[Template:Globalize](/wiki/Template:Globalize" \o "Template:Globalize) [thumb|Buildings on Mainzer Straße in Berlin.](/wiki/File:Mainzer_Straße_Friedrichshain_Berlin.jpg) [thumb|Gentrification in](/wiki/File:Gentryfikacja_ulica_Okrzei_róg_Wrzesińskiej_w_Warszawie.jpg) [Warsaw](/wiki/Warsaw). **Gentrification** is a trend in [urban](/wiki/City) neighborhoods, which results in increased property values and the displacing of lower-income families and small businesses.[[1]](#cite_note-1) This is a common and controversial topic in [urban planning](/wiki/Urban_planning).[[2]](#cite_note-2) It refers to shifts in an urban community lifestyle and an increasing share of [wealthier](/wiki/Wealth) residents and/or businesses and increasing property values.[[3]](#cite_note-3) Gentrification may be viewed as "correction" of [blockbusting](/wiki/Blockbusting) and urban flight[[4]](#cite_note-4) as many gentrified neighborhoods of the present were once affluent neighborhoods of the past.[[5]](#cite_note-5) Gentrification is typically the result of increased interest in a certain environment. Early "gentrifiers" may belong to low income artists or [boheme](/wiki/Bohemianism) communities, which increase the attractiveness and flair of a certain quarter. Further steps are increased investments in a community and the related infrastructure by [real estate development](/wiki/Real_estate_development) businesses, local government, or [community activists](/wiki/Community_activist) and resulting [economic development](/wiki/Economic_development), increased attraction of business and lower [crime](/wiki/Crime) rates. In addition to these potential benefits, gentrification can lead to [population migration](/wiki/Population_mobility).

In a community undergoing gentrification, the average income increases. Poorer pre-gentrification residents who are unable to pay increased [rents](/wiki/Renting) or [property taxes](/wiki/Property_tax) may find it necessary to relocate.[[6]](#cite_note-6)[[7]](#cite_note-7)[[8]](#cite_note-8)

## Contents

* 1 Origin and etymology[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=1)]
* 2 Causes[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=2)]
  + 2.1 London and Palen[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=3)]
    - 2.1.1 Demographic-ecological[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=4)]
    - 2.1.2 Sociocultural[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=5)]
    - 2.1.3 Political-economic[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=6)]
    - 2.1.4 Community networks[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=7)]
    - 2.1.5 Social movements[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=8)]
  + 2.2 As an economic process[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=9)]
    - 2.2.1 Production-side theory[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=10)]
      * 2.2.1.1 Suburbanization and rent gap[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=11)]
      * 2.2.1.2 De-industrialization[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=12)]
      * 2.2.1.3 Spatial centralization and decentralization of capital[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=13)]
      * 2.2.1.4 Falling profit and the cyclical movement of capital[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=14)]
      * 2.2.1.5 Changes in demographic and consumption patterns[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=15)]
    - 2.2.2 Consumption-side theory[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=16)]
  + 2.3 Economic globalization[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=17)]
* 3 Effects[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=18)]
  + 3.1 Displacement[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=19)]
  + 3.2 Social changes[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=20)]
  + 3.3 Economic shifts[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=21)]
* 4 Measurement[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=22)]
* 5 Gentrifier types[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=23)]
  + 5.1 Women[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=24)]
  + 5.2 Artists[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=25)]
  + 5.3 Gay community[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=26)]
* 6 Control[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=27)]
  + 6.1 Direct action and sabotage[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=28)]
  + 6.2 Inclusionary zoning[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=29)]
  + 6.3 Zoning ordinances[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=30)]
  + 6.4 Community land trusts[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=31)]
  + 6.5 Rent control[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=32)]
* 7 Examples[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=33)]
  + 7.1 Inner London, England[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=34)]
  + 7.2 United States[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=35)]
    - 7.2.1 Atlanta[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=36)]
    - 7.2.2 Boston[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=37)]
    - 7.2.3 Philadelphia: Darien Street[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=38)]
    - 7.2.4 Washington, DC[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=39)]
    - 7.2.5 San Francisco[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=40)]
  + 7.3 Canada[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=41)]
  + 7.4 France[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=42)]
  + 7.5 Cape Town, South Africa[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=43)]
  + 7.6 Italy[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=44)]
* 8 See also[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=45)]
* 9 Notes[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=46)]
* 10 References[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=47)]
* 11 Further reading[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=48)]
* 12 External links[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=49)]

## Origin and etymology[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=1)]

[thumb|Symbolic gentrification in Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin](/wiki/File:mk_Berlin_Pfefferberg.jpg)

The term gentrification was coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964. It has come to refer to a multi-faceted phenomenon that can be defined in different ways.[[9]](#cite_note-9) Historians say that gentrification took place in [ancient Rome](/wiki/Ancient_Rome) and in [Roman Britain](/wiki/Roman_Britain), where large [villas](/wiki/Villa) were replacing small shops by the 3rd century, AD.<ref name=Roman/> The word *gentrification* derives from [*gentry*](/wiki/Gentry)—which comes from the Old French word *genterise*, "of gentle birth" (14th century) and "people of gentle birth" (16th century). In England, [*Landed gentry*](/wiki/Landed_gentry) denoted the social class, consisting of [gentlemen](/wiki/Gentlemen).[[10]](#cite_note-10)[[11]](#cite_note-11) British [sociologist](/wiki/Sociologist) [Ruth Glass](/wiki/Ruth_Glass) coined the term "gentrification" in 1964 to describe the influx of [middle-class](/wiki/Middle-class) people displacing [lower-class](/wiki/Working_class) worker residents in urban neighborhoods; her example was [London](/wiki/London), and its working-class districts such as [Islington](/wiki/Islington):[[12]](#cite_note-12)[[13]](#cite_note-13) [Template:Quotation](/wiki/Template:Quotation)

In the US, the [Centers for Disease Control and Prevention](/wiki/Centers_for_Disease_Control_and_Prevention) report *Health Effects of Gentrification* defines the [real estate](/wiki/Real_estate) concept of *gentrification* as "the transformation of neighborhoods from low value to high value. This change has the potential to cause displacement of long-time residents and businesses ... when long-time or original neighborhood residents move from a gentrified area because of higher rents, [mortgages](/wiki/Mortgage), and [property taxes](/wiki/Property_tax). Gentrification is a housing, economic, and health issue that affects a community's history and culture and reduces [social capital](/wiki/Social_capital). It often shifts a neighborhood's characteristics, e.g., racial-ethnic composition and household income, by adding new stores and resources in previously run-down neighborhoods."[[6]](#cite_note-6) In the [Brookings Institution](/wiki/Brookings_Institution) report *Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices* (2001), Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard say that "the term 'gentrification' is both imprecise and quite politically charged", suggesting its redefinition as "the process by which higher income households displace lower income residents of a neighborhood, changing the essential character and flavour of that neighborhood", so distinguishing it from the different socio-economic process of "neighborhood (or urban) revitalization", although the terms are sometimes used interchangeably.[[14]](#cite_note-14) German [geographers](/wiki/Geographer) have a more distanced view on gentrification. Actual gentrification is seen as a mere symbolic issue happening in a low amount of places and blocks, the symbolic value and visibility in public discourse being higher than actual migration trends. E.g. Gerhard Hard assumes that [urban flight](/wiki/Urban_flight) is still more important than inner city gentrification.[[15]](#cite_note-15)[Volkskunde scholar](/wiki/Volkskunde) Barbara Lang introduced the term 'symbolic gentrification' with regard to the *Mythos Kreuzberg* in Berlin.[[16]](#cite_note-16) Lang assumes that complaints about gentrification often come from those who have been responsible for the process in their youth. When former students and bohemians started raising families and earning money in better paid jobs, they become the yuppies they claim to dislike.[[16]](#cite_note-16) Especially Berlin is a showcase of intense debates about symbols of gentrification, while the actual processes are much slower than in other cities.[[17]](#cite_note-17) The city's Prenzlauer Berg district is, however, a poster child of the capital's gentrification, as this area in particular has experienced a rapid transformation over the last two decades. This leads to mixed feelings amidst the local population.[[18]](#cite_note-18)

## Causes[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=2)]

### London and Palen[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=3)]

There are several approaches that attempt to explain the roots and the reasons behind the spread of gentrification. Bruce London and J. John Palen (1984) compiled a list of five explanations: (1) demographic-ecological, (2) sociocultural, (3) political-economical, (4) community networks, and (5) social movements.

#### Demographic-ecological[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=4)]

The first theory, demographic-ecological, attempts to explain gentrification through the analysis of demographics: population, social organization, environment, and technology. This theory frequently refers to the growing number of people between the ages of 25 and 35 in the 1970s, or the baby boom generation. Because the number of people that sought housing increased, the demand for housing increased also. The supply could not keep up with the demand; therefore cities were "recycled" to meet such demands (London and Palen, 1984). The [baby boomers](/wiki/Baby_boomers) in pursuit of housing were very different, demographically, from their house-hunting predecessors. They married at an older age and had fewer children. Their children were born later. Women, both single and married, were entering the labor force at higher rates which led to an increase of dual wage-earner households. These households were typically composed of young, more affluent couples without children. Because these couples were child-free and were not concerned with the conditions of schools and [playgrounds](/wiki/Playground), they elected to live in the [inner city](/wiki/Inner_city) in close proximity to their jobs. These more affluent people usually had white-collar, not blue-collar jobs. Since these [white-collar workers](/wiki/White-collar_worker) wanted to live closer to work, a neighborhood with more white-collar jobs was more likely to be invaded; the relationship between administrative activity and invasion was positively correlated (London and Palen, 1984).

