”. The University Accommodation Services representative notes that residents of Te Aro are “fighting the construction of the bypass”, and Council planner B recognises the “uniqueness” of the area, and states that “Te Aro is not like anywhere else in the city. I guess it just has a different feel”. Council planner C reiterates these sentiments, and “understands how the bypass could have changed things”.

Additionally, the Citizens Advice Bureau representative identified that “there are a lot of issues around social justice in this area”. The Inner City Residents’ Association representative asserts that:

> Marginalised people, a lack of a sense of community in some areas, no connection, and no sense of community are all social justice issues you get from revitalisation. It’s about power – you see new people moving into the community who are bullying people with very little power or a very limited voice. They have been able to get what they want at the expense of the rest of the community
**Intensifying Development**

Intensifying development is a negative consequence of inner city revitalisation put forward by Council planners A, B and C and by the representative from the Citizens Advice Bureau. This intensification of development was discussed by Council planner C in reference to the apartment market, stating that “there will be a point soon where possibly the apartment market in Wellington will become saturated or possibly oversaturated”. Intensifying development was also commented upon in the context of a earthquake prone city, with Council planner A noting that “Wellington should probably be looking at spreading out development, lower rise and so on. Putting more people into a compact area in an earthquake prone city is probably not ideal, but we live with the risk”.

The waterfront was also identified by several key informants with regard to the negative consequence of intensified development. Council planner A commented that you can not please everyone and “that you have got to allow for some new building and development to go on.” The representative from the Citizens Advice Bureau also comments on intensified development as revitalisation on the waterfront, saying that:

> There are mixed opinions about making the place look good. Some people call it window dressing, and making the place look glossy, and there are certainly some of us who would rather money was spent on actual things. There is quite a lot of negativity from the suburbs because they feel the inner city, and especially the waterfront, is being done up and having so much money spent on it, that the suburban areas might fall to pieces.

**5.4 Extent of Gentrification**

Questions were directed at the key informants to identify the extent of gentrification in inner city Wellington. Key informants commented on where gentrification is taking place within the inner city, and also on the cost of this gentrification.
Where is Gentrification Occurring?

The key informants were asked to identify where they believed gentrification was taking place within the inner city. Council planner A identified the main areas of gentrification to be in “the urban centre housing areas”, namely Mt Victoria, Te Aro, Thorndon, and Newtown. The architect and urban designer informant identified Tinakori Road in Thorndon specifically, commenting that “in Tinakori Road where a lot of houses were mansions, what we might call gentrification saved those houses”. Council planner A identified that “the inner suburbs have changed radically over the last 25 years, and probably were gentrified 20 years ago”, while Council planner B added that “they spoke of gentrification back in the 1980s when the move back into the city first started. People started buying older houses and converting them back into good accommodation again. It’s been going on for a long time”.

The key informants all agreed, however, that the process of gentrification was not really occurring in the CBD, with the architect and urban designer noting that “it’s not so relevant in the central area, the commercial part of the city, because most of that has been new apartment house development”. The Housing New Zealand respondent supported this comment, stating that “in the very central areas the only place you could probably say gentrification has happened is round the bypass, in Te Aro”.

Source: Personal Collection (2005)

Figure 5.7: Gentrification on Tinakori Road
Cost

The key informants all mentioned cost as a significant factor in considering the extent of gentrification in inner city Wellington. The architect and urban design informant commented that “there is a tendency for this type of development to be aimed at the top end of the market”, with the Citizens Advice Bureau representative adding that “another side of gentrification and development is if inner city housing is so expensive, which it is then it does make it more difficult for people on a lower income to live in town and even more difficult for people who are currently homeless”.

The results of the interviews also indicated that “house prices have gone crazy” in these inner city suburbs, with the Inner City Residents’ Association representative commenting that:

Certainly a lot of house prices in the inner city suburbs over the last 30 years have gone sky high basically, so there is inherent gentrification in that I think. Certainly if you wanted to live by Parliament where there are old houses and a lot of infill as well, those houses would go for $600,000 for a little cottage. This sort of area is way out of the reach of most people; anybody wanting to buy a first home can forget any of Wellington’s inner suburbs.

The high prices of gentrified residences on the waterfront are mentioned by Council planner C, stating that “apartments are popping up on the waterfront, they are all in the million dollar category, so there is no way that we are going to get affordable housing in that situation”. The high price of these gentrified inner city residences is also noted by the Citizens Advice Bureau representative who comments that “if you looked at the income level of inner city Wellington people it would be pretty high”. Additionally, this key informant states that:

If you are looking at gentrification you have to have a certain amount of money to go there, it is not cheap. It takes huge amounts of money to restore an old house, it doesn’t remain as low cost rental accommodation - people
just cannot afford to do that. In fact, there are very few families gentrifying and living in the inner city. It's just too expensive.

5.5 Gentrification-Induced Displacement

The key informants were asked what they believed the extent of gentrification-induced displacement was in inner city Wellington. The results of these questions can be divided into two categories; the displacement of residences and the displacement of industry.

Residential Displacement

Council planner A, and the representatives from the Citizens Advice Bureau and from the Inner City Residents’ Association did comment that they believed there were incidences of residential displacement occurring in the inner city. The representative from the Citizens Advice Bureau believes that “families are displaced. It is not practical to have a family in the inner city. But having said that, there must be some children somewhere because many of the inner city schools have very high numbers of children”. The respondent from an Inner City Residents’ Association believes that it is high density inner city development that tends to displace low income people, “especially when you start talking about gentrification, as it doesn’t allow for low income housing in the city”. Additionally, this key informant commented that

Developers just want to go for the high return, so that what you have seen is a potential for major tension because you have got a whole new group of people, who are quite often much wealthier moving into this area, and it has been rapid. If you push people out where do they go? Do they have to relocate somewhere else?

The following table further reinforces the incidence of residential displacement taking place in inner city Wellington according to the key informants.
Table 5.4: Comments Regarding the Incidence of Residential Displacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewees</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Council planner A</td>
<td>“I do think that there is a bit of displacement going on in the inner city”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens Advice Bureau representative</td>
<td>“I have heard of people who have been displaced. What about those people who can’t afford their neighbourhood anymore just because a developer decides it’s desirable”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Council planner A noted that “people with less money are probably being forced to live further and further out from the city and travel further and further at a greater time cost and financial cost to do that”. This comment was reiterated by Council planner B who believes that gentrification is “the middle classes you might say, from the suburbs coming back into the city and buying houses, restoring them and then the original dwellers get pushed out to somewhere else, and the whole social situation is starting to change, well that has happened over the years”. The respondent from the Citizens Advice Bureau adds to this further by commenting that “older people have been edged out because of the University - the Aro Valley is pretty accessible to the University. The big old houses in Aro Valley have been used by students”.

Conversely, the remaining 5 key informants commented that they “do not think the displacement effects of gentrification are a very big issue”. The reasons given for this lack of gentrification-induced displacement were varied, with the Citizens Advice Bureau representative commenting that:

One of the things that is the case in Wellington is that a lot of the apartments have gone into ex-commercial buildings rather than into ex-residential buildings. So that makes it just a bit different from replacing people who were living in slum type areas, certainly in the sort of 10km radius from here, most of the apartments would be ex-commercial. So that has brought people into the city who weren’t here before, but it hasn’t necessarily pushed anyone out.

Council planner C stated that “the Council has quite a big housing stock”, and did not believe that these residents were affected by gentrification, “so in that regard those
sorts of people aren’t being displaced at all”. The Citizens Advice Bureau representative noted that “the lower income people in the inner city tend to live in council flats, they have been there for quite a long time and they haven’t been replaced or pushed out by the huge growth of apartments”. The respondent from Housing New Zealand “couldn’t say how much genuine displacement has occurred. Students are being pushed out of older inner city stock, but is that displacement in social class terms?” Table 5.5 below provides further comments from the key informants that suggest residential displacement is not occurring in the inner city.

