

# PRRAC

## *Poverty & Race Research Action Council*

1200 18<sup>th</sup> St. NW • Suite 200 • Washington, DC 20036 • 202/906-8023 • Fax 202/842-2885  
www.prrac.org

### **Annotated bibliography – recent literature on gentrification, with an emphasis on policies to protect and benefit existing residents of gentrifying neighborhoods (September 2013)<sup>1</sup>**

**Anderson, Matthew B., and Carolina Sternberg. (2013). “‘Non-White’ Gentrification in Chicago’s Bronzeville and Pilsen: Racial Economy and the Intraurban Contingency of Urban Redevelopment.” *Urban Affairs Review* 49(3).**

Abstract: Urban redevelopment governances are commonly treated as singular, monolithic entities that are interactively homogeneous, deploying uniform ensembles of policies and practices across their respective cities. This study, alternatively, reveals these formations as adroitly proactive and interactively heterogeneous across their respective cities. Through a racial economy lens, we empirically examine the racial contours of this “governance heterogeneity” in one urban setting: Chicago, Illinois. In this frame, a comparative analysis of Chicago’s Bronzeville and Pilsen neighborhoods is presented. Both neighborhoods are constituted by different racial profiles: Bronzeville is home to a predominantly African-American population, whereas Pilsen is mostly Mexican and Mexican-American. The study reveals that redevelopment governances are differentially responsive to established, deeply rooted racialized conceptions of “Blackness” and “Latinoness.” As a result, the form and trajectory of redevelopment in both settings has unfolded in markedly different ways.

**Bader, M. (2011). Reassessing residential preferences for redevelopment. *City & Community*, 10(3), 311-337.**

Abstract: While scholars argue that redevelopment and gentrification result in large part from the unique preferences of middle-class residents moving to neighborhoods after decades of flight, almost all of this evidence is extrapolated from the behavior of residents already living in redeveloped neighborhoods. I argue that understanding the consequences of redevelopment, particularly urban policies advocating redevelopment, requires measuring the preferences for redeveloped neighborhoods among the broader metropolitan population. Using data from a representative sample of Chicago metropolitan area adults, I find that homeowners and renters differ in their patterns of preferences for redeveloped neighborhoods: city or suburban residence is more important for homeowners while race is a much stronger factor among renters. This reassessment of

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<sup>1</sup> “Abstracts” of articles presented in this bibliography are copied verbatim from the published article. “Summaries” of articles were drafted by PRRAC staff.

preference patterns highlights the potential for redevelopment policies to fall short of intended goals to attract investment and alleviate racial segregation.

**Betancur, J. (2011). Gentrification and community fabric in Chicago. *Urban Studies*, 48(2), 383-406.**

Abstract: Critical authors of gentrification point to its deleterious impacts on displaced residents. Research on the nature or actual forms of impacts has not advanced much, however. This paper attempts to specify impacts on low-income racial/ethnic groups (Latinos in particular) in five Chicago neighborhoods, with a particular focus on neighborhood-based fabrics of support and advancement. Limited in their mobility and exchange value resources, lower-income groups depend on such fabrics far more than do the higher income. In fact, they have fewer choices and are most vulnerable to place-based shifts. The case seems especially challenging for minorities who, like European immigrants before them, depend largely on place-based platforms/social fabrics but, unlike them, confront the added factors of race and urban restructuring.

**Boyd, M. (2005). The downside of racial uplift: The meaning of gentrification in an African American neighborhood. *City & Society*, 17(2), 265-288.**

Abstract: In the last 20 years, African Americans have changed both their role in and orientation toward gentrification. Where once it was viewed with suspicion, the strategy of attracting middle class residents to poor, black communities is now gaining popularity—provided the new residents are themselves African American. This article draws from a 2-year ethnographic study of the Douglas/Grand Boulevard neighborhood on Chicago's south side to examine how black advocates of gentrification understand the process and its implications for their neighborhoods. It argues that those who support attracting middle-class blacks to the community see their financial and personal investment as a form of race uplift. This interpretive framework masks intra-racial class differences and minimizes the disproportionate negative impact that gentrification could have on lower-income residents.