#### Sociocultural[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=5)]

The second theory proposed by London and Palen is based on a sociocultural explanation of gentrification. This theory argues that values, sentiments, attitudes, ideas, beliefs, and choices should be used to explain and predict human behavior, not demographics, or "structural units of analysis" (i.e., characteristics of populations) (London and Palen, 1984). This analysis focuses on the changing attitudes, lifestyles, and values of the middle- and upper-middle-class of the 1970s. They were becoming more pro-urban than before, opting not to live in rural or even suburban areas anymore. These new pro-urban values were becoming more salient, and more and more people began moving into the cities. London and Palen refer to the first people to invade the cities as "urban pioneers." These urban pioneers demonstrated that the inner-city was an "appropriate" and "viable" place to live, resulting in what is called "inner city chic" (London and Palen, 1984). The opposing side of this argument is that dominant, or recurring, American values determine where people decide to live, not the changing values previously cited. This means that people choose to live in a gentrified area to restore it, not to alter it, because restoration is a "new way to realize old values" (London and Palen, 1984).

#### Political-economic[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=6)]

The third theoretical explanation of gentrification is political-economic and is divided into two approaches: traditional and Marxist. The traditional approach argues that economic and political factors have led to the invasion of the inner-city, hence the name political-economic. The changing political and legal climate of the 1950s and 1960s (new [civil rights](/wiki/Civil_rights) legislation, anti-discrimination laws in housing and employment, and [desegregation](/wiki/Desegregation)) had an "unanticipated" role in the gentrification of neighborhoods. A decrease in prejudice led to more blacks moving to the suburbs and whites no longer rejected the idea of moving to the city. The decreasing availability of suburban land and inflation in suburban housing costs also inspired the invasion of the cities. The Marxist approach denies the notion that the political and economic influences on gentrification are invisible, but are intentional. This theory claims that "powerful interest groups follow a policy of neglect of the inner city until such time as they become aware that policy changes could yield tremendous profits" (London and Palen, 1984). Once the inner city becomes a source of revenue, the powerless residents are displaced with little or no regard from the powerful.

#### Community networks[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=7)]

The community-network approach is the fourth proposed by London and Palen. This views the community as an "interactive social group." Two perspectives are noted: community lost and community saved. The community lost perspective argues that the role of the neighborhood is becoming more limited due to [technological advances](/wiki/Technological_advancement) in transportation and communication. This means that the small-scale, local community is being replaced with more large-scale, political and social organizations (Greer, 1962). The opposing side, the community saved side, argues that community activity increases when neighborhoods are gentrified because these neighborhoods are being revitalized.

#### Social movements[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=8)]

The fifth and final approach is social movements. This theoretical approach is focused on the analysis of ideologically based movements, usually in terms of leader-follower relationships. Those who support gentrification are encouraged by leaders (successful urban pioneers, political-economic elites, land developers, lending institutions, and even the Federal government in some instances) to revive the inner-city. Those who are in opposition are the people who currently reside in the deteriorated areas. They develop countermovements in order to gain the power necessary to defend themselves against the movements of the elite.An excellent example was the turned around gang in Chicago who fought years against the Richard J. Daley machine, the [Young Lords](/wiki/Young_Lords) led by [Jose Cha Cha Jimenez](/wiki/Jose_Cha_Cha_Jimenez). They occupied neighborhood institutions and led massive demonstration to make people aware. These countermovements can be unsuccessful, though. The people who support reviving neighborhoods are also members, and their voices are the ones that the gentrifiers tend to hear (London and Palen, 1984).

### As an economic process[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=9)]

Two discrete, sociological theories explain and justify gentrification as an economic process ([production](/wiki/Economic_production)-side theory) and as a social process ([consumption](/wiki/Economic_production)-side theory) that occurs when the suburban [gentry](/wiki/Gentry) tire of the automobile-dependent [urban sprawl](/wiki/Urban_sprawl) style of life; thus, professionals, [empty nest](/wiki/Empty_nest_syndrome) aged parents, and recent university graduates perceive the attractiveness of the city center—earlier abandoned during [white flight](/wiki/White_flight)—especially if the poor community possesses a [transport hub](/wiki/Transport_hub) and its architecture sustains the [pedestrian](/wiki/Pedestrian) traffic that allows the proper human relations impeded by (sub)urban sprawl.[[19]](#cite_note-19) Professor Smith and Marxist sociologists explain gentrification as a [structural](/wiki/Structuralism) economic process; Ley explains gentrification as a natural outgrowth of increased professional employment in the central business district (CBD), and the creative sub-class's predilection for city living. "Liberal Ideology and the Post-Industrial City" (1980) describes and deconstructs the TEAM committee's effort to rendering Vancouver, BC, Canada, a "livable city". The investigators Rose, Beauregard, Mullins, Moore *et al.*, who base themselves upon Ley's ideas, posit that "gentrifiers and their social and cultural characteristics [are] of crucial importance for an understanding of gentrification"—theoretical work Chris Hamnett criticized as insufficiently comprehensive, for not incorporating the "supply of dwellings and the role of developers [and] speculators in the process".[[20]](#cite_note-20)

#### Production-side theory[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=10)]

The *production-side* theory of urban gentrification derives from the work of human geographer [Neil Smith](/wiki/Neil_Smith_(geographer)), explaining gentrification as an [economic](/wiki/Economics) process consequent to the fluctuating relationships among [capital](/wiki/Capital_(economics)) investments and the production of [urban](/wiki/Urban_area) space. He asserts that restructuring of urban space is the visual component of a larger social, economic, and spatial restructuring of the contemporary capitalist economy.[[21]](#cite_note-21)Smith summarizes the causes of gentrification into five main processes: suburbanization and the emergence of [rent gap](/wiki/Rent-Gap_Theory), deindustrialization, spatial centralization and decentralization of capital, falling profit and cyclical movement of capital, and changes in demographics and consumption patterns.[[21]](#cite_note-21)

##### Suburbanization and rent gap[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=11)]

Suburban development derives from outward expansion of cities, often driven by sought profit and the availability of cheap land. This change in consumption causes a fall in inner city land prices, often resulting in poor upkeep and a neglect of repair for these properties by owners and landlords. The depressed land is then devalued, causing rent to be significantly cheaper than the potential rent that could be derived from the "best use" of the land while taking advantage of its central location.[[21]](#cite_note-21) From this derives the *Rent-gap Theory* describing the disparity between "the actual capitalized ground rent (land price) of a plot of land given its present use, and the potential ground rent that might be gleaned under a 'higher and better' use."[[22]](#cite_note-22) The rent gap is fundamental to explaining gentrification as an economic process. When the gap is sufficiently wide, [real estate developers](/wiki/Real_estate_developer), [landlords](/wiki/Landlord), and other people with vested interests in the development of land perceive the potential [profit](/wiki/Profit_(economics)) to be derived from re-investing in inner-city properties and redeveloping them for new tenants. Thus, the development of a rent gap creates the opportunity for urban restructuring and gentrification.[[21]](#cite_note-21)

##### De-industrialization[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=12)]

The de-[industrialization](/wiki/Industrialization) of cities in developed nations reduces the number of [blue-collar](/wiki/Blue-collar) jobs available to the urban working class as well as middle-wage jobs with the opportunity for [advancement](/wiki/Promotion_(rank)), creating lost investment capital needed to physically maintain the houses and buildings of the city. Abandoned industrial areas create availability for land for the rent gap process.

##### Spatial centralization and decentralization of capital[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=13)]

De-industrialization is often integral to the growth of a divided [white collar](/wiki/White-collar_worker) [employment](/wiki/Employment), providing [professional](/wiki/Professional) and [management](/wiki/Management) jobs that follow the spatial decentralization of the expanding world economy. However, somewhat counter-intuitively, globalization also is accompanied by spatial centralization of urban centers, mainly from the growth of the inner city as a base for headquarter and executive decision-making centers. This concentration can be attributed to the need for rapid decisions and information flow, which makes it favorable to have executive centers in close proximity to each other. Thus, the expanding effect of suburbanization as well as agglomeration to city centers can coexist. These simultaneous processes can translate to gentrification activities when professionals have a high demand to live near their executive workplaces in order to reduce decision-making time.[[21]](#cite_note-21)

##### Falling profit and the cyclical movement of capital[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=14)]

This section of Smith's theory attempts to describe the timing of the process of gentrification. At the end of a period of expansion for the economy, such as a [boom](/wiki/Economic_boom) in postwar suburbs, accumulation of capital leads to a falling rate of profit. It is then favorable to seek investment outside the industrial sphere to hold off onset of an [economic crisis](/wiki/Financial_crisis). By this time, the period of expansion has inevitably led to the creation of rent gap, providing opportunity for capital reinvestment in this surrounding environment.[[21]](#cite_note-21)

##### Changes in demographic and consumption patterns[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=15)]

Smith emphasizes that demographic and life-style changes are more of an exhibition of the *form* of gentrification, rather than real factors behind gentrification. The aging [baby-boomer](/wiki/Baby-boomer) population, greater participation of women in the workforce, and the changes in marriage and childrearing norms explain the appearance that gentrification takes, or as Smith says, "why we have proliferating quiche bars rather than Howard Johnson's".[[21]](#cite_note-21)

#### Consumption-side theory[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=16)]

[thumb|right|Gentrification in the US: The](/wiki/File:Minneapolis_Warehouse_District.jpg) [North Loop neighborhood](/wiki/North_Loop,_Minneapolis), Minneapolis, Minn., is the "Warehouse District" of [condominia](/wiki/Condominium) for artists and entrepreneurs.[[23]](#cite_note-23)[[24]](#cite_note-24)[[25]](#cite_note-25) [thumb|Ornate Edwardian architecture (seen here in](/wiki/File:Bridgefield_Road_Sutton_Surrey_Greater_London.JPG) [Sutton](/wiki/Sutton,_London), [United Kingdom](/wiki/United_Kingdom)). In contrast to the production-side argument, the *consumption-side* theory of urban gentrification posits that the "socio-cultural characteristics and motives" of the gentrifiers are most important to understanding the gentrification of the *post-industrial city*.[[26]](#cite_note-26) The changes in the structure of advanced capitalist cities with the shift from industrial to service-based economy were coupled with the expanding of a new middle class—one with a larger purchasing power than ever before.[[27]](#cite_note-27) As such, human geographer [David Ley](/wiki/David_Ley) posits a rehabilitated post-industrial city influenced by a this "new middle class."[[28]](#cite_note-28) The consumption theory contends that it is the demographics and consumption patterns of this "new middle class" that is responsible for gentrification.