Table 5.5: Comments Negating the Incidence of Residential Displacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect and urban designer</td>
<td>“Vacant buildings getting restored and re-occupied is revitalisation without displacement because the buildings were simply vacant”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council planner B</td>
<td>“I’m not really aware of any displacement from gentrification”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council planner C</td>
<td>“Sure, there is gentrification. But I really don’t think that it is displacing anyone”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal Collection (2005)

Figure 5.8: Example of Council Housing in Inner City Wellington
Industrial Displacement

The key informants discussed the displacement of industrial activity in inner city Wellington as a result of increasing gentrification activity. Council planner B described the "pretty amazing growth in apartments and increase in the residential use in the central area", and that "anecdotal evidence suggests that this is squeezing out some of the traditional small scale manufacturing or industrial uses, the panel beaters, the car sales yards, the printing and so on". Table 5.6 highlights some additional comments made regarding this industrial displacement.

Table 5.6: Comments Regarding Industrial Displacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect and urban designer</td>
<td>&quot;Te Aro used to have a lot of light industrial uses, and still does have some of them, but they are tending to be displaced. It’s not social gentrification, it’s activity gentrification&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council planner A</td>
<td>&quot;Some of the industry is holding on, but you don’t see a lot of new development for that kind of use&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council planner C</td>
<td>&quot;People just don’t make things here like they used to, it’s all changed into apartments&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This industrial displacement was discussed in terms of location by many of the key informants. The representative from the Citizens Advice Bureau stated that the areas of gentrification that were of great surprise were "the ones in between Taranaki Street and Cambridge Terrace, because this has always been an industrial and commercial sort of area. Now the industry is fading, completely tucked away behind apartments and townhouses". Council planner C also commented on the location of this displaced industry, commenting that:

A lot of the Thorndon area was zoned for industrial type uses. Now what has happened with big box retail which has started to move in, a lot of things like panel beaters and light engineering and so on, they are starting
to be displaced. I know this is a problem for the Wellington region – where do you put the industrial activities?

Several of the key informants identified why they believed this displacement of industry was occurring. Council planner A believes that “Wellington’s focus is now on office, brain work, instead of traditional industrial operations. So you are hard pushed to find much left in the way of industry in the inner city”. This planner also comments that “this is the changing nature of Wellington’s economy. The days when people used to make shoes and boots, clothes, soft drink, beer, and goodness knows what, everything happened in the central area. Now it is all finance and commerce and white collar work”.

Displacement of industry is identified by many of the key informants as a significant issue in Wellington’s inner city, with the representative from Housing New Zealand stating that “it is possibly, or probably, the gentrification issue right now - residential displacing other uses basically”. The architect and urban designer comments that:

It is all very well having lots of inner city apartments...but you need all the service things that make all that work. You’ve got to have places to get your car fixed, places to work, the region needs to be able to attract businesses here and there needs to be space for those businesses.

5.6 Policy Initiatives

The key informants were asked what Wellington based policies or initiatives they were aware of that concern revitalisation and its potential consequences. As a result, there were a number of policy initiatives that were mentioned in relation to the processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement in inner city Wellington. These were the Waterfront Framework, Design Guidelines, housing related policies, the District Plan and a number of relevant additional policies and initiatives.
Waterfront Framework

The Waterfront Framework was highlighted by the Citizens Advice Bureau representative, the architect and urban designer and Council planner B as a Wellington based initiative that concerns revitalisation and its potential consequences. The Citizens Advice Bureau respondent states that the “Waterfront Framework is definitely an example of this”, and that consequences are assessed “through a lot of public consultation and the like”. This public consultation undertaken as part of the waterfront revitalisation initiative was identified by the key informants as important to assess the consequences such revitalisation may bring. The architect and urban designer summed up the comments of many of the respondents by stating that “the independent public surveys of satisfaction and so on are in place to suss out any potential consequences, good or bad”.

Design Guidelines

Design guidelines and strategies were identified by Council planners A and B as important documents that concern revitalisation and its potential consequences. This is affirmed by the architect and urban designer who stated that “the Urban Design Strategy is really about revitalising the physical environment”. Other urban design guidelines are also discussed by the key informants, with Council planner B describing the importance of “policies on urban design guidance focussing on how to provide active edges to buildings and active frontages, such as the Design Guidelines that are affiliated to the District Plan”. This planner adds that “buildings aren’t just there for the people that live inside them; they have a role to provide a link between the public realm and the private realm, which makes them very important to the revitalisation of inner city areas”.

Gentrification is highlighted as a “significant” consequence of revitalisation, with the representative from an Inner City Residents’ Association commenting that “design guidelines are very important to this, and they need to be very clear when people start to gentrify so that revitalisation doesn’t change an area too much”. This idea of the importance of design guidelines to the revitalisation and gentrification process is reiterated by Council planner C who states that “the central area design strategy is a
very important policy initiative that relates to revitalisation, and I guess to gentrification too”.

**Housing Schemes**

The three Council planners discussed various schemes that relate to the revitalisation of the inner city housing stock, including gentrification. One such scheme that came out of the 1980s was “called CHIPS, the Community Housing Improvement Scheme”, relating to the process of gentrification because the “government gave cheap loans for housing improvements and people could come and get free advice on renovating houses”. Council planner A discussed policies that had been in place in Wellington relating to the revitalisation of the inner city housing stock, such as “the ‘paint your house competition’, where people could win free paint for their house. All that I suppose is part of the gentrification thing, restoring the old houses, and the Council being fully involved in that process and encouraging it”. These planners acknowledged that these initiatives “aren’t as prolific as they once were”, but that the idea “to revitalise the inner city housing stock” is still seen as an important tool “in the wider revitalisation of the inner city”.

**District Plan**

Another policy identified through the key informant interviews that concerns inner city revitalisation and its potential consequences is the Wellington City District Plan. The majority of comments made about the role of the District Plan and its relation to inner city revitalisation were aimed at the central areas housing stock, with Council planner A commenting that “the District Plan was helping out by having restrictive provisions that progressively over the years protected the housing stock, stopped the encroachment of non-residential uses in those areas and tried to protect the residential nature of those suburbs”. The District Plan and its specific relationship to gentrification as a potential consequence of inner city revitalisation was also discussed by the architect and urban designer, who identified that “rules and regulations through the District Plan have been tightened even further, for example you can’t demolish an old house in these areas, there are a lot more planning regulations to get through to actually do anything major”. This observation is affirmed by one informant who commented that:
The big fear was that we were going to get a lot of town house
development coming in and taking away the old houses and putting in
multiple unit developments, which in most cases aren't quite within the
character of these old suburbs, so council tightened these suburbs to
prevent that happening.

(Council planner C)

This “preservation” of character is noted by Council planner B, stating that “the
District Plan will probably chug along independently though it might be able to put
some controls on Cuba Street where the existing buildings contribute to the character
to try and avoid them being built up to 9 storeys and so on”. The Housing New
Zealand representative also discussed the District Plan’s role in retaining character
while revitalising, commenting that “it’s all geared for keeping the suburbs pretty
much heritage type areas, where they have got their own character”.

While Council planners A and C described the District Plan as an important document
that concerns revitalisation and its potential consequences, planner B believed that
“the District Plan is a fairly blunt instrument for dealing with things, it takes over a
year just to get a plan change in place, often closer to two years, so it is not really the
ideal mechanism for solving short term problems or addressing site specific issues of
revitalisation”.

Additional Policies and Initiatives

Several additional policies and initiatives were also identified in relation to the
revitalisation of the inner city. The Sense of Place study was commented upon by
several of the respondents, with the architect and urban designer saying that “in terms
of big picture revitalisation you can look at the Sense of Place study, which looks at
what is special about Wellington”. Additionally, this key informant discussed “a
study done in about 1995 which involved a major consultation exercise with a whole
lot of Wellingtonians about the future of the city. It has been used a lot in justifying
initiatives, especially revitalisation initiatives, since that time”. This study is also
discussed by Council planner B who identifies “areas like Cuba Street should be
recognised in things like the Sense of Place study and then increased provisions relating to the revitalisation of these areas should be made. It's important to recognise and maintain this sense of place, revitalisation can do this”.