**Bridge, G., Butler, T. & Less, L. (2012). *Mixed communities: Gentrification by stealth?* Chicago, IL: Policy Press.**

Abstract: Encouraging neighborhood social mix has been a major goal of urban policy and planning in a number of different countries. This book draws together a range of case studies by international experts to assess the impacts of social mix policies and the degree to which they might represent gentrification by stealth. The contributions consider the range of social mix initiatives in different countries across the globe and their relationship to wider social, economic and urban change. The book combines understandings of social mix from the perspectives of researchers, policy makers and planners and the residents of the communities themselves. *Mixed Communities* also draws out more general lessons from these international comparisons - theoretically, empirically and for urban policy. It will be highly relevant for urban researchers and students, policy makers and practitioners alike.

**Chapple, K. (2009). Mapping susceptibility to gentrification: The early warning toolkit. *Center for Community Innovation at the Institute of Development*. 1-23.**

Summary: This paper seeks to demonstrate the current trends of gentrification (as of 2000) and uses this information to help predict which areas are more susceptible to gentrification in the future. Looking at the Bay Area specifically, thirteen variables were found to have either a positive or negative correlation to gentrification that was statistically significant. Among the variables with a strong correlation to gentrification were the amount of youth facilities available, the percentage of workers using transit, the amount of public space available, and the range of income diversity. On the other hand, the following variables had a negative correlation to gentrification: the number of outdoor recreational facilities available, the percentage of dwelling units with three or more cars, the percentage of married couples with kids, and the percentage of non-Hispanic white residents. The paper concludes by arguing that this research should be utilized by areas which are more susceptible to gentrification so that residents will know in advance that their neighborhood is vulnerable to change, allowing residents to facilitate community engagement in order to resist displacement.

**Chaskin, R., & Joseph, M.L. (2012). ‘Positive’ gentrification, social control and the ‘right to the city’ in mixed income communities: Uses and expectations of space and place. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 1-23.**

Abstract: Public policies supporting market-oriented strategies to develop mixed-income communities have become ascendant in the United States and a number of other countries around the world. Although framed as addressing both market goals of revitalization and social goals of poverty deconcentration and inclusion, these efforts at ‘positive gentrification’ also generate a set of fundamental tensions — between integration and exclusion, use value and exchange value, appropriation and control, poverty and development — that play out in particular concrete ways on the ground. Drawing on social control theory and the ‘right to the city’ framework of Henri Lefebvre, this article interrogates these tensions as they become manifest in three mixed-income communities being developed to replace public housing complexes in Chicago, focusing particularly on responses to competing expectations regarding the use of space and appropriate normative behavior, and to the negotiation of these expectations in the context of arguments about safety, order, what constitutes ‘public’ space, and the nature and extent of rights to use that space in daily life.

**Chaskin, Robert J. (2013). “Integration and Exclusion Urban Poverty, Public Housing Reform, and the Dynamics of Neighborhood Restructuring.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 647 (1): 237–267.**

Abstract: Much contemporary policy seeking to address the problems of urban poverty and the failures of public housing focuses on deconcentrating poverty through the relocation of public housing residents to less-poor neighborhoods or by replacing large public housing complexes with mixed-income developments. Lying behind these

efforts is a set of generally integrationist goals, aiming to remove public housing residents from contexts of isolation and concentrated disadvantage and settle them in safer, healthier, and more supportive environments that better connect them to resources, relationships, and opportunities. Although some of the goals of these efforts are being met, the broader integrationist goals are proving elusive. Focusing on the mixed-income component of Chicago's Plan for Transformation--the most ambitious effort to remake public housing in the country--this article argues that a range of institutional actors (including developers, property management, community-based organizations, and the housing authority) and organizational behaviors (around design, service provision, intervention, deliberation, and representation) shape dynamics that reproduce exclusion and work against the integrationist goals of these policies.