The economic and cultural changes of the world in the 1960s have been attributed to these consumption changes. The antiauthoritarian protest movements of the young in the U.S., especially on college campuses, brought a new disdain for the "standardization of look-alike suburbs,"[[29]](#cite_note-29) as well as fueled a movement toward empowering freedom and establishing authenticity. In the postindustrial economy, the expansion of middle class jobs in inner cities came at the same time as many of the ideals of this movement. The process of gentrification stemmed as the new middle class, often with politically [progressive](/wiki/Progressivism) ideals, was employed in the city and recognized not only the convenient commute of a city residence, but also the appeal towards the urban lifestyle as a means of opposing the "deception of the suburbanite."[[29]](#cite_note-29) This new middle class was characterized by professionals with life pursuits expanded from traditional economistic focus.[[3]](#cite_note-3) Gentrification provided a means for the 'stylization of life' and an expression of realized profit and social rank. Similarly, Michael Jager contended that the consumption pattern of the new middle class explains gentrification because of the new appeal of embracing the historical past as well as urban lifestyle and culture.[[27]](#cite_note-27) The need of the middle class to express individualism from both the upper and lower classes was expressed through consumption, and specifically through the consumption of a house as an aesthetic object.

"This permanent tension on two fronts is evident in the architecture of gentrification: in the external restorations of the Victoriana, the middle classes express their candidature for the dominant classes; in its internal renovation work this class signifies its distance from the lower orders." p. 154[[27]](#cite_note-27) Gentrification, according to consumption theory, fulfills the desire for a space with social meaning for the middle class as well as the belief that it can only be found in older places because of a dissatisfaction with contemporary urbanism.[[27]](#cite_note-27)

### Economic globalization[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=17)]

Gentrification is integral to the [new economy](/wiki/New_economy) of centralized, high-level services work—the "new urban economic core of [banking](/wiki/Banking) and service activities that come to replace the older, typically manufacturing-oriented, core"[[30]](#cite_note-30) that displaces middle-class retail businesses so they might be "replaced by upmarket boutiques and restaurants catering to new high-income urban élites".[[31]](#cite_note-31) In the context of [globalization](/wiki/Globalization), the city's importance is determined by its ability to function as a discrete socio-economic entity, given the lesser import of national borders, resulting in de-industrialized [global cities](/wiki/Global_cities) and [economic restructuring](/wiki/Economic_restructuring).

To wit, the American urban theorist [John Friedman's](/wiki/John_Friedman) seven-part theory posits a bifurcated [service industry](/wiki/Service_industry) in [world cities](/wiki/Global_city), composed of "a high percentage of professionals specialized in control functions and ... a vast army of low-skilled workers engaged in ... personal services ... [that] cater to the privileged classes, for whose sake the world city primarily exists".[[32]](#cite_note-32) The final three hypotheses detail (i) the increased immigration of low-skill laborers needed to support the privileged classes, (ii) the class and caste conflict consequent to the city's inability to support the poor people who are the service class,[[33]](#cite_note-33) and (iii) the [world city](/wiki/Global_city) as a function of social class struggle—matters expanded by [Saskia Sassen](/wiki/Saskia_Sassen) *et al.* The world city's inherent socio-economic inequality illustrates the causes of gentrification, reported in "Where Did They Go? The Decline of Middle-Income Neighborhoods in Metropolitan America" (2006) demonstrating [geographical segregation](/wiki/Geographical_segregation) by income in US cities, wherein middle-income (middle class) neighborhoods decline, while poor neighborhoods and rich neighborhoods remain stable.[[34]](#cite_note-34)

## Effects[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=18)]

As rent-gap theory would predict, one of the most visible changes the gentrification process brings is to the infrastructure of a neighborhood. Typically, areas to be gentrified are deteriorated and old, though structurally sound, and often have some obscure [amenity](/wiki/Amenity) such as a historical significance that attracts the potential gentrifiers.[[21]](#cite_note-21) Gentry purchase and restore these houses, mostly for single-family homes. Another phenomenon is "loft conversion," which rehabilitates mixed-use areas, often abandoned industrial buildings or run-down apartment buildings to housing for the incoming gentrifiers.[[21]](#cite_note-21) While this upgrade of housing value is the superficial keynote to the gentrification process, there is a greater number of less-visible shifts the gentry bring with them into their new neighborhoods in the community.

Gentrification has been substantially advocated by local governments, often in the form of 'urban restructuring' policies. Goals of these policies include dispersing [low-income](/wiki/Poverty) residents out of the inner city and into the suburbs as well as redeveloping the city to foster mobility between both the central city and suburbia as residential options.[[27]](#cite_note-27) The strain on public resources that often accompanies [concentrated poverty](/wiki/Concentrated_poverty) is relaxed by the gentrification process, a benefit of changed social makeup that is favorable for the local state. Rehabilitation movements have been largely successful at restoring the plentiful supply of old and deteriorated housing that is readily available in inner cities. This rehabilitation can be seen as a superior alternative to expansion, for the location of the central city offers an intact [infrastructure](/wiki/Infrastructure) that should be taken advantage of: streets, public transportation, and other urban facilities.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Furthermore, the changed perception of the central city that is encouraged by gentrification can be healthy for resource-deprived communities who have previously been largely ignored.[[27]](#cite_note-27) A change of residence that is forced upon people who lack resources to cope has social costs.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Measures protecting these marginal groups from gentrification may reduce those.

There is also the argument that gentrification reduces the social capital of the area it affects. Communities have strong ties to the history and culture of their neighborhood, and causing its dispersal can have detrimental costs.[[6]](#cite_note-6)The [Center for Disease Control and Prevention](/wiki/Center_for_Disease_Control_and_Prevention) has a webpage discussing adverse effects gentrification has on health, and provides a list of policies that would inhibit gentrification in order to prevent these impacts.[[6]](#cite_note-6)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Positive** | **Negative** |
| Higher incentive for property owners to increase/improve housing | Displacement through rent/price increases |
| Reduction in crime | Loss of affordable housing |
| Stabilization of declining areas | Commercial/industrial displacement |
| Increased property values | Unsustainable property prices |
| Increased consumer purchasing power at local businesses | Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas |
| Reduced vacancy rates | Community resentment and conflict |
| Increased local fiscal revenues | Homelessness |
| Encouragement and increased viability of further development | Secondary psychological costs of displacement |
| Reduced strain on local infrastructure and services | Increased cost and charges to local services |
| Increased social mix | Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos) |
| Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship | Under occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas |
| Source: Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly, *Gentrification Reader,* p. 196. © 2008 Routledge.; Rowland Atkinson and Gary Bridge, eds., *Gentrification in a Global Context: the New Urban Colonialism,* p. 5. © 2005 Routledge. | |

### Displacement[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=19)]

Displacement in the context of gentrification is defined in *The Gentrification Reader* as "forced disenfranchisement of poor and working class people from the spaces and places in which they have legitimate social and historical claims."[[27]](#cite_note-27) It is one of the most studied negative aspects of gentrification, yet its nature has provided researchers with many prohibitive barriers to obtaining accurate and reliable data, much of which is more focused on the gentrifiers than those who are displaced by the process.

What is generally agreed upon, however, is that those displaced are primarily minority, elderly, and transient groups, and they are nearly always driven out in areas where gentrification occurs. Studies have also shown that there seem to be two waves of displacement of these original residents. In the early stages, renters are largely driven out because of the changing incentives of landlords. With the rising interest in a particular neighborhood, they have no motive to retain their current tenants over the new, more affluent rent seekers.[[27]](#cite_note-27) As the process continues, owners of single residential units are strained with the surge in property values that translates to increased [tax assessments](/wiki/Tax_assessment). Often their incomes cannot continue to cover these increased living costs. Those who are 'gentrified' not only lack the economic resources to compete with these changes, but stereotypically lack political power, are easily exploited by landlords and developers, and eventually are simply forced to leave due to these inabilities to resist the gentrification process.[[21]](#cite_note-21)

### Social changes[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=20)]

Many of the social effects of gentrification have been based on extensive theories about how [socioeconomic status](/wiki/Socioeconomic_status) of an individual's neighborhood will shape one's behavior and future. These studies have prompted "social mix policies" to be widely adopted by governments to promote the process and its positive effects, such as lessening the strain on public resources, that are associated with de-concentrating poverty. However, more specific research has shown that gentrification does not necessarily correlate with "social mixing," and that the effects of the new composition of a gentrified neighborhood can both weaken as well as strengthen community cohesion.[[35]](#cite_note-35) Housing confers social status, and the changing norms that accompany gentrification translate to a changing social hierarchy.[[21]](#cite_note-21) The process of gentrification mixes people of different socioeconomic strata, thereby congregating a variety of expectations and social norms. The change gentrification brings in class distinction also has been shown to contribute to residential [polarization](/wiki/Social_polarization) by income, education, household composition, and race.[[21]](#cite_note-21) It conveys a social rise that brings new standards in consumption, particularly in the form of excess and superfluity, to the area that were not held by the pre-existing residents.[[21]](#cite_note-21) These differing norms can lead to conflict, which potentially serves to divide changing communities.[[35]](#cite_note-35) Often this comes at a larger social cost to the original residents of the gentrified area whose displacement is met with little concern from the gentry or the government. Clashes that result in increased police surveillance, for example, would more adversely affect young minorities who are also more likely to be the original residents of the area.[[35]](#cite_note-35) There is also evidence to support that gentrification can strengthen and stabilize when there is a consensus about a community's objectives. Gentrifiers with an organized presence in deteriorated neighborhoods can demand and receive better resources.[[35]](#cite_note-35) A characteristic example is a combined community effort to win historic district designation for the neighborhood, a phenomenon that is often linked to gentrification activity.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Gentry can exert a peer influence on neighbors to take action against crime, which can lead to even more price increases in changing neighborhoods when crime rates drop and optimism for the area's future climbs.[[27]](#cite_note-27)

### Economic shifts[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=21)]

The economic changes that occur as a community goes through gentrification are often favorable for local governments. Affluent gentrifiers expand the local tax base as well as support local shops and businesses, a large part of why the process is frequently alluded to in urban policies. The decrease in vacancy rates and increase in property value that accompany the process can work to stabilize a previously struggling community, restoring interest in inner-city life as a residential option alongside the suburbs.[[27]](#cite_note-27) These changes can create positive feedback as well, encouraging other forms of development of the area that promote general economic growth.