Council planner B also mentioned the “Environment Strategy and the Economic Strategy” as documents that may be useful in terms of inner city revitalisation, and specifically discussed the “Public Place Strategy as very important to revitalisation initiatives”. The representative from the Inner City Residents’ Association discussed “the need to not just look at the built environment, but to also think of the social environment in regulation”, a factor considered also by the architect and urban designer who believes that “there are quite a few documents that could relate to inner city revitalisation, but it is important to find one that encompasses all the important considerations”.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results of the key informant interviews pertaining to the research objectives outlined in Chapter One. First, this chapter has identified the inner city revitalisation initiatives that are taking place in Wellington; namely physical improvements, including general street upgrading and maintenance, construction of an inner city bypass for the motorway, revitalisation and development of the waterfront, the apartment boom, and the revitalisation of public and open spaces in the inner city. Second, this results chapter has identified the positive and negative consequences of this inner city revitalisation. Positive consequences include increases in vibrancy, events and activities, social diversity, restoration of heritage buildings, and pedestrian connectivity. Negative consequences of this revitalisation also exist, namely issues of reverse sensitivity, changing character and social justice issues, and intensifying development.

The extent of gentrification as a result of revitalisation is also discussed in this chapter, with regard to location and to cost. Penultimately, this chapter identifies the key informant responses to gentrification-induced displacement, discussing both the displacement of residences and of industry in the inner city. The results chapter concluded by identifying policy initiatives that concern revitalisation and its potential
consequences, specifically the Waterfront Framework, design guidelines, housing schemes, the District Plan and several additional relevant policies and initiatives.

The insights gained from these interviews provided valuable information through which to understand the revitalisation and gentrification processes occurring in the Wellington inner city. This information will be synthesised with the information found in the literature review and plan analysis stages of this research in the following discussion chapter.
6
Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will be based around the research objectives outlined in Chapter One; that is, to ascertain the extent of inner city revitalisation and gentrification in Wellington; to identify whether displacement is occurring as a result of these processes; and to determine how the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement can be addressed to ensure social and environmental justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants. The current chapter synthesises insights gained through the key informant interviews with the information found in the literature review and plan analysis stages of this research, which will then serve to inform the following conclusion and recommendations chapter.

The chapter commences with an analysis of the inner city revitalisation activity that is occurring in Wellington, with a specific focus on the bypass and waterfront initiatives, and a discussion of the positive and negative consequences of this revitalisation. The revitalisation process of gentrification is discussed, specifically in terms of the increasing popularity of inner city living and the extent to which this gentrification process is occurring in the central city, followed by a discussion of displacement, with specific focus on the increasing incidence of industrial displacement in the downtown area. Finally, the relationship between revitalisation, gentrification and displacement in the Wellington context is examined, and an analysis is given of the issues and legislative context of social justice, environmental justice and sustainability in terms of revitalisation and its subsequent processes.
6.2 The Inner City Revitalisation of Wellington

This section seeks to address Research Objective One, to ascertain the extent of revitalisation activity that is occurring in inner city Wellington. Discussion is based on the bypass, the waterfront, and increased open space and physical improvements as the most significant revitalisation initiatives that are taking place in the inner city. The second part of this question, which seeks to identify the extent of gentrification in the inner city, will be dealt with in subsequent sections.

The Bypass

The bypass construction that is underway in Wellington's inner city was not initially considered for the current research as an inner city revitalisation project, therefore, was not planned as part of this study or included in the literature or plan analysis stages. However, findings from the key informant interviews identified the bypass as a significant initiative to revitalise the inner city, thus making it a relevant process to discuss. The results of the key informant interviews show that the construction of the inner city bypass is a highly controversial and contentious issue. Controversy stems from the issues of demolishing and relocating historic buildings and from the destruction or change of character that has occurred in the area since construction began. Two newspaper articles from local Wellington paper The Wellingtonian reinforce these issues raised by the key informants.

The relocation and subsequent restoration of heritage buildings was identified by the Inner City Residents' Association respondent, the architect and urban designer, and by Council planner B as a positive consequence of revitalisation, specifically with regard to the inner city bypass. This consequence of building restoration is in line with comments made by Couch and Fraser (2003), stating that revitalisation is concerned with the re-growth or restoration of function or activity where it has been lost in the past. The Wellingtonian article entitled 'Reprieve for Building' (30 June, 2005) describes one particular building that lay in the path of the bypass and was thus scheduled for demolition. However, funding was secured to ensure that the building could be relocated and was subsequently restored to serve a new purpose as a youth café. This example illustrates a positive consequence that comes from this method of revitalisation, that of the relocation and restoration of heritage buildings. While the
bypass did indeed ensure that many of the historic buildings were relocated, several will not be saved and are earmarked for demolition. This adds to the argument pertaining to the way in which the bypass has altered the character and sense of community in the suburb of Te Aro.

A second Wellingtonian article entitled 'Farewell to Last Bastion of Communal Living' (30 June, 2005) deals with this issue of Te Aro’s changing community as a result of the bypass. The article focuses on a former lingerie warehouse building that has served as a unique space for collaboration and shelter for artists, which is now to be converted into apartments. The article reiterates findings from the key informant interviews, where Council planner A and the Citizens Advice Bureau respondent believed that the construction of the bypass was responsible for the changing character of the inner city. This is supported by the work of Palen and London (1984) and Marcuse (1986) regarding the way in which the relocation and demolition of buildings in a specific area can alter the sense of community, and may exacerbate the displacement of people. The community spirit that was created by buildings such as ‘The Factory’ described in this article, is lost when they are demolished or converted into other use, with the author stating that when creative communities like this are removed it puts Wellington’s reputation as the cultural capital in jeopardy.

Council planner B commented on the importance of not throwing the “baby out with the bath water” and to keep what is important – in this case the building stock and the community spirit that specific buildings in the Te Aro area create. This planner believes that if buildings and spaces that hold special meaning to the community are lost, for whatever reason, these buildings should be replaced in order to retain the sense of community they bring to the central city. In this particular case, the building stock is being lost to gentrification, as a product of revitalisation. This demonstrates the role of gentrification under the wider revitalisation agenda, which is also identified in the work of Smith (1996), Johnston et al. (2000), and Hamnett (2003), to be discussed further in following sections.
The Waterfront

The waterfront is identified through results of the key informant interviews and in the literature as an important revitalisation initiative that is taking place within the central city. This is similar to international examples of waterfront revitalisation, such as in the work of Kotval and Mullin (2001) who demonstrate that many cities have discovered the benefits and unique assets that waterfronts can provide in the revitalisation of downtown areas. The Toronto example particularly demonstrates this, where a removal of the segregation of functions has encouraged and created a connection between the waterfront and the inner city (Greenberg, 1996). Ensuring that mixed uses exist, incorporating retail, commercial, residential and recreational activity, has further extended the connectivity between city and sea, a factor that has replicated itself on Wellington’s waterfront.

This waterfront revitalisation is aided in Wellington by the Waterfront Framework, a policy that focuses on public consultation to ensure consistency between development plans and the desires of the inner city inhabitants and users. The results of the key informant interviews also show the importance of public consultation, in that it assesses both the positive and negative consequences of waterfront revitalisation.

Other Revitalisation Initiatives

Increased areas of open and public spaces and an increase in the physical improvements of the inner city are both identified as further revitalisation activities through the results of the key informant interviews. High numbers of residents, including a growing incidence of families, in the central city have made these revitalisation initiatives increasingly necessary. International examples point to the importance of these initiatives, and the way in which healthy and tidy city centres can lead to improved goods, services and opportunities for its inhabitants (Zielenbach, 2000; Grogan and Proscio, 2000).

Positive and Negative Consequences of Revitalisation

Key informants were asked to describe what they believed were the positive and negative consequences of revitalisation in inner city Wellington. The results of this
question identified that the most significant positive consequences include increased vibrancy, events and activities, social diversity, restoration of heritage buildings, and pedestrian connectivity. These results are supported by international examples, particularly concerning the relationship between revitalisation and social diversity, and increases in levels of social interaction among the inhabitants of the inner city, such as in the work of Zielenbach (2000).