**Curran, Winifred. (2007). "From the Frying Pan to the Oven': Gentrification and the Experience of Industrial Displacement in Williamsburg, Brooklyn." *Urban Studies* 44 (8) (July 1): 1427-1440.**

Abstract: This paper explores the effects of gentrification on industrial displacement. Although urban manufacturing centres are not as central to the urban economy as they once were, they still house a vibrant and varied manufacturing sector that serves urban niche markets and provides employment for a less-educated and largely immigrant and minority workforce. As urban neighbourhoods gentrify, these manufacturers are faced with displacement because their space has become attractive to developers who convert lofts into residences. This paper looks at the process of gentrification and the experience of industrial displacement in the Williamsburg neighbourhood of Brooklyn, New York, in order to challenge existing theories on the impacts of gentrification and thus help to make clear the processes and interests at work. Through buy-outs, lease refusals, zoning changes and increasing rents, small manufacturers are being actively displaced, endangering the diversity of the economy and the employment outcomes of unskilled and immigrant workers.

**Davidson, M. (2010). Love thy neighbour? Social mixing in London's gentrification frontiers. *Environment and Planning A*, 42(3), 524-544.**

Abstract: The issue of social mixing has recently moved to the forefront of gentrification debate. In part, this has been stimulated by neoliberal urban policies promoting 'social mix', research showing the inability of gentrified neighbourhoods to remain socially mixed and attempts to rethink the association between gentrification and displacement. This paper draws upon a mixed-methods study that examined levels of social mixing between gentrifying and incumbent communities in three neighbourhoods undergoing new-build gentrification in London, UK. Little evidence was found for substantial interactions between populations, and there were few shared perceptions of community. The author claims that the particular character of new-build gentrification has played an important role in generating this socially tectonic situation. Husserl's concept of the lifeworld and Bourdieu's thesis on the relative structuring of class identity are drawn upon to provide an explanatory framework.

**Davidson, M. (2008). Spoiled Mixture: Where Does State-led 'Positive' Gentrification End? *Urban Studies*. 45(12), 2385-2405.**

Abstract: Over the past decade, policy-makers have introduced social mixing initiatives that have sought to address urban social problems by deconcentrating poor and working-class communities through attracting the middle classes back to the city. Such a policy objective clearly 'smells like gentrification'. However, some commentators have warned against being critical of these policies, pointing out that the types of inner-city redevelopment generated by them is different from classical gentrification and that state-led gentrification offers benefits for many working-class communities. This paper draws upon research conducted in London to demonstrate how, despite having many commendable aspects, these policy agendas carry with them significant threats of displacement for lower-income communities. The paper also argues that, due to the mutating nature of gentrification, these threats are increasingly context-bound. In conclusion, the paper argues that those state mechanisms which might manage the unjust aspects of gentrification are inadequate.

**Davidson, M. and Lees, L. (2005). New-build "gentrification" and London's riverside renaissance, *Environment and Planning A*, A37: 1165 – 1190.**

Abstract: In a recent conference paper Lambert and Boddy (2002) questioned whether new-build residential developments in UK city centres were examples of gentrification. They concluded that this stretched the term too far and coined 'residentialisation' as an alternative term. In contrast, we argue in this paper that new-build residential developments in city centres are examples of gentrification. We argue that new-build gentrification is part and parcel of the maturation and mutation of the gentrification process during the post-recession era. We outline the conceptual cases for and against new-build 'gentrification', then, using the case of London's riverside renaissance, we find in favour of the case for.