Home ownership is a significant variable when it comes to economic impacts of gentrification. People who own their homes are much more able to gain financial benefits of gentrification than those who rent their houses and can be displaced without much compensation.[[36]](#cite_note-36) Economic pressure and market price changes relate to the speed of gentrification. English-speaking countries have a higher amount of property owners and a higher mobility. German speaking countries provide a higher share of rented property and have a much stronger role of municipalities, cooperatives, guilds and unions offering low-price-housing. The effect is a lower speed of gentrification and a broader social mix. [Gerhard Hard](/wiki/Gerhard_Hard) sees gentrification as a typical 1970s term with more visibility in public discourse than actual migration.[[15]](#cite_note-15)

## Measurement[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=22)]

Whether gentrification has occurred in a census tract in an urban area in the United States during a particular 10-year period between censuses can be determined by a method used in a study by [*Governing*](/wiki/Governing_(magazine)):<ref name=GoverningMethodology>[Template:Cite web](/wiki/Template:Cite_web)</ref> If the census tract in a central city had 500 or more residents and at the time of the baseline census had median household income and median home value in the bottom 40th percentile and at the time of the next 10-year census the tract's educational attainment (percentage of residents over age 25 with a bachelor's degree) was in the top 33rd percentile; the median home value, adjusted for inflation, had increased; and the percentage of increase in home values in the tract was in the top 33rd percentile when compared to the increase in other census tracts in the urban area then it was considered to have been gentrified. The method measures the rate of gentrification, not the degree of gentrification; thus, [San Francisco](/wiki/San_Francisco,_California), which has a history of gentrification dating to the 1970s, show a decreasing rate between 1990 and 2010.<ref name=SFmap>[Template:Cite web](/wiki/Template:Cite_web)</ref>

## Gentrifier types[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=23)]

[thumb|right|San Francisco](/wiki/File:Haight_Ashbury11.JPG) [thumb|right|19th century Victorian terrace houses in](/wiki/File:Terrace_of_182-186_George_St,_East_Melbourne.jpg) [East Melbourne, Australia](/wiki/East_Melbourne,_Victoria). Just as critical to the gentrification process as creating a favorable environment is the availability of the 'gentry,' or those who will be first-stage gentrifiers. The typical gentrifiers are affluent and have professional-level, service industry jobs, many of which involve [self-employment](/wiki/Self-employment).[[37]](#cite_note-37) Therefore, they are willing and able to take the investment risk in the housing market. Often they are single people or young couples without children who lack demand for good schools.[[21]](#cite_note-21) Gentrifiers are likely searching for inexpensive housing close to the workplace and often already reside in the inner city, sometimes for educational reasons, and do not want to make the move to suburbia. Thus, gentrification is not so much the result of a return to the inner city but is more of a positive action to remain there.[[37]](#cite_note-37) The stereotypical gentrifiers also have shared consumer preferences and favor a largely consumerist culture. This fuels the rapid expansion of trendy restaurant, shopping, and entertainment spheres that often accompany the gentrification process.[[21]](#cite_note-21) Holcomb and Beauregard described these groups as those who are "attracted by low prices and toleration of an unconventional lifestyle." [[37]](#cite_note-37)[[38]](#cite_note-38) An interesting find from research on those who participate and initiate the gentrification process, the "marginal gentrifiers" as referred to by Tim Butler, is that they become marginalized by the expansion of the process.[[37]](#cite_note-37) Research has also shown subgroups of gentrifiers that fall outside of these stereotypes. Two important ones are women, typically [single mothers](/wiki/Single_parent), as well as gay people who are typically men.

### Women[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=24)]

Women increasingly obtaining higher education as well as higher paying jobs has increased their participation in the labor force, translating to an expansion of women with opportunities to invest. Smith suggests this group "represents a reservoir of potential gentrifiers." [[37]](#cite_note-37) The increasing number of highly educated women play into this theory, given that residence in the inner city can give women access to the well-paying jobs and networking, something that is becoming increasingly common.[[39]](#cite_note-39) There are also theories that suggest the inner-city [lifestyle](/wiki/Lifestyle_(sociology)) is important for women with children where the father does not care equally for the child, because of the proximity to professional childcare.[[37]](#cite_note-37) This attracts single parents, specifically single mothers, to the inner-city as opposed to suburban areas. This is often deemed as "marginal gentrification," for the city can offer an easier solution to combining paid and unpaid labor. Inner city concentration increases the efficiency of commodities parents need by minimizing time constraints among multiple jobs, childcare, and markets.[[3]](#cite_note-3)

### Artists[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=25)]

[thumb|right|250px|**Gentrified:** Artists and bohemians are gentrifying](/wiki/File:Bedstuybrownstone1.jpg) [Bedford-Stuyvesant](/wiki/Bedford-Stuyvesant), New York City, traditionally the largest black community in the US.

[thumb|250px|**Gentrified:** Both wealthy](/wiki/File:Muenchen_hanssachsstrasse.jpg) [bohemians](/wiki/Bohemian) and homosexual individuals created apartments situated within the Glockenbach district of [Ludwigsvorstadt-Isarvorstadt](/wiki/Ludwigsvorstadt-Isarvorstadt) in [Munich](/wiki/Munich), Germany

Phillip Clay's two-stage model of gentrification places artists as prototypical stage one or "marginal" gentrifiers. [The National Endowment for the Arts](/wiki/The_National_Endowment_for_the_Arts) did a study that linked the proportion of employed artists to the rate of inner city gentrification across a number of U.S. cities.[[29]](#cite_note-29) Artists will typically accept the risks of rehabilitating deteriorated property, as well as have the time, skill, and ability to carry out these extensive renovations.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Ley states that the artist's critique of everyday life and search for meaning and renewal are what make them early recruits for gentrification.

The identity residence in the inner city provides is important for the gentrifier, and this is particularly so in the artists' case. Their cultural emancipation from the bourgeois makes the central city an appealing alternative to distance themselves from the conformity and mundaneness attributed to suburban life. They are quintessential city people, and the city is often a functional choice as well, for city life has advantages that include connections to customers and a closer proximity to a downtown art scene, all of which are more likely to be limited in a suburban setting. Ley's research cites a quote from a Vancouver printmaker talking about the importance of inner city life to an artist, that it has, "energy, intensity, hard to specify but hard to do without" (1996).

Ironically, these attributes that make artists characteristic marginal gentrifiers form the same foundations for their isolation as the gentrification process matures. The later stages of the process generate an influx of more affluent, "[yuppie](/wiki/Yuppie)" residents. As the [bohemian](/wiki/Bohemianism) character of the community grows, it appeals "not only to committed participants, but also to sporadic consumers,"[[40]](#cite_note-40) and the rising property values that accompany this migration often lead to the eventual pushing out of the artists that began the movement in the first place.[[3]](#cite_note-3) Sharon Zukin's study of SoHo in [Manhattan](/wiki/Manhattan), NYC was one of the most famous cases of this phenomenon. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, [Manhattan lofts](/wiki/Manhattan_loft) in [SoHo](/wiki/SoHo) were converted *en masse* into housing for artists and hippies, and then their sub-culture's followers.[[41]](#cite_note-41)

### Gay community[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=26)]

[Manuel Castells](/wiki/Manuel_Castells) has researched the role of gay communities, especially in [San Francisco](/wiki/San_Francisco), as early gentrifiers.[[42]](#cite_note-42) Hawley-Green a community in Syracuse has also under gone gentrification due to the work of people in LGBT community.[[43]](#cite_note-43) The film [*Quinceañera*](/wiki/Quinceañera_(film)) depicts a similar situation in Los Angeles. [*Flag Wars*](/wiki/Flag_Wars) (Linda Goode Bryant)[[44]](#cite_note-44) shows tensions as of 2003 between [LGBT](/wiki/LGBT)-newcomers and a black middle-class neighborhood in Columbus, Ohio.[[45]](#cite_note-45) Berlin's gay community is predominantly in [Schöneberg](/wiki/Berlin-Schöneberg). Conflicts arise due to anti-gay tendencies among Muslim Germans.[[46]](#cite_note-46) Koray Yılmaz-Günay, a [Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung](/wiki/Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung) coworker,[[47]](#cite_note-47) claims a correlation of gentrification and Islamo-phobic tendencies. Gay people would have gained acceptance by adopting anti-Islamic positions.[[48]](#cite_note-48)