Positive Consequences

Among the positive consequences of inner city revitalisation identified through the key informant interviews, increased pedestrian connectivity was deemed important in terms of effective urban design principles and in order to maintain social diversity within the inner city. The issue of increased pedestrian connectivity is a reflection of Wellington's commitment to the Urban Design Protocol. The Urban Design Protocol asserts the importance of good urban design to the creation of well-connected cities. Well-connected cities are those that enhance access to all areas, which in turn can increase land values, make local shops and facilities more viable and serve to enhance people's feelings of safety and security (Ministry for the Environment, 2005). Well-connected networks also provide high-quality spaces for people to use and enjoy, as is demonstrated through much of the literature (Zielenbach, 2000; Kotval and Mullin, 2001; Dovey, 2004), which relates to the Wellington waterfront, its increased areas of public space and the way in which efforts have been made to ensure it retains a sense of connectedness to the inner city.

Increased connectivity is also relevant in terms of the inner city bypass, as inferred by the key informants. The increase in pedestrian connectivity in this case relates solely to the issue of access, and good transport connections. The results from the key informant interviews indicate that the issue concerning the bypass is to ensure that pedestrians are more fully connected to the inner city, and that the street remains as normal as possible, that is as a "normal 50km an hour street" (Council planner B), to ensure consistency and connectivity is maintained within the central city. Effective urban design of these newly connected areas may provide further high-quality space for use within the inner city, which in turn may enhance land values and economic activity in these areas (Grogan and Proscio, 2000). Such effective design may serve to increase residential vitality and vibrancy in the inner city, which is a consequence
seen in many international examples of revitalisation activity in the literature, such as in Vancouver (Mills, 1993).

**Negative Consequences**

Key informant interviewees identified a range of negative consequences pertaining to inner city revitalisation. These negative consequences were given as reverse sensitivity, changing character and social justice issues, and an intensification of development. International accounts of urban revitalisation processes, particularly of gentrification, have become contested issues in many cities as they are seen as class struggles for land (Smith, 1996).

In the Wellington context, the implementation of design guidelines and the Urban Design Protocol may have helped to reduce some of these negative consequences of revitalisation. The design guidelines ensure that areas of historical and cultural significance are protected against inappropriate development, an idea affirmed in the work of Kotval and Mullin (2001), who state that successful downtown areas should protect their historical and cultural attributes through zoning regulations and architecture and design controls. This is particularly relevant to areas within the central city, such as Thorndon where extensive gentrification is taking place and design guidelines are relevant to anyone wishing to undertake new building development or refurbish existing buildings.

The Urban Design Protocol also discusses the 'value of adaptability', wherein urban buildings, neighbourhoods and spaces are adapted to suit the changing needs of an area (Ministry for the Environment, 2005). Adaptive re-use can extend the economic life of buildings and spaces, and increase the diversity of use in an area (Johnston et al., 2000). The intensification of development was identified as a negative consequence of revitalisation through the results of the key informant interview. This intensification may be managed through the implementation of these ideas of adaptive re-use as suggested in the Urban Design Protocol, and these 'recycled' buildings will be more adaptive to the changing demands of the inner city than those with single purposes and uses. The adaptive re-use or gentrification of these buildings can thus
operating in other cities across the world, including London, Vancouver, New York and Philadelphia (Smith, 1996). Tinakori Road in the inner city suburb of Thorndon was identified through the key informant interviews as an area in central Wellington in which extensive gentrification has taken place. Here design guidelines are very important in ensuring the special character of the area is protected. All new building development in the area is a controlled activity and all applicants must demonstrate a commitment to maintaining this character.

Urban design principles are also crucial to the gentrification process with regard to 'the value of adaptability' discussed in the Urban Design Protocol, and highlighted above as a revitalisation method for inner city building stock. Urban design that addresses such adaptability can extend the useful economic life of a building, and increase the diversity of uses of a space. Adaptation of a building, or gentrification, is expensive. This was reiterated by the architect and urban design informant who noted that it is restricted to those at "the top end of the market", and by the Citizens Advice Bureau representative who noted that it made living in the inner city difficult or impossible for many people. This reflects common beliefs through the literature that gentrifiers are those who have an adequate discretionary income to engage in the rituals and culture of consumption that is the inner city (Ley, 1996). In the Wellington context, all eight of the key informants recognised the high price of these inner city apartments, with advertising throughout the inner city reiterating these exorbitant prices, out of reach for most of the community (See Figure 5.5).

Post-structuralism as a shift from 'language', individual words and their meanings, to 'discourse', understanding language in terms of social groups and power relations can provide a deeper understanding of social relations (Jones, 2003). Post-structuralism can then come into play to understand the process of gentrification in the Wellington inner city context. Colliding discourses of neighbourhood change can be seen in the Te Aro inner city neighbourhood. One discourse is constructed by the developers of the bypass, one by the active community organisations fighting to protect the existing neighbourhood and building stock, and one by a group of people who are moving in to gentrify the neighbourhood in terms of its existing heritage. These discourses demonstrate the complexity of the gentrification process, highlighted through much of the literature (Smith, 1996; Johnston et al., 2000; Hamnett, 2003). Such discourses
also demonstrate the number of stakeholders that can become involved, thus reiterating the consumption approach of David Ley where people themselves are the key to understanding the complexities of the process. Displacement is another discourse inevitably associated with the gentrification process that will be discussed in the following sections.

6.4 Displacement

Extent of Displacement

The findings of this research, through the literature and particularly through the key informant interview process with relevant stakeholders in Wellington, show that displacement is a significant issue of gentrification. Arguments are emerging internationally, however, suggesting that gentrification is not in fact inducing displacement, but actually may be increasing the benefits of the poor through neighbourhood improvements (Vigdor, 2002; Fulford, 2004). In Wellington, the findings of the current research show that there are two types of displacement occurring in the inner city; the displacement of residences and displacement of industry.

The displacement of residences was identified by the respondent from the Citizens Advice Bureau and by the Inner City Residents’ Association representative as an issue for low-income individuals and families in the central city, where developers are just looking for the best deal, with little thought for the residents themselves. Low-income earners are often being displaced by the development of inner city accommodation into housing for the middle class, as is purported through much of the literature (Grier and Grier, 1978; Schill and Nathan, 1983; Marcuse, 1986). This idea follows on from the inferred need to broaden the definition of gentrification to include the development of new inner city apartments and residences, and can be seen as a discourse that favours an economic or Marxist viewpoint of gentrification; where money seemingly becomes more significant than the people involved in the processes of gentrification and displacement. The informants who stated they believed displacement is occurring may only have been commenting on it as a real possibility due to the level of gentrification taking place in the inner city over recent years, but
none of these respondents had evidence, other than anecdotal, to support these assumptions.

However, the results of the key informant interviews also show that there is a belief that revitalisation through gentrification is helping the people of the inner city and not displacing them, which fits with emerging literature on the topic (Vigdor, 2002; Fulford, 2004). Council planner C, the representative from the Citizens Advice Bureau, and the Housing New Zealand respondent all illustrate that the large inner city housing stock that the Council owns means that low-income people are taken care of and have not and are not likely to be displaced from inner city residences. Furthermore, these key informants also added that gentrification is taking place in ex-commercial properties where people were not living originally. In this way residences are being created but there is no substantial evidence in Wellington to suggest that people are being displaced as a result.

**Industrial Displacement**

The key informant interviewees identified that the gentrification-induced displacement of industry is the most significant displacement occurrence in inner city Wellington. This information is in line with Research Objective Two that seeks to identify whether displacement is occurring as a result of revitalisation and gentrification, and also with Research Objective Three, seeking to elucidate whether these processes affect the social justice of inner city inhabitants. The New Zealand situation appears to be increasingly similar to international examples of ‘loft living’ emerging through the literature, which is the development of lofts and warehouses into apartments as a key revitalisation tool, bringing amenity to the inner city urban environment (Johnston et al., 2000; Zielenbach, 2000). This conversion of warehouses is occurring in Wellington and is increasing in popularity, which in turn is displacing industry in the central city. The results of the key informant interviews point to an increase in ex-commercial residential accommodation, with the Council planners in agreement that this is part of a changing trend in Wellington and part of the changing nature of the Wellington economy away from industry.
Industrial displacement was not foreseen as a matter of importance to this research, but is indeed highly relevant to the issue of gentrification and displacement in inner city Wellington. The practice of displacing industry can be closely connected to the theory of neo-Marxism, with its overtly economic bias, discussed in relation to gentrification through the work of Smith (1996) and Slater (2002). While the industrial faction of the inner city has been rendered almost obsolete, it is cited by the Council planners and the architect and urban designer as very important to the city, and indeed a necessary economic function in which the city needs to run effectively. The results of this research show that the inner city is increasing in popularity as a place of residence, and therefore it should be maintaining an industrial heart in order to provide services for the growing number of inner city residents (architect and urban designer respondent).