**Douglas, Gordon C. C. (2012). "The Edge of the Island: Cultural Ideology and Neighbourhood Identity at the Gentrification Frontier." *Urban Studies* 49 (16) (December 1): 3579–3594.**

Abstract: Building on recent ethnographic accounts that have drawn attention to the nuanced ideologies of contemporary gentrifiers, this article brings cultural considerations to bear on the geography of gentrification's fringes. Through a case study of a neighbourhood at the gentrification frontier in Chicago, it examines the factors driving first-wave 'pioneers' into an area with little prior popular identity or interest. Conscious of the wider gentrification process, these individuals are essentially seeking (and creating) a particular time and place within it—they idealise the 'edge' itself. Yet while they are actively fleeing advanced gentrification, their actions pave the way for its further expansion. The study finds that gentrification's borders are subjective and relative in the minds of the newcomers themselves, who frame the process in terms of their own ideologies. These sub-cultural ideals are central to understanding the expansion of the gentrification frontier today.

**Davis, Tomeka, and Deirdre Oakley. (2013). "Linking Charter School Emergence to Urban Revitalization and Gentrification: A Socio-Spatial Analysis of Three Cities." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 35 (1): 81–102.**

Abstract: The link between neighborhood quality and school quality is long-standing and well established. Over the last two decades there have been several federally sponsored initiatives aimed at revitalizing the urban core; initiatives that emerged around the same time as charter schools. Despite the changing urban context that has occurred alongside charter school emergence, little research has addressed the link between urban revitalization efforts and charter school emergence. Using three cities that have experienced massive urban core revitalization and metropolitan growth since the early 1990s (Atlanta, Chicago, and Philadelphia), we examine whether demographic changes resulting from urban revitalization and gentrification are associated with the opening of a charter school. Our findings illustrate a somewhat mixed account. We find some evidence to support this link in Chicago and Philadelphia, whereas we find little support for it in Atlanta.

**DeVerteuil, G. (2012). Resisting gentrification-induced displacement: Advantages and disadvantages to 'staying put' among non-profit social services in London and Los Angeles. *Area*, 44(2), 208-216.**

Abstract: This paper focuses on resistance to gentrification-induced displacement among non-profit social services in London and Los Angeles. It identifies three key strategies for 'staying put': private, voluntary sector embeddedness, and public sector support. Results suggested both advantages and disadvantages to resisting displacement, which also varied by city.

**DeVerteuil, G. (2011). Evidence of gentrification-induced displacement among social services in London and Los Angeles. *Urban Studies*, 48(8), 1563-1580.**

Abstract: This paper addresses two key gaps within the gentrification/displacement literature: whether gentrification is displacing social services and whether displacement patterns differ comparatively. To this end, evidence is examined of gentrification-induced displacement of 81 purposively sampled social service facilities across gentrifying boroughs in London (Islington, Lambeth, Southwark and Westminster) and areas in Los Angeles (Downtown, Hollywood, Santa Monica and Venice) during the 1998-2008 period. Results suggested that substantial entrapment co-exists alongside displacement and, in fact, was more commonplace.

**Drew, E. (2012). "Listening through white ears": Cross-racial dialogues as a strategy to address the racial effects of gentrification. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 34(1), 99-115.**

Abstract: Every month residents in a gentrifying Portland neighborhood gather for a cross-racial dialogue in which the long-term African American residents explain to the

new white, middle-class residents how neighborhood change, and their new neighbors' white behaviors are harmful. Through participant observations at these dialogues for over two years, as well as in-depth interviews, I uncovered how the Restorative Listening Project (RLP) uses dialogue as a strategy for community formation and antiracist place-making in Portland's Northeast neighborhoods. The RLP attempts to mitigate the relational effects of gentrification and construct antiracist place by (1) positioning people of color as knowledge producers about the institutional and interpersonal effects of racism in the neighborhood; (2) confronting the tactics of white denial; and (3) promoting consciousness about systemic racism. By doing so, the project promotes antiracist awareness that responds to perhaps reduces the racial-relational effects of gentrification. However, it also reveals the limits of consciousness-raising projects in the absence of action that resists structural inequalities.