## Control[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=27)]

To counter the gentrification of their mixed-populace communities, residents formally [organized](/wiki/Community_organizing) themselves to develop the necessary socio-political strategies required to retain local affordable housing. The gentrification of a mixed-income community raises [housing affordability](/wiki/Affordable_housing) to the fore of the community's politics.[[49]](#cite_note-49) Cities, municipalities, and counties have countered gentrification with [inclusionary zoning](/wiki/Inclusionary_zoning) (inclusionary housing) [ordinances](/wiki/Local_ordinance) requiring the apportionment of some new housing for the community's original low- and moderate-income residents. [Inclusionary zoning](/wiki/Inclusionary_zoning) is a new [social](/wiki/Sociology) concept in English speaking countries, there are few reports qualifying its effective or ineffective limitation of gentrification in the English literature. The basis of inclusionary zoning is partial replacement as opposed to displacement of the embedded communities.[[50]](#cite_note-50) In Los Angeles, California, inclusionary zoning apparently accelerated gentrification, as older, unprofitable buildings were razed and replaced with mostly high-rent housing, and a small percentage of affordable housing; the net result was less affordable housing.[[51]](#cite_note-51) German (speaking) municipalities have a strong legal role in zoning and on the real estate market in general and a long tradition of integrating social aspects in planning schemes and building regulations. The German approach uses en (milieu conservation municipal law), e.g. in Munichs Lehel district in use since the 1960s. The concepts of socially aware renovation and zoning of [Bolognas](/wiki/Bologna) old city in 1974 was used as role model in the Charta of Bologna, and recognized by the [Europarat](/wiki/Europarat).[[52]](#cite_note-52)

### Direct action and sabotage[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=28)]

[thumb|Coffee shop attacked with paint in alleged anti-gentrification attack in the](/wiki/File:Vandalized_coffee_shop_Montreal.jpg) [St-Henri neighborhood](/wiki/Saint-Henri,_Montreal) of [Montreal](/wiki/Montreal), January 2012. When wealthy people move into low-income working-class neighborhoods, the resulting class conflict sometimes involves [vandalism](/wiki/Vandalism) and arson targeting the property of the gentrifiers. During the [dot-com boom](/wiki/Dot-com_boom) of the late 1990s, the gentrification of San Francisco's predominantly working class [Mission District](/wiki/Mission_District) led some long-term neighborhood residents to create what they called the "Mission Yuppie Eradication Project.([image](http://artgoodhitlerbad.com/signs-and-wonders/war-is-not-fair-but-it-does-have-class/))" This group allegedly destroyed property and called for property destruction as part of a strategy to oppose gentrification. Their activities drew hostile responses from the [San Francisco Police Department](/wiki/San_Francisco_Police_Department), real estate interests, and "work-within-the-system" housing activists.[[53]](#cite_note-53) [Meibion Glyndŵr](/wiki/Meibion_Glyndŵr) ([Template:Lang-cy](/wiki/Template:Lang-cy)), also known as the Valley Commandos, was a [Welsh nationalist](/wiki/Welsh_nationalist) movement violently opposed to the loss of [Welsh culture](/wiki/Welsh_culture) and [language](/wiki/Welsh_language). They were formed in response to the housing crisis precipitated by large numbers of second homes being bought by the English which had increased house prices beyond the means of many locals. The group were responsible for setting fire to [English](/wiki/England)-owned [holiday homes](/wiki/Holiday_home) in [Wales](/wiki/Wales) from 1979 to the mid-1990s. In the first wave of attacks, eight holiday homes were destroyed in a month, and in 1980, Welsh Police carried out a series of raids in [Operation Tân](/wiki/Operation_Tân). Within the next ten years, some 220 properties were damaged by the campaign.[[54]](#cite_note-54) Since the mid-1990s the group has been inactive and Welsh nationalist violence has ceased. Berlin saw the [Schwabenhass](/wiki/Schwabenhass) and 2013 Spätzlerstreit controversies,[[55]](#cite_note-55) which identified gentrification with newcomers from the German south.

### Inclusionary zoning[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=29)]

[thumb|Canale delle Moline in Bologna](/wiki/File:Bologna014.jpg)

### Zoning ordinances[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=30)]

Zoning ordinances and other [urban planning](/wiki/Urban_planning) tools can be used to recognize and support local business and industries. This can include requiring developers to continue with a current commercial tenant or offering development incentives for keeping existing businesses, as well as creating and maintaining industrial zones. Designing zoning to allow new housing near to a commercial corridor but not on top of it increases foot traffic to local businesses without redeveloping them. Businesses can become more stable by securing long-term commercial leases.[[56]](#cite_note-56) Although developers may recognize value in responding to living patterns, extensive zoning policies often prevent affordable homes from being constructed within urban development. Due to urban density restrictions, rezoning for residential development within urban living areas is difficult, which forces the builder and the market into urban sprawl and propagates the energy inefficiencies that come with distance from urban centers. In a recent example of restrictive urban zoning requirements, Arcadia Development Co. was prevented from rezoning a parcel for residential development in an urban setting within the city of Morgan Hill, California. With limitations established in the interest of public welfare, a density restriction was applied solely to Arcadia Development Co.'s parcel of development, excluding any planned residential expansion.[[57]](#cite_note-57)

### Community land trusts[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=31)]

Because land [speculation](/wiki/Speculation) tends to raise property values, removing real estate (houses, buildings, land) from the open market stabilizes property values, and thereby prevents the economic eviction of the community's poorer residents. The most common, formal [legal](/wiki/Law) mechanism for such stability in English speaking countries is the [community land trust](/wiki/Community_land_trust); moreover, many [inclusionary zoning](/wiki/Inclusionary_zoning) ordinances formally place the "inclusionary" housing units in a [land trust](/wiki/Land_trust). German municipalities and other cooperative actors have and maintain strong roles on the real estate markets in their realm.

### Rent control[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=32)]

In jurisdictions where local or national government has these powers, there may be [rent control](/wiki/Rent_control) regulations. Rent control restricts the rent that can be charged, so that incumbent tenants are not forced out by rising rents. If applicable to private landlords, it is a disincentive to speculating with property values, reduces the incidence of dwellings left empty, and limits availability of housing for new residents. If the law does not restrict the rent charged for dwellings that come onto the rental market (formerly owner-occupied or new build), rents in an area can still increase. The cities of southwestern [Santa Monica](/wiki/Santa_Monica,_California) and eastern [West Hollywood](/wiki/West_Hollywood,_California) in [California](/wiki/California), United States gentrified despite—or perhaps, because of—rent control.[[58]](#cite_note-58) Occasionally, a housing [black market](/wiki/Black_market) develops, wherein landlords withdraw houses and apartments from the market, making them available only upon payment of additional [key money](/wiki/Key_money), fees, or bribes—thus undermining the rent control law. Many such laws allow "vacancy decontrol", releasing a dwelling from rent control upon the tenant's leaving—resulting in steady losses of rent-controlled housing, ultimately rendering rent control laws ineffective in communities with a high rate of resident turnover. In other cases [social housing](/wiki/Social_housing) owned by local authorities may be [sold to tenants](/wiki/Right_to_buy_scheme) and then sold on. Vacancy decontrol encourages landlords to find ways of shortening their residents' tenure, most aggressively through [landlord harassment](/wiki/Landlord_harassment). To strengthen the rent control laws of [New York City, New York](/wiki/New_York_City,_New_York), housing advocates active in [rent control in New York](/wiki/Rent_control_in_New_York) are attempting to repeal the vacancy decontrol clauses of rent control laws. The state of [Massachusetts](/wiki/Massachusetts) abolished rent control in 1994; afterwards, rents rose, accelerating the pace of [Boston's](/wiki/Boston) gentrification; however, the laws protected few apartments, and confounding factors, such as a strong economy, had already been raising housing and rental prices.[[59]](#cite_note-59)

## Examples[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=33)]

### Inner London, England[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=34)]

Gentrification is not a new phenomenon in Britain; in [ancient Rome](/wiki/Ancient_Rome) the shop-free forum was developed during the [Roman Republican](/wiki/Roman_Republic) period, and in 2nd- and 3rd-century cities in [Roman Britain](/wiki/Roman_Britain) there is evidence of small shops being replaced by large [villas](/wiki/Roman_villa).<ref name=Roman>[Trade, traders, and the ancient city, ed. Helen Parkins and Christopher John Smith, Routledge, 1998, p197]</ref>

[King's College London](/wiki/King's_College_London) academic Loretta Lees reported that much of inner-city [London](/wiki/London) was undergoing "super-gentrification", where "a new group of super-wealthy professionals, working in the [City of London](/wiki/City_of_London), is slowly imposing its mark on this Inner London housing market, in a way that differentiates it, and them, from traditional gentrifiers, and from the traditional urban upper classes ... Super-gentrification is quite different from the classical version of gentrification. It's of a higher economic order; you need a much higher salary and bonuses to live in [Barnsbury](/wiki/Barnsbury)" (some two miles north of [central](/wiki/City_center) London).<ref name=TimesSuperGentrification/>

Barnsbury was built around 1820, as a middle-class suburb, but after the [Second World War](/wiki/World_War_II) (1939–1945), people moved to the suburbs. The upper and middle classes were fleeing from the working class residents of London; the modern railway allowed it. At the war's end, the great housing demand rendered Barnsbury the place of cheap housing, where most people shared [accommodation](/wiki/Wikt:accommodation). In the late 1950s and early 1960s, people moving into the area had to finance house renovations with their money, because banks rarely financed loans for Barnsbury. Moreover, the rehabilitating spark was *The 1959 Housing Purchase and Housing Act*, investing £100 million to rehabilitating old properties and [infrastructure](/wiki/Infrastructure). As a result, the principal population influx occurred between 1961 and 1975; the UK Census reports that "between the years of 1961 and 1981, [owner](/wiki/Owner)-occupation increased from 7 to 19 per cent, furnished rentals declined from 14 to 7 per cent, and unfurnished rentals declined from 61 to 6 per cent";[[60]](#cite_note-60) another example of urban gentrification is the super-gentrification, in the 1990s, of the neighboring working-class [London Borough](/wiki/London_Borough) of [Islington](/wiki/Islington), where Prime minister [Tony Blair](/wiki/Tony_Blair) moved upon his election in 1997.<ref name=TimesSuperGentrification>[Template:Cite web](/wiki/Template:Cite_web)</ref>

### United States[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=35)]

From a market standpoint, there are two main requirements that are met by the U.S. cities that undergo substantial effects of gentrification. These are: an excess supply of deteriorated housing in central areas, as well as a considerable growth in the availability of professional jobs located in central business districts. These conditions have been met in the U.S. largely as a result of suburbanization and other postindustrial phenomena.