Inevitably, there are people who have traditionally resided in the central area who are economically reliant on the employment that this inner city industry brings. If this industry is displaced, capital will penetrate a previously untouched neighbourhood, meaning that a new class emerges and in turn pushes out those who economically cannot afford to reside there. Furthermore, any new development that is pursued in traditional industrial areas will have to compete with this new capital, pushing up prices of rent and land, which in turn may serve to create, or exacerbate, the issue of residential displacement in inner city Wellington.

6.5 Revitalisation, Gentrification and Displacement

In terms of revitalisation and displacement in inner city Wellington, gentrification is identified by the key informant interviewees as the most significant factor to induce displacement. The bypass, as a revitalisation and gentrification process that is inducing displacement, demonstrates the ‘emancipatory potential’ of the city (Lees, 2000) in the context of inner city Wellington. This potential is characterised by the creation of a mix of different social classes, fostering understanding and tolerance, which may be influenced by the promotion of such a mix through planning policy and initiatives. This social diversity is identified above as a positive consequence of revitalisation in Wellington, with the architect and urban designer informant
describing this mix as "desirable and important" to the social dynamic of the city, and it may be added, to the emancipatory principle put forward by Lees.

The article from *The Wellingtonian* (June 30, 2005) mentioned above, describes the way in which the bypass has displaced artists, musicians and members of the creative community, which in turn has altered the unique sense of community these people bring to the area. This fits into the argument advocated in the literature by David Ley (2003), regarding the increasing incidence of people belonging to the cultural class, including artists and musicians, who are gentrifying. These people are living in areas like Te Aro, inner city areas that provide well for cultural lifestyles and those predisposed to a more bohemian lifestyle. Ley’s approach identifies that these people will re-inhabit central city areas.

In the specific case mentioned by *The Wellingtonian*, the residents, who all fit into this cultural category as artists, musicians and film-makers are being displaced. If Ley’s theory is applied to inner city Wellington, an inference may then be made that the class structure of the area will not be altered, that is if those who are gentrifying can be categorised into the same class as the displacees. The gentrifying class in this case may be concerned about the displacement of their neighbours, and may support actions of community organisations, or action groups, such as the Thorndon Society that aim to protect the character of the neighbourhood from unwanted development.

Gentrification is identified traditionally as a process that is undertaken by the middle class, such as in the work of Marcuse (2000) and Freeman and Braconi (2004). However, in recent years various schools of thought are emerging that suggest that the view of the stereotypical gentrifier may now be skewed. Ley’s approach (2003) is one such argument, stating that people who fall into the creative industries are increasingly beginning to gentrify as part of the ‘new middle class’ where educational attainment is no longer an appropriate indicator of class status. The interview results indicate that Te Aro is a unique area in inner city Wellington, that “just has a different feel” from other areas (Council planner B). Those who live in the area and those who are gentrifying are buying into that unique character, fitting into the ‘creative’ mould of gentrifiers advocated by Ley. Once again there are colliding discourses, and post-structuralist ideas of diverse social relations. First, there is the middle class
traditionally described and characterised by educational attainment, who are gentrifying areas of inner city Wellington. This is an expensive process and thus serves to increase capital in these areas, inevitably resulting in urban restructuring. The other discourse is that there are people who can be identified as the ‘new middle class’, skewing the typical gentrifier mould, living in Te Aro for its unique culture and using gentrification as a process to retain this.

6.6 Justice and Sustainability

Justice and Sustainability in the Inner City

Social justice, environmental justice and sustainability are all interrelated concepts that aim to ensure fairness and equity to all people, for past, present and future generations. These concepts are all relevant for the urban environment. Smith (1994) describes inclusion and exclusion as significant constituents of social justice, which in a geographical sense would include gentrification-induced displacement in the inner city. Young (1990) and Smith (1994) identify feelings of space and place as important to a broader sense of identity; therefore, it is hard to justify revitalisation processes in the inner city that serve to displace people, even in what is believed to be for a wider social interest. Sustainability for the urban environment is also an increasingly recognised notion (Haughton and Hunter, 1994), including the incorporation of nature into urban design and revitalisation initiatives such as improvements to public and open spaces within the inner city. In terms of sustainability, cities have the capacity to be more resourceful. An example of this resourcefulness in relation to Wellington’s inner city building stock is the process of adaptive re-use and gentrification.

A connection can be made between the importance of a socially and environmentally just and sustainable urban environment and the urban policy that is created to ensure this. Research by Ley (1996) and Tonkiss (2000) has identified ways in which urban policy can play its part in realising social justice. An international example of this is the Canadian Housing Policy, where past projects that called for segregated land use were left behind in favour of projects encouraging mixed land use and attention to design protocol. This idea is supported on the Wellington waterfront, where heritage buildings are being restored to be converted to other uses, contributing to the vitality
of the waterfront, and to the inner city as a whole. The Canadian Housing Policy allowed for gentrification and new developments to proceed without socially excluding or segregating the residents (Ley, 1996). Areas with social problems, such as low employment or low educational attainment, may be targeted to allow for social justice to prevail. Vigdor (2002) identifies low educational attainment as the most reliable indicator of low socioeconomic status, and these disadvantaged areas as sites that are renowned for their gentrification. Areas such as this would most benefit from policy that would allow for social justice to prevail, reducing the incidence of negative social consequences such as displacement.

**Legislative Context**

Research Objective Three seeks to ascertain the way in which the processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement can be addressed to ensure social and environmental justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants. A central government legislative context must therefore be taken into consideration. The Resource Management Act 1991 is the legislation in New Zealand that focuses on sustainable management of our resources, encouraging us to plan for the future of our environment (Ministry for the Environment, 1994). This is pertinent in an urban context, for the sustainable management of the built environment and a Council commitment to urban design and heritage planning. Planning under the Resource Management Act is 'effects based', so stipulations will not be given as to how revitalisation should occur, but will specify the outcomes to be achieved through revitalisation of the inner city.

The Building Act 1991 and the Historic Places Act 1993 are relevant to processes of revitalisation and gentrification in inner city areas. These acts may lie alongside the urban design guidelines and the Urban Design Protocol in the revitalisation and adaptive re-use of buildings, supporting the argument of Kotval and Mullin (2001) that such urban policy may protect the historic, aesthetic and cultural attributes of downtown areas. The legislative context here will ensure that the inner city building stock is safe, and accessible to all people, and heritage values of these buildings will be preserved, ensuring their protection for future generations. Extensive participation from the community, including the formation of resident action groups such as the
Thorndon Society, may also be encouraged through the *Local Government Act 2002*. While these acts are all integral to the processes of revitalisation and gentrification that are occurring in New Zealand and specifically in inner city Wellington, they do not explicitly refer to subsequent social problems that may occur, such as displacement. The following section discusses the Wellington policy context under which these processes are viewed.

**Justice and Sustainability Addressed in Inner City Wellington**

In the Wellington context, there are policies and initiatives that relate to the processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement. The key informant interview findings identified the Waterfront Framework as the most significant policy initiative that relates to revitalisation in the inner city. The Framework recognises the waterfront as a special part of the city with its connection to the sea, its open space and historical importance and as one that needs to be enhanced and maintained for future generations (Waterfront Leadership Group, 2001). In these ways the Framework seeks to provide for social and environmental justice and sustainability on the waterfront; providing connection to the inner city and space in which diversity can be achieved, while promoting the incorporation of open space and nature into the central area for the enjoyment of past, present and future generations. Equity and well-being are also considerations for the users of this space, with “public consultation and the like” an important feature of the Framework (Citizens Advice Bureau respondent). These “independent public surveys of satisfaction” (architect and urban designer respondent) are enforced to ensure a socially just and sustainable inner city area.