Starting in the 1960s and 1970s, U.S. industry has created a surplus of housing units as construction of new homes has far surpassed the rate of national household growth. However, the market forces that are dictated by an excess supply cannot fully explain the geographical specificity of gentrification in the U.S., for there are many large cities that meet this requirement and have not exhibited gentrification. The missing link is another factor that can be explained by particular, necessary demand forces. In U.S. cities in the time period from 1970 to 1978, growth of the central business district at around 20% did not dictate conditions for gentrification, while growth at or above 33% yielded appreciably larger gentrification activity.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Succinctly, central business district growth will activate gentrification in the presence of a surplus in the inner city housing market.

In the U.S., these conditions were generated by the economic transition from manufacturing to [post-industrial](/wiki/Post-industrial_society) [service economies](/wiki/Service_economy). The post-[World War II](/wiki/World_War_II) economy experienced a service revolution, which created white-collar jobs and larger opportunities for women in the work force, as well as an expansion in the importance of centralized administrative and cooperate activities. This increased the demand for inner city residences, which were readily available cheaply after much of the movement towards central city abandonment of the 1950s. The coupling of these movements is what became the trigger for the expansive gentrification of U.S. cities, including [Atlanta](/wiki/Atlanta), [Boston](/wiki/Boston), [Philadelphia](/wiki/Philadelphia), [St. Louis](/wiki/St._Louis), and [Washington, D.C.](/wiki/Washington,_D.C.) [[27]](#cite_note-27) Measurement of the rate of gentrification during the period from 1990 to 2010 in 50 U.S. cities showed an increase in the rate of gentrification from 9% in the decade of the 1990s to 20% in the decade from 2000 to 2010 with 8% of the urban neighborhoods in the 50 cities being affected.

Cities with a rate of gentrification of ≈40% or more in the decade from 2000 to 2010 included:<ref name=GoverningRanking>[Template:Cite web](/wiki/Template:Cite_web)</ref>

* [Portland, Oregon](/wiki/Portland,_Oregon) 58.1%
* [Washington, DC](/wiki/Washington,_DC) 51.9%
* [Minneapolis, Minnesota](/wiki/Minneapolis,_Minnesota) 50.6%
* [Seattle](/wiki/Seattle,_Washington) 50%
* [Atlanta](/wiki/Atlanta,_Georgia) 46.2%
* [Virginia Beach](/wiki/Virginia_Beach,_Virginia) 46.2%
* [Denver](/wiki/Denver,_Colorado) 42.1%
* [Austin](/wiki/Austin,_Texas) 39.7%

Cities with a rate of less than 10% in the decade from 2000 to 2010 included:[[61]](#cite_note-61)\*[Memphis](/wiki/Memphis,_Tennessee) 8.8%

* [Tucson](/wiki/Tucson,_Arizona) 8.3%
* [Tulsa](/wiki/Tulsa,_Oklahoma) 7%
* [Cleveland](/wiki/Cleveland,_Ohio) 6.7%
* [Detroit](/wiki/Detroit,_Michigan) 2.8%
* [Las Vegas, Nevada](/wiki/Las_Vegas,_Nevada) 2%
* [El Paso](/wiki/El_Paso,_Texas) 0%
* [Arlington, Texas](/wiki/Arlington,_Texas) 0%

#### Atlanta[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=36)]

[thumb|right|](/wiki/File:Atlanta_etc._019.jpg)[Bungalows](/wiki/Bungalows) in [Atlanta's](/wiki/Atlanta) [Inman Park](/wiki/Inman_Park) neighborhood, United States.

[Template:Main article](/wiki/Template:Main_article) [Gentrification in Atlanta](/wiki/Gentrification_in_Atlanta) has been taking place in its [inner-city neighborhoods](/wiki/Intown_Atlanta) since the 1970s. Many of Atlanta's neighborhoods experienced the urban flight that affected other major American cities in the 20th century, causing the decline of once upper and upper-middle-class [east side](/wiki/Neighborhoods_of_Atlanta#East_Side) neighborhoods. In the 1970s, after neighborhood opposition blocked two [freeways](/wiki/Interstate_485_(Georgia)) from being built through the east side, its neighborhoods such as [Inman Park](/wiki/Inman_Park) and [Virginia-Highland](/wiki/Virginia-Highland) became the starting point for the city's gentrification wave, first becoming affordable neighborhoods attracting young people, and by 2000 having become relatively affluent areas attracting people from across [Metro Atlanta](/wiki/Metro_Atlanta) to their upscale shops and restaurants.[[62]](#cite_note-62) In the 1990s and 2000s, gentrification expanded into other parts of Atlanta, spreading throughout the historic [streetcar suburbs](/wiki/Streetcar_suburb) east of Downtown and Midtown, mostly areas that had long had black majorities such as the [Old Fourth Ward](/wiki/Old_Fourth_Ward), [Kirkwood](/wiki/Kirkwood_(Atlanta)), [Reynoldstown](/wiki/Reynoldstown) and [Edgewood](/wiki/Edgewood_(Atlanta)). On the western side of the city, once-industrial [West Midtown](/wiki/West_Midtown) became a vibrant neighborhood full of residential lofts and a nexus of the arts, restaurants, and home furnishings. Gentrification by young African Americans was also taking place in the 1990s in southwest Atlanta neighborhoods, .[[63]](#cite_note-63) The [BeltLine](/wiki/BeltLine) trail construction is expected to bring further gentrification in the neighborhoods alongside which it runs. Concerns about displacement of existing working-class black residents by increasing numbers of more affluent whites moving in are expressed by author [Nathan McCall](/wiki/Nathan_McCall) in his novel *Them*,[[64]](#cite_note-64) in The *Atlanta Progressive News*,[[65]](#cite_note-65) and in the documentary [*The Atlanta Way*](/wiki/The_Atlanta_Way_(film)).

#### Boston[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=37)]

The city of [Boston, Massachusetts](/wiki/Boston,_Massachusetts), has seen several neighborhoods undergo significant periods of urban renewal, specifically during the 1960s to the 1980s. Called "turbo-gentrification" by sociologist Alan Wolfe, particular areas of study of the process have been done in South End, Bay Village, and West Cambridge. In Boston's [North End](/wiki/North_End,_Boston), the destruction of the noisy [Central Artery](/wiki/John_F._Fitzgerald_Expressway) elevated highway attracted younger, more affluent new residents, in place of the traditional Italian immigrant culture.[[66]](#cite_note-66) The gentrification of the Beacon Hill area was also the object of focus of the New York Times in 1999; Carey Goldberg wrote, "from shabby gentility to $3 million price tags on town houses without garages that allow passers-by on snowy days the unusual sight of a billionaire or two clearing off their cars." Houses in the area were being sold for $100,000 in 1970, and first entered the 1 million range in 1984. Other neighborhoods of the Boston area show similar statistics on the influx of affluent residents to previously deteriorated housing areas, as well as the spike in property values and political and social activity for new residents that are often distinctive of the gentrification process.[[67]](#cite_note-67)

South End

In the early 1960s, Boston's [South End](/wiki/South_End,_Boston) had a great many characteristics of a neighborhood that is prime for gentrification. The available housing was architecturally sound and unique row houses in a location with high accessibility to urban transport services, while surrounded by small squares and parks. A majority of the area had also been designated a [National Historic District](/wiki/Historic_districts_in_the_United_States).

South End became deteriorated by the 1960s. Many of the row houses had been converted to cheap apartments, and the neighborhood was plagued by dominant, visible poverty. The majority of the residents were working-class individuals and families with a significant need for public housing and other social services. The situation was recognized by local governments as unfavorable, and in 1960 became the target of an [urban renewal](/wiki/Urban_renewal) effort of the city.

The construction of the [Prudential Tower](/wiki/Prudential_Tower) complex that was finished in 1964 along the northwest border of South End was a spark for this urban-renewal effort and the gentrification process for the area that surrounded it. The complex increased job availability in the area, and the cheap housing stock of South End began to attract a new wave of residents. The next 15 years saw an influx of predominantly affluent, young professionals who purchased and renovated houses in South End. Unfortunately, tension characterized the relationship between these new residents and the previous residents of the neighborhood. Clashes in the vision for the area's future was the main source of conflict. The previous, poorer residents, contended that "renewal" should focus on bettering the plight of South End's poor, while new, middle-class residents heavily favored private market investment opportunities and shunned efforts such as subsidized housing with the belief that they would flood the market and raise personal security concerns.[[68]](#cite_note-68)

Bay Village

The late 1940s was a transition for the area from primarily families with children as residents to a population dominated by both retired residents and transient renters. The 2–3 story brick row houses were largely converted to low-cost lodging houses, and the neighborhood came to be described as "blighted" and "down at heel." This deterioration was largely blamed on the transient population.

The year 1957 began the upgrading of what was to become [Bay Village](/wiki/Bay_Village,_Boston), and these changes were mainly attributed to new artists and gay men moving to the area. These "marginal" gentrifiers made significant efforts towards superficial beautification as well as rehabilitation of their new homes, setting the stage for realtors to promote the rising value of the area.

Of the homebuyers in Bay Village from 1957 to 1975, 92% had careers as white-collar professionals. 42% of these homebuyers were 25–34 years old. The majority of them were highly educated and moving from a previous residence in the city, suggesting ties to an urban-based educational institution. The reasons new homebuyers gave for their choice of residence in Bay Village was largely attributed to its proximity to downtown, as well as an appreciation for city life over that of suburbia (Pattison 1977).

West Cambridge

The development and gentrification of [West Cambridge](/wiki/West_Cambridge_(neighborhood)) began in 1960 as the resident population began to shift away from the traditional majority of working class [Irish immigrants](/wiki/Irish_diaspora). The period of 1960–1975 had large shifts in homebuyer demographics comparable to that experienced by Bay Village. Professional occupations were overrepresented in homebuyers during this 15-year period, as well as the age group of 25–34 years old. Residents reported a visible lack of social ties between new homebuyers and the original residents. However, displacement was not cited as a problem because the primary reason of housing sale remained the death of the sole-surviving member of the household or the death of a spouse.

Researcher Timothy Pattison divided the gentrification process of West Cambridge into two main stages. Stage one began with various architects and architectural students who were attracted to the affordability of the neighborhood. The renovations efforts these "marginal" gentrifiers undertook seemed to spark a new interest in the area, perhaps as word of the cheap land spread to the wider student community.

The Peabody Schools also served as an enticing factor for the new gentrifiers for both stages of new homebuyers. Stage two of the process brought more architects to the area as well as non-architect professionals, often employed at a university institution. The buyers in stage two cited Peabody schools and the socioeconomic mix of the neighborhood as primary reasons for their residential choice, as well as a desire to avoid job commutes and a disenchantment with the suburban life.[[69]](#cite_note-69)

#### Philadelphia: Darien Street[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=38)]

*Gentrification Amid Urban Decline: Strategies for America's Older Cities*, by Michael Lang,[[70]](#cite_note-70) reports the process and impact (social, economic, cultural) of gentrification. In particular, it focuses on the section of Darien Street (a north-south street running intermittently from South to North Philadelphia) which is essentially an alley in the populous [Bella Vista](/wiki/Bella_Vista,_Philadelphia,_Pennsylvania) neighborhood. That part of Darien Street was a "back street", because it does not connect to any of the city's main arteries and was unpaved for most of its existence.

In its early days, this area of Darien Street housed only Italian families, however, after the [Second World War](/wiki/World_War_II) (1939–1945), when the municipal government spoke of building a cross-town highway, the families moved out. Most of the houses date from 1885 (built for the artisans and craftsmen who worked and lived in the area), but, when the Italian Americans moved out, the community's low-rent houses went to poor African American families. Moreover, by the early 1970s, [blighted](/wiki/Urban_blight) Darien Street was at its lowest point as a community, because the houses held little [property value](/wiki/Property_value), many were abandoned, having broken heaters and collapsed roofs, et cetera.[[71]](#cite_note-71) Furthermore, the houses were very small — approximately [Template:Convert](/wiki/Template:Convert) wide and [Template:Convert](/wiki/Template:Convert) deep, each had three one-room stories (locally known, and still currently advertised as a "Trinity" style house) and the largest yard was [Template:Convert](/wiki/Template:Convert) deep. Despite the decay, Darien Street remained charmed with European echoes, each house was architecturally different, contributing to the street's community character; children were safe, there was no car traffic. The closeness of the houses generated a closely knit community located just to the south of [Center City](/wiki/Center_City,_Philadelphia), an inexpensive residential neighborhood a short distance from the city-life amenities of Philadelphia; the city government did not hesitate to [rehabilitate](/wiki/Urban_renewal) it.

The gentrification began in 1977; the first house rehabilitated was a corner property that a school teacher re-modeled and occupied. The next years featured (mostly) white middle-class men moving into the abandoned houses; the first displacement of original Darien Street residents occurred in 1979. Two years later, five of seven families had been economically evicted with inflated housing prices; the two remaining families were renters, expecting eventual displacement. In five years, from 1977 to 1982, the gentrification of Darien Street reduced the original population from seven black households and one white household, to two black households and eleven white households. The average rent increased 488 per cent — from $85 to $500 a month; by 1981, a house bought for $5,000 sold for $35,000. Of the five black households displaced, three found better houses within two blocks of their original residence, one family left Pennsylvania, and one family moved into a [public housing](/wiki/Public_housing) apartment building five blocks from Darien Street.[[72]](#cite_note-72) The benefits of the Darien Street gentrification included increased property tax revenues and better-quality housing. The principal detriment was residential displacement via higher priced housing.[[73]](#cite_note-73)

#### Washington, DC[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=39)]

Gentrification in [Washington, D.C.](/wiki/Washington,_D.C.) is one of the most studied examples of the process, as well as one of the most extreme. The process in the [U Street Corridor](/wiki/U_Street_Corridor) and other downtown areas has recently become a major issue, and the resulting changes have led to [African-Americans](/wiki/African-Americans) dropping from a majority to a minority of the population, as they move out and middle-class whites and Asians have moved in.[[74]](#cite_note-74) D.C. is one of the top three cities with the most pronounced capital flow into its "core" neighborhoods, a measurement that has been used to detect areas experiencing gentrification. Researcher Franklin James found that, of these core areas, [Capitol Hill](/wiki/Capitol_Hill) was significantly revitalized during the decade of 1960–1970, and by the end of the decade this revitalization had extended outward in a ring around this core area.[[27]](#cite_note-27) Dennis Gale studied these 'Revitalization Areas,' which include [Dupont Circle](/wiki/Dupont_Circle), [Adams Morgan](/wiki/Adams_Morgan), and Capitol Hill neighborhoods, and as compared to the rest of the district found that these areas were experiencing a faster rate of [depopulation](/wiki/Population_decline) in the 1970s than the surrounding areas. [U.S. census data](/wiki/United_States_Census) show that in the Revitalization Areas, the percent of population with four or more years of college education rose from 24% in 1970 to 47% in 1980, as opposed to an increase of 21% to 24% for the remaining areas of D.C. Additionally, Gale's data show in 1970 that 73% of the residents living in the Revitalization Areas had been residents since 1965, as opposed to only 66% of the residents living there in 1975 had been residents of the area in 1970 as well.[[27]](#cite_note-27) The gentrification during this time period resulted in a significant problem of displacement for marginalized D.C. residents in the 1970s.[[27]](#cite_note-27) A decrease in the stock of affordable housing for needy households as well as non[subsidized housing](/wiki/Subsidized_housing) for low-income workers has had a burdensome effect on individuals and families.[[75]](#cite_note-75) As a result of gentrification, however, Washington, D.C.'s safety has improved drastically. In the early 1990s, the city had an average of 500 homicides a year; by 2012, the rate had dropped by more than 80% to about 100[[76]](#cite_note-76) before again seeing a 54% spike in 2015 over 2014.[[77]](#cite_note-77) Many of the city's poorer residents were pushed out to [Charles County, Maryland](/wiki/Charles_County,_Maryland) and [Prince George's County, Maryland](/wiki/Prince_George's_County,_Maryland). Prince George's County saw a huge spark of violent crimes in 2008 and 2009, but the rate has decreased since then.

#### San Francisco[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=40)]

The technology industry has been identified as a driver of gentrification in [Silicon Valley](/wiki/Silicon_Valley) cities such as [San Francisco](/wiki/San_Francisco). Private shuttle buses operated by companies such as [Google](/wiki/Google) have driven up rents in areas near their stops, leading to some [protests](/wiki/Google_bus_protests).[[78]](#cite_note-78)

### Canada[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=41)]

[Template:As of](/wiki/Template:As_of), gentrification in Canada has proceeded quickly in older and denser cities such as [Montreal](/wiki/Montreal), [Toronto](/wiki/Toronto), [Ottawa](/wiki/Ottawa) and [Vancouver](/wiki/Vancouver), but has barely begun in places such as Calgary, Edmonton, or Winnipeg, where suburban expansion is still the primary type of growth. Since Canada did not experience the same degree of "white flight" as in the U.S. during the 1960s and 70s, the term "gentrification" in Canada is not synonymous with predominantly-white people moving into the neighborhoods of people of color, as it is in the United States. In fact in Toronto and Vancouver recent Asian immigrants and foreign buyers are also major purchasers of downtown housing, contributing to a major housing price spike in those cities in 2011.[[79]](#cite_note-79) See: [Gentrification of Vancouver](/wiki/Gentrification_of_Vancouver)

### France[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=42)]

In Paris, most poor neighborhoods in the east have seen rising prices and the arrival of many wealthy residents. However, the process is mitigated by social housing and most cities tend to favor a "social mix"; that is, having both low and high-income residents in the same neighborhoods. But in practice, social housing does not cater to the poorest segment of the population; most residents of social dwellings are from the low-end of the middle class. As a result, a lot of poor people have been forced to go first to the close suburbs (1970 to 2000) and then more and more to remote "periurban areas" where public transport is almost nonexistent. The close suburbs (Saint-Ouen, Saint Denis, Aubervilliers, ...) are now in the early stages of gentrification although still poor. A lot of high-profile companies offering well-paid jobs have moved near Saint-Denis and new real-estate programs are underway to provide living areas close to the new jobs.

On the other side, the eviction of the poorest people to periurban areas since 2000 has been analyzed as the main cause for the rising political far-right national front. When the poor lived in the close suburbs, their problems were very visible to the wealthy population. But the periurban population and its problem is mainly "invisible" from recent presidential campaign promises. These people have labelled themselves "les invisibles". Many of them fled both rising costs in Paris and nearby suburbs with an insecure and ugly environment to live in small houses in the countryside but close to the city. But they did not factor in the huge financial and human cost of having up to four hours of transportation every day. Since then, a lot has been invested in the close suburbs (with new public transports set to open and urban renewal programs) they fled, but almost nobody cares of these "invisible" plots of land. Since the close suburbs are now mostly inhabited by immigrants, these people have a strong resentment against immigration: They feel everything is done for new immigrants but nothing for the native French population.