The results of the key informant interviews also highlight significant strategies relating to gentrification within the inner city. The first of these are the design guidelines that are written as part of the Wellington City District Plan. The design guidelines ensure that areas of historical and cultural significance are protected against inappropriate development, which supports the work of Kotval and Mullin (2001: 182) regarding the protection of “historic, cultural, and aesthetic attributes” of the building stock. These guidelines are especially important to areas of inner city Wellington that are popular sites of gentrification. The guidelines are not imposed
rules but aim to identify significant existing features of the central city and suggest ways in which new development can contribute positively to the area (Wellington City Council, 2000). The overall response from the key informants was that the design guidelines “are very important and need to be clear when people start to gentrify so that revitalisation doesn’t change an area too much” (Inner City Residents’ Association representative).

Another significant set of strategies noted by the key informants are Council housing schemes, seen as important tools “in the wider revitalisation of the inner city” (Council planner A), and inevitably connected to the process of gentrification. While these schemes are not as “prolific as they once were” (Council planner A), they successfully encouraged revitalisation and gentrification of the inner city housing stock, particularly of buildings with heritage value and those in need of restoration.

Displacement as a result of revitalisation and gentrification processes is not specifically addressed in any policy or strategy in Wellington. As previously mentioned, arguments are emerging through the literature that identify gentrification as beneficial to the poor, rather than as a process that displaces these residents (Vigdor, 2002; Fulford, 2004). In line with this emerging argument, the key informant interviews in Wellington identify that residential displacement is not occurring on a large scale in the inner city. The Citizens Advice Bureau representative noted that the majority of the lower income people who reside within the central city have been living in Council housing stock for extensive periods of time, and thus “haven’t been replaced or pushed out by the huge growth of apartments”. Therefore, one argument exists that suggests there is limited residential displacement because all the low-income residents are taken care of by way of Council housing.

The results of the current research demonstrate that displacement of industry is becoming an increasing problem in the inner city. The increasing incidence of this industrial displacement is highlighted by Council planners in the key informant interviews, but as yet there are no specific strategies or initiatives that have been implemented to address this. The District Plan, while working to create a more sustainable urban environment, serves only as a “fairly blunt instrument” (Council
planner B) and therefore is not the ideal mechanism for addressing site specific consequences of revitalisation. To ensure social and environmental justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants, the implementation of strategies to remove the potential risk of displacement from the processes of revitalisation and gentrification should be encouraged.

6.7 Conclusion

In order to address the three research objectives of this thesis, the current chapter has discussed the processes of inner city revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement, and the issues of social and environmental justice and sustainability in the context of Wellington, New Zealand. First, the synthesis of evidence from the preceding chapters shows that there is inner city revitalisation taking place in Wellington and that this activity is encouraging the gentrification of building stock in the central area. The current chapter also discusses the need for a wider definition of gentrification to include new development in the inner city, as the social class who are guiding the expensive process of gentrification also appear to be increasingly choosing to live in inner city apartments. The gentrification processes occurring in inner city Wellington are also discussed in this chapter in regard to the way the process is inducing the displacement of industry in the downtown area.

The relationship between the processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement has been discussed, identifying Te Aro as an inner city area in Wellington where all three of these processes are operating. The processes that are occurring in this suburb also support the argument of Ley (1996) whereby the stereotype of the typical gentrifier is increasingly becoming skewed. Issues of justice and sustainability are discussed, highlighting the need for more policy and strategies that deal with the negative consequences of these processes, particularly of displacement. The need for further legislation from central government to manage these consequences is also identified. These issues will be discussed further in the following chapter, which will include the recommendations and conclusions for the current research, as well as the implications that this thesis has for future research.
7

Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

Processes of inner city revitalisation, including gentrification, are seen by many urban policy makers and politicians as an important strategy to ensure the well-being of cities. The arguments as to whether these processes displace people from the inner city are well documented in countries such as the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. In the New Zealand context, little or no research has been undertaken on this topic.

This thesis aimed to examine the processes of inner city revitalisation, particularly through gentrification and their implications in terms of displacing existing residents and businesses. In order to realise the aim of this thesis, three research questions were developed to discern the extent of inner city revitalisation and gentrification in Wellington, whether displacement is occurring as a result of these processes, and how these processes can be monitored to ensure social and environmental justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants. The current chapter provides a synthesis of this thesis, where key themes and findings from previous chapters are discussed and recommendations and avenues for further research on this topic are considered.

7.2 Key Findings

The key findings of this thesis will be discussed in the present section, namely the specific revitalisation processes undertaken in the Wellington context; the increasing popularity of living in the downtown area; the extent of industrial displacement in the inner city; and the issues of justice and sustainability that have arisen from the processes of revitalisation, gentrification, and displacement in the central area.
Specific Revitalisation Processes Undertaken in the Wellington Context

Research Objective One sought to ascertain the extent of revitalisation and gentrification in inner city Wellington. The bypass was not initially considered for the current research as an inner city revitalisation project. However, results discussed in Chapter Five identified the bypass as a significant initiative that is revitalising the inner city, making it relevant to this research. The bypass construction is a highly controversial and contentious issue. Controversy stems from the issues of demolishing and relocating historic buildings and from the destruction or change of character that has occurred in the area since construction began. The current research highlights that this inner city revitalisation process is extensive and infamous, in that it has affected the lives of many people, particularly those who live in Te Aro where it is being constructed.

The waterfront development is another inner city revitalisation process that has been identified through the current research. Greenberg (1996) discusses the Toronto waterfront where a removal of the segregation of functions has encouraged and created a connection between the water and the inner city. This means that mixed uses exist, incorporating retail, commercial, residential and recreational activity on the waterfront, further extending the connectivity between city and sea. This idea can be seen on Wellington's waterfront, where the processes of revitalisation and gentrification have encouraged new residential, recreational and commercial development.

Increased pedestrian connectivity was identified in this thesis as a positive consequence of inner city revitalisation processes in Wellington. Increased pedestrian connectivity is important in terms of effective urban design principles and to maintain social diversity within the inner city, and is a reflection of Wellington's commitment to the Urban Design Protocol. Increased connectivity is especially pertinent in the revitalisation activity on the waterfront and with regard to the bypass that is to run through Te Aro. Well-connected networks provide increased connectivity on the waterfront, and also provide high quality spaces for people to use and enjoy, and ensure ease of access between the water and the CBD. Pedestrian connectivity also
comes into play as a positive consequence of the bypass, ensuring that pedestrians are more fully connected to the inner city. Connectivity seeks to provide safe and accessible pedestrian networks and may serve to increase vibrancy and vitality in central areas.

This thesis has identified the negative consequences of these revitalisation processes as reverse sensitivity, changing character and social justice issues, and an intensification of development. In the Wellington context, some of these negative consequences of revitalisation may have been reduced by the implementation of design guidelines and the Urban Design Protocol, ensuring that areas of historical and cultural significance are protected against inappropriate construction and the intensification of development.

**The Increasing Popularity of Inner City Living**

In addressing Research Objective One, to ascertain the extent of inner city revitalisation and gentrification in Wellington, discussion in Chapter Six identified that there is indeed an increase in the popularity of inner city living, a phenomenon that has eventuated as a result of revitalisation of the central area. Inner city living is becoming so popular it has been labelled as ‘Wellington’s fastest growing suburb’ (Bayleys Research, 2005) and widely described as the ‘apartment boom’. Gentrification is also highlighted by the current research as a process that is occurring in Wellington’s inner city. The increasing significance of gentrification reflects patterns of the process that are operating in other cities across the world, including London, Vancouver, New York and Philadelphia (Smith, 1996). An area identified through the research as a site of extensive gentrification is Tinakori Road in the inner city suburb of Thorndon. This street is discussed as an area that exemplifies the nature of gentrification, in its extensively restored heritage buildings and in the high land values of the houses in the area.