This has been first documented in the book *Plaidoyer pour une gauche populaire* by think-tank Terra-Nova which had a major influence on all contestants in the presidential election (and at least, Sarkozy, [François Hollande](/wiki/François_Hollande), and [Marine Le Pen](/wiki/Marine_Le_Pen)). This electorate voted overwhelmingly in favor of Marine Le Pen and Sarkozy while the city centers and close suburbs voted overwhelmingly for François Hollande.

Most major metropolises in France follow the same pattern with a belt of periurban development about 30 to 80 kilometers of the center where a lot of poor people moved in and are now trapped by rising fuel costs. These communities have been disrupted by the arrival of new people and already suffered of high unemployment due to the dwindling numbers of industrial jobs.

In smaller cities, the suburbs are still the principal place where people live and the center is more and more akin to a commercial estate where a lot of commercial activities take place but where few people live.

### Cape Town, South Africa[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=43)]

The [*Bo-Kaap*](/wiki/Bo-Kaap) pocket of [Cape Town](/wiki/Cape_Town) nestles against the slopes of Signal Hill. It has traditionally been occupied by members of South Africa's minority, mainly Muslim, [Cape Malay](/wiki/Cape_Malay) community. These descendants of artisans and political captives, brought to the Cape as early as the 18th century as slaves and indentured workers, were housed in small barrack-like abodes on what used to be the outskirts of town. As the city limits increased, property in the Bo-Kaap became very sought after, not only for its location but also for its picturesque cobble-streets and narrow avenues. Increasingly, this close-knit community is "facing a slow dissolution of its distinctive character as wealthy outsiders move into the suburb to snap up homes in the City Bowl at cut-rate prices".[[80]](#cite_note-80) Inter-community conflict has also arisen as some residents object to the sale of buildings and the resultant eviction of long-term residents.

### Italy[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=44)]

[thumb|right|Design street in Milan's](/wiki/File:Via_Tortona_-_design_street.jpg) [Zona Tortona](/wiki/Zona_Tortona). In [Italy](/wiki/Italy), similarly to other countries around the world, the phenomenon of gentrification is proceeding in the largest cities, such as [Milan](/wiki/Milan), [Turin](/wiki/Turin), [Genoa](/wiki/Genoa) and [Rome](/wiki/Rome).[[81]](#cite_note-81)[[82]](#cite_note-82) In Milan, gentrification is changing the look of some semi-central neighborhoods, just outside the inner ring road (called [*Cerchia dei Bastioni*](/wiki/Walls_of_Milan#Spanish_walls)), particularly of former working class and industrial areas. One of the most well known case is the neighborhood of [Isola](/wiki/Isola_(district_of_Milan)). Despite its position, this area has been for a long time considered as a suburb since it has been an isolated part of the city, due to the physical barriers such as the railways and the [Naviglio Martesana](/wiki/Naviglio_Martesana). In the 50s, a new [business district](/wiki/Centro_Direzionale_di_Milano) has been built not far from this area, but Isola remained a distant and low-class area. In the [2000s](/wiki/2000s_(decade)) vigorous efforts to make Isola as a symbolic place of the Milan of the future have been carried out and, with this aim, the Porta Garibaldi-Isola districts became attractors for stylists and artists.[[82]](#cite_note-82)[[83]](#cite_note-83) Moreover, in the second half of the same decade, a massive urban rebranding project, known as [*Progetto Porta Nuova*](/wiki/Progetto_Porta_Nuova), has started and the neighborhood of Isola, despite the compliances residents have had,[[84]](#cite_note-84) has been one of the regenerated areas, with the [*Bosco Verticale*](/wiki/Bosco_Verticale) and the new *Giardini di Porta Nuova*.

Another semi-central district that has undergone this phenomenon in Milan is [Zona Tortona](/wiki/Zona_Tortona). Former industrial area situated behind [Porta Genova station](/wiki/Milano_Porta_Genova_railway_station), Zona Tortona is nowadays the mecca of Italian design and annually hosts some of the most important events of the [*Fuorisalone*](/wiki/Milan_Design_Week) during which more than 150 expositors, such as [Superstudio](/wiki/Superstudio), take part.[[85]](#cite_note-85)[[86]](#cite_note-86) In Zona Tortona, some of important landmarks, related to culture, design and arts, are located such as *Fondazione* [*Pomodoro*](/wiki/Arnaldo_Pomodoro), the [*Armani/Silos*](/wiki/Armani/Silos), *Spazio A* and *MUDEC*.

Going towards the outskirts of the city, other gentrified areas of Milan are [Lambrate-Ventura](/wiki/Lambrate) (where others events of the *Fuorisalone* are hosted),[[87]](#cite_note-87)[[88]](#cite_note-88) [Bicocca](/wiki/Bicocca_(district_of_Milan)) and [Bovisa](/wiki/Bovisa) (in which universities have contributed to the gentrification of the areas), [Sesto San Giovanni](/wiki/Sesto_San_Giovanni), Via Sammartini, and the so-called [NoLo](/wiki/Piazzale_Loreto) district (which means *Nord di Loreto*).[[89]](#cite_note-89)

## See also[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=45)]

* [Ghost town](/wiki/Ghost_town)
* [Deindustrialization](/wiki/Deindustrialization)
* [Modern ruins](/wiki/Modern_ruins)
* [Rural flight](/wiki/Rural_flight)
* [Urban exploration](/wiki/Urban_exploration)
* [Urban decay](/wiki/Urban_decay), the reverse process
* [Urban Renewal](/wiki/Urban_Renewal)
* [White flight](/wiki/White_flight)

**General:**

* [Urban economics](/wiki/Urban_economics)
* [Urban planning](/wiki/Urban_planning)
* [Urban theory](/wiki/Urban_theory)

## Notes[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=46)]

[Template:Reflist](/wiki/Template:Reflist)

## References[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=47)]

[Template:Refbegin](/wiki/Template:Refbegin)

* Booza, Jason, Cutsinger, Jackie, and Galster, George. "[Where Did They Go? The Decline of Middle-Income Neighborhoods in Metropolitan America](http://www.brook.edu/metro/pubs/20060622_middleclass.htm)." [Brookings Institution](/wiki/Brookings_Institution), July 28, 2006.
* [Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)
* Freeman, Lance. *There Goes the 'Hood*:Views of Gentrification from the Ground Up*. Temple University: 2006. ISBN 978-1-59213-437-3.*
* Friedman, John. "The world-city hypothesis." From World Cities in a World-System, Paul L. Knox and Peter J. Taylor (eds), Cambridge UP, 1995, pp. 317–331. (originally published 1986).
* [Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)
* [Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)
* Lang, Michael. Gentrification Amid Urban Decline. Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1982.
* Lees, Loretta, et al. eds. *The Gentrification Reader* (2010), classic articles
* [Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)
* Lloyd, Richard. *Neo-Bohemia.* Routledge, 2006. ISBN 0-415-95182-8.
* [Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)
* [Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)
* [Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)
* Smith, N. (1996) The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City. (Routledge, London).
* Zukin, Sharon. *Loft Living*. Rutgers UP, 1989. ISBN 0-8135-1389-8 (originally published 1982).

[Template:Refend](/wiki/Template:Refend)

## Further reading[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=48)]

[Template:Refbegin](/wiki/Template:Refbegin)

* Brooklyn Heights 1958 "[Community Conservation and Improvement Council](http://brooklynheightsblog.com/archives/17343)"
* Brown-Saracino, Japnica. *A Neighborhood That Never Changes: Gentrification, Social Preservation, and the Search for Authenticity* (Chicago: [University of Chicago Press](/wiki/University_of_Chicago_Press), 2010) 334 pages; Sociological study of newcomers' attitudes toward preserving community character based on fieldwork in the Chicago neighborhoods of Andersonville and Argyle as well as in Dresden, Me., and Provincetown, Mass.
* [Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)
* [Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)
* Ley, David. "Alternative explanations for inner-city gentrification: a Canadian assessment." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 1986, v. 76, pp. 521–535.
* Ley, David. "Reply: the rent-gap revisited." Annals of the Association of the American Geographers 1987, v. 77, pp. 465–468.
* [Template:Cite news](/wiki/Template:Cite_news)
* [Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)
* Moore, Keith. ["From redline to renaissance"](http://www.salon.com/news/feature/1999/08/02/harlem/print.html). [*Salon.com*](/wiki/Salon.com), August 2, 1999.
* [Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)
* [Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)
* [Template:Cite book](/wiki/Template:Cite_book)
* [Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)
* [Template:Cite journal](/wiki/Template:Cite_journal)
* [Gentrification in America Report, *Governing* February, 2015](http://www.governing.com/gov-data/census/gentrification-in-cities-governing-report.html)

## External links[[edit](/index.php?title=(none)&action=edit&section=49)]

[Template:Wikiquote](/wiki/Template:Wikiquote) [Template:Wiktionary](/wiki/Template:Wiktionary)

[Template:Real estate](/wiki/Template:Real_estate)

[Category:Affordable housing](/wiki/Category:Affordable_housing) [Category:Gentrification](/wiki/Category:Gentrification) [Category:Urban economics](/wiki/Category:Urban_economics) [Category:Urban geography](/wiki/Category:Urban_geography) [Category:Urban renewal](/wiki/Category:Urban_renewal) [Category:Urban studies and planning terminology](/wiki/Category:Urban_studies_and_planning_terminology) [Category:Urbanization](/wiki/Category:Urbanization)