To this end, results of the key informant interviews identify that this increase in inner city living, both in gentrified residences and in apartments is limited to the small sector of the community who can afford them. The exorbitant prices of some of these apartments exclude a large proportion of Wellington residents. The way in which the
gentrification process and the increasing popularity of inner city apartment living is predominantly guided by those who can afford it suggests that this is a combination of economics and social change. The ‘gentry’ are no longer limited to rehabilitating and re-using the building stock, but are now also participating in the new-built development that is on the increase in Wellington. The suggestion is therefore, that gentrification as a term should be broadened to provide for this increasingly common trend of apartment living, as it too can be seen as an urban reinvestment of capital in the inner city.

The results of the research demonstrate that there is a social diversity emerging from the increased popularity of residing in the inner city. This diversity includes people wishing to stay in the central area in their retirement, presumably in order to be in close proximity to services they may require. In the same vein, students are identified throughout this research as an emerging population in the inner city, due to the central location of the University and also because of the close proximity the central area provides to entertainment and other conveniences. Families are also increasingly choosing to reside in downtown Wellington. Chapter Five discusses the way in which more open spaces are planned to provide more sufficiently for families who may be living downtown. This increasing social diversity is in line with the argument advanced by Ley (1996), proposing that a ‘new middle class’ was emerging, one that challenged the typical gentrifier mould of the young urban professional, or yuppie. Increased diversity is also discussed in the current research in terms of increased vibrancy and vitality and the way in which it increases the safety and ‘liveability’ of the inner city.

The Extent of Industrial Displacement in the Inner City

The increased popularity of inner city living, under a broader term of gentrification that incorporates the restoration of existing building stock with the development of new-built inner city apartments, is identified by this research as a revitalisation method that induces the displacement of industry. In the initial stages of the research it was believed that the process of gentrification would almost inevitably lead to the displacement of people from their residences, therefore Research Objective Two was coined; to identify whether displacement is occurring as a result of these processes.
This assumption was supported through much of the literature, where displacement was purported as a significant consequence of the revitalisation and gentrification process (Schill and Nathan, 1983; Palen and London, 1984; Marcuse, 1986; Smith, 1996; Cameron, 2003). Emerging arguments were then presented suggesting that indeed gentrification would only significantly benefit the poor. However, these arguments were surprisingly inconclusive and so this research aimed to determine whether the increasing popularity of inner city living in Wellington, as aforementioned, was serving to displace existing residences and businesses.

The current research identifies that the situation in Wellington appears to be increasingly similar to international examples of ‘loft living’, which is the development of lofts and warehouses into apartments (Johnston et al., 2000; Zielenbach, 2000). The conversion, gentrification or ‘adaptive re-use’ of warehouses is occurring in Wellington’s inner city, and its increasing popularity is displacing industry in the central city. The results presented in Chapter Five suggest that this is part of a changing trend in Wellington, and part of the changing nature of the Wellington economy away from industry. The irony in this is that the people who move to the inner city still require, and expect there to be a wide range of facilities and services available to them at a close proximity. However, such services are increasingly becoming displaced as the numbers in the central city continue to grow and people gentrify inner city properties, many of which were previously used for industrial purposes.

Issues of Justice and Sustainability in the Central Area

Gentrification-induced displacement inevitably raises issues regarding social justice and sustainability for the inner city. The extent of industrial displacement in Wellington’s central area, and the fulfilment of Research Objective Two, then leads on to Research Objective Three; to ascertain how the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement can be monitored to ensure social and environmental justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants.

The waterfront development has been identified through this research as a significant revitalisation initiative that is occurring in Wellington’s inner city, and one that has
increased and enhanced gentrification processes on the waterfront also. The Waterfront Framework seeks to provide for social and environmental justice and sustainability. This is addressed by providing a connection to the inner city and space in which diversity can be achieved, while promoting the incorporation of open space and nature into the central area for the enjoyment of past, present and future generations. The research has identified that public consultation in all stages of the development has ensured that equity and well-being are key considerations for the users of this space. Consultation is enforced to ensure a socially just and sustainable inner city area on the waterfront.

While this research suggests that the waterfront is developing with a view to ensure a socially just and sustainable area for the inner city, there is also a need for the implementation of further policy and strategies to ensure the inner city does not impinge upon anybody's rights to social justice. Therefore, this thesis shows that there could be more done to monitor these issues, particularly in terms of the displaced or those at risk of being displaced from revitalisation and its subsequent consequences.

7.3 Recommendations

The research methodology was effective in gathering information to inform the three research objectives of this thesis. Key informant interviews were the principal form of data collection used, the results of which were then synthesised with evidence from the literature, resulting in the identification of four key findings expanded upon above. An amalgamation of this thesis, where key themes and findings from previous chapters have been discussed, has developed recommendations and avenues for further research on this topic.

The Displacement of Industry

The first of these recommendations relates to Research Objective Two which sought to identify whether displacement was occurring as a result of revitalisation and gentrification processes in the inner city. This research has identified that while the displacement of residences from the inner city is not a significant occurrence, the
displacement of industry is increasingly emerging. The recommendation therefore is to ensure that there are areas within the inner city that remain industry-based. Within these areas mixed use may occur, but stringent rules must be in existence to ensure that industrial activity is to remain within these ‘zones’, and that the gentrification and adaptive re-use of warehouses and factories which is becoming increasingly more popular, does not encroach on, or displace this industry.

The recommendation is, therefore, that there should be specific rules incorporated into the District Plan relating to the location and extent of industrial activity in the inner city. Zoning should be tightened to ensure that there are clear areas of industry, where limited mixed use, by way of residential activity, is accepted. If such specifications are not implemented the inner city may lose its industry to the processes of revitalisation and gentrification. Loss of these industrial areas within the central city would result in a shortage of services available to inner city inhabitants, who then have to travel further distances at a greater cost for the goods and services these industrial areas provide. Displacement of industrial areas may also result in the displacement of people living in the central areas reliant on the employment that the industrial area brings. The results of this thesis show that the displacement of industry is part of a current trend that is occurring in Wellington and that it is not a significant problem at this stage. However, the implementation of such strategy would ensure that inner city Wellington maintains an industrial heart which is important to the everyday running of the city. Industry is beginning to move to the outer reaches of Wellington, and the consequences may be dire if industry is no longer accommodated in the inner city.

Justice and Sustainability

Research Objective Three has informed this recommendation, ascertaining how the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement can be addressed to ensure social and environmental justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants. This research has identified various policies and strategies that concern the processes of inner city revitalisation and gentrification. However, there does appear to be a lack of policy, strategies, or methods that relate to the consequence of displacement that arises from these inner city processes.
Therefore, the recommendation is to establish a document at the local government level that seeks to address the incidence of displacement, or the potential risk of displacement that exists in the inner city. This is particularly relevant to the previous recommendation, where the displacement of industry is becoming an increasing problem, but is also of importance in the consideration of people who may be at risk of displacement. This research has shown that displacement is a very real issue in Wellington, and potentially throughout the country. Thus it may be appropriate to acknowledge this problem at the local level, perhaps through the *Local Government Act 2002* under a wider consideration of issues of social justice and sustainability for inner city inhabitants.

**Definition of Gentrification**

Recommendation Three focuses on the definition of gentrification. The recommendation here is that this definition is to be expanded to include new-built inner city development as well as the traditional view of gentrification as the restoration and re-use of the existing building stock. The current research has identified that this may be necessary, particularly in the context of Wellington, as inner city living is increasingly popular and increasingly expensive. Although this thesis has demonstrated that those who gentrify can never be stereotyped, the popularity of inner city living is certainly restricted to those who can afford it. Therefore, if socio-economic class is still to be considered a characteristic of gentrification, and as a process that only a small proportion of the population may engage in, the definition of gentrification should include the apartment boom.

Exorbitant prices of these inner city residences may not necessarily be displacing people from their homes, as the current research has identified, but do serve to increase the potential of exclusion for the lower classes who cannot afford these properties. Exclusion may also occur if the character or nature of the area is altered through gentrification. Existing residents may no longer ‘fit in’ to their neighbourhood, particularly if the socio-economic class of the area has changed. The displacement of industry as a result of new-built apartments also infers the potential
for social consequence, again asserting that these developments should be integrated into the definition of gentrification.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

This thesis has attempted to fill a gap in the research, with reference to the New Zealand context, on the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement through an examination of inner city Wellington. Through the literature, the assumption has been made that residential displacement is a significant consequence of gentrification (Schill and Nathan, 1983; Smith, 1996; Cameron, 2003), and in more recent years converse arguments have been coined that refer to gentrification as a beneficial process to lower income residents rather than one that displaces them (Vigdor, 2002; Fulford, 2004). The research has contributed to the understanding of these processes by discussing and acknowledging their increasing prevalence in inner city Wellington. In the present work, a post-structuralist approach was taken, whereby the processes occurring in the inner city were presented as colliding discourses through which people were identified as the most important players. This theoretical approach is of value to the research in that it has highlighted the way in which culture and society, together with the more traditional view of gentrification in economic terms, enables a more sensitive illustration of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement, an idea supported by Lees (1994) regarding the need for a more integrated theory to address these processes.

This research successfully identified the processes of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement and the subsequent issues of social justice and sustainability that are occurring in Wellington’s inner city. However, further study may be necessary on the topic of revitalisation, gentrification and displacement. Firstly, further research may be undertaken on these processes throughout the rest of New Zealand. This would determine whether the way in which these processes are operating are unique to the Wellington context, or if they are prevalent elsewhere in the country. Secondly, it would be interesting to determine the extent of industrial displacement in other New Zealand cities, given the increasing incidence of this process in downtown Wellington. If these processes are occurring to the same extent in other cities, this would add further support to the aforementioned recommendations to implement
strategies at the local level to deal with specific consequences of these inner city activities and to ensure justice and sustainability for the inhabitants of these areas. To this end, further research could also be undertaken regarding the increasing popularity of inner city living, and the recommendation to broaden the term of gentrification to include both the restoration and re-use of the building stock and also new-built inner city development.
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Appendix A

Key Informant Interviewee List
Information Sheet
Consent Form
List of Key Informant Interview Questions
### Key Informant Interviewee List

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant</th>
<th>Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Citizens Advice Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Architect/ Urban Designer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wellington City Council Planner A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wellington City Council Planner B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wellington City Council Planner C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Housing New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Inner City Residents’ Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>University Accommodation Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the aim of the thesis?

This thesis is being undertaken as part of the requirements for the Master of Regional and Resource Planning degree at the University of Otago. The study aims to examine the revitalisation of Wellington’s inner city, particularly in terms of processes of gentrification and their implications in terms of displacing existing residents and businesses. The reasons why, and how, displacement is occurring in Wellington’s inner city will be assessed, as will the local government policy responses to the issue. Finally, recommendations will be offered as to how revitalisation endeavours might be addressed in the future so as to ensure environmental and social justice for all inhabitants of the central city, and for the long-term sustainability of these areas.

What type of participants are being sought?

The type of participants being sought for this study will be predominantly local government representatives, and any others who have had direct involvement in revitalisation or displacement processes; such as developers, planners, councillors, and housing advisors. These representatives will have knowledge of inner city Wellington and any revitalisation processes that have taken place. These participants will be aware of the processes of gentrification and their implications of displacing inhabitants in Wellington’s central city.

What will participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to participate in an interview concerning the abovementioned issues. This interview would take up to an hour of your time, undertaken in late June/early July at a time convenient to you.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.
What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

Key Informant Interviews

The Key informant interviews will be semi-structured and will involve both open and closed questions. This thesis involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

The use which will be made of the data

All data will be analysed to identify key themes and trends. Where quotations are selected to reinforce these themes and trends, the source of these observations will remain anonymous. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University’s central library but every attempt will be made to preserve anonymity.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University’s research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

What if participants have any questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Charlotte Crack
Department of Geography
University of Otago
Phone: (03) 479-8771
Email: crach440@student.otago.ac.nz

OR

Michelle Thompson-Fawcett/ Claire Freeman
Research Supervisor
Department of Geography
Phone: (03) 479-8762/ 479-8785
Email: mtf@geography.otago.ac.nz/ cf@geography.otago.ac.nz
Dilemmas of Displacement: A Wellington, New Zealand Case Study

CONSENT FORM FOR

PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. The data (audio tapes) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed;

4. This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

5. The results of the project may be published and available in the Central University Library but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.

I agree to take part in this project.

.................................................................
(Signature of participant) ..................................

(Date)

Interviewer: Charlotte Crack Supervisors: Michelle Thompson-Fawcett
Claire Freeman

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List of Key Informant Interview Questions

1. What is your role in terms of inner city Wellington?

2. What revitalisation activity are you aware of in Inner City Wellington?

3. What do you believe are the positive consequences of this revitalisation?

4. What do you believe are the negative consequences of this revitalisation?

5. To what extent are you aware of gentrification taking place as a result of this revitalisation?

6. In what areas of inner city Wellington are you aware of gentrification taking place?

7. What do you believe is the extent of the displacement of people as a result of gentrification?

8. What Wellington based policies or initiatives are you aware of that concern revitalisation and its potential consequences?

9. Do you believe that revitalisation endeavours may be addressed to ensure social justice for the displaced or those at risk of displacement?
Appendix B

Ethics Application
ETHICAL APPROVAL AT DEPARTMENTAL LEVEL OF A PROPOSAL INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS (CATEGORY B)

NAME OF DEPARTMENT: Department of Geography

TITLE OF PROJECT: Inner City Revitalisation – The Dilemmas of Displacement: A Wellington, New Zealand, Case Study

PROJECTED START DATE OF PROJECT: January 1st, 2005

STAFF MEMBER RESPONSIBLE FOR PROJECT: Michelle Thompson-Fawcett/Claire Freeman

NAMES OF OTHER INVESTIGATORS OR INSTRUCTORS: Charlotte Crack – Student – Master of Regional and Resource Planning

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT:

The revitalisation of inner city areas that have been acknowledged as underused or simply deteriorating has become an increasingly familiar mission. Such revitalisation commonly aims to draw people and development back into the inner city, whether for commercial or residential purposes. Gentrification is often a by-product of such revitalisation. By enticing in new residents and making central city places more liveable and vibrant, revitalisation may also serve to modify the existing demographic composition of residents toward the more affluent end of the spectrum. This study examines the revitalisation of Wellington’s inner city, particularly in terms of processes of gentrification and their implications in terms of displacing existing residents and businesses. The study assesses the reasons why, and how, displacement is occurring in Wellington’s inner city, and local government policy responses to the issue. Finally, it offers recommendations as to how revitalisation endeavours might be monitored in the future so as to ensure environmental and social justice for all inhabitants of the central city, and also for the long-term sustainability of these inner city areas. The research is based on a series of semi-structured interviews with key proponents involved in the revitalisation of the Wellington city core in conjunction with a critical analysis of best practice from other cities.
DETAILS OF ETHICAL ISSUES INVOLVED:

Voluntary participation, privacy and informed consent
All interviews will be entirely voluntary; with key informants told they may withdraw from the interview process at any time, or may decline to answer any question. Key informant interviewees will be sent an information letter outlining the nature of the project and asking them if they would like to participate in the study (see attached). Before any interviews are conducted, the interviewee will be asked to sign a consent form (see attached) that guarantees their individual anonymity as well as asking their permission to have the interview tape-recorded. Key informants will be given an option for referencing of their comments in the text (see consent form).

Storage and security
Any interview transcripts will be held in secure storage in the Department of Geography, University of Otago, and disposed of after 5 years. Only myself and my supervisor, Michelle Thompson-Fawcett will have access to these.

Presentation of data
The data recorded will only be used for the purposes of research. There will be copies of this thesis in the Department of Geography Library and in the University Library. The results may also be published in the form of a journal article.

ACTION TAKEN

☐ Approved by Head of Department Committee

☐ Referred to University of Otago Human Ethics Committee Committee

☐ Approved by Departmental

☐ Referred to another Ethics

Please specify:

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