**Eckerd, A. and Reames, T. (2012). Urban renaissance or invasion: Planning the development of a simulation model of gentrification. In A. Desai (Ed.), *Simulation for Policy Inquiry* (pp. 83-100). Springer: New York.**

Abstract: Gentrification has gone from being perceived as a process that cities should avoid at all costs to a welcome result of sound economic redevelopment policy. This transformation in perception is rooted in the recent decoupling of the inflow of high-status residents to the urban core from the outflow of low-status residents. However, it is unclear whether this decoupling is based on an actual lack of a relationship between displacement of the poor and urban resettlement by the rich or is rather a relic of the empirical difficulty of empirically tracking the movements of displaced populations. In this chapter, we propose assessing the extent to which the decoupling of gentrification and displacement is warranted by deriving an agent-based residential sorting model to represent the dynamics of urban neighborhood change.

**Ellen, I & O'Regan, K. (2011). How low income neighborhoods change: Entry, exit, and enhancement. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 41(2), 89-98.**

Abstract: This paper examines whether the economic gains experienced by low-income neighborhoods in the 1990s followed patterns of classic gentrification (as frequently assumed) -- that is, through the in migration of higher income white, households, and out migration (or displacement) of the original lower income, usually minority residents, spurring racial transition in the process. Using the internal Census version of the American Housing Survey, we find no evidence of heightened displacement, even among the most vulnerable, original residents. While the entrance of higher income homeowners was an important source of income gains, so too was the selective exit of lower income homeowners. Original residents also experienced differential gains in income and reported greater increases in their satisfaction with their neighborhood than found in other low-income neighborhoods. Finally, gaining neighborhoods were able to avoid the losses of white households that non-gaining low income tracts experienced, and were thereby more racially stable rather than less.

**Formoso, D., Weber R., & Atkins, M. (2010). Gentrification and urban children's well being: Tipping the scales from problems to promise. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 46(3-4), 395-412**

Abstract: Gentrification changes the neighborhood and family contexts in which children are socialized-for better and worse - yet little is known about its consequences for youth. This review, drawn from research in urban planning, sociology, and psychology, maps out mechanisms by which gentrification may impact children. We discuss indicators of gentrification and link neighborhood factors, including institutional resources and collective socialization, to family processes more proximally related to child development. Finally, we discuss implications for intervention and public policy recommendations that are intended to tip the scales toward better outcomes for low-income youth in gentrifying areas.

**Freeman, L. (2009). Neighborhood diversity, metropolitan segregation and gentrification: What are the links in the US? *Urban Studies*, 46(10), 2079-2101.**

Abstract: An important yet little understood aspect of gentrification is the extent to which it affects spatial relations between various social groups. This study employs two measures of gentrification to discern how it is related to neighbourhood-level diversity and metropolitan-level segregation in the US by race and class respectively. It is found that gentrification does not decrease neighbourhood-level diversity. The evidence on whether gentrification precedes increased levels of neighbourhood-level diversity is more mixed. Depending on the outcome and the metric of gentrification used, there are some instances where gentrification appears to lead to increased diversity. However, there are other instances where gentrifying neighbourhoods start out more diverse than other neighbourhoods and remain that way over the study period. The relationship between metropolitan-level segregation and gentrification is more tenuous, with some of the evidence suggesting that gentrification reduces income segregation and weaker less robust evidence suggesting gentrification increases racial segregation.

**Freeman, L. (2005). Displacement or succession? Residential mobility in gentrifying neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review*, 40(4), 463-491.**

Abstract: This article examines the extent to which gentrification in U.S. neighborhoods is associated with displacement by comparing mobility and displacement in gentrifying neighborhoods with mobility and displacement in similar neighborhoods that did not undergo gentrification. The results suggest that displacement and higher mobility play minor if any roles as forces of change in gentrifying neighborhoods. Demographic change in gentrifying neighborhoods appears to be a consequence of lower rates of intraneighborhood mobility and the relative affluence of in-movers.



**Freeman, L. (2004). Gentrification and displacement: New York City in the 1990s. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 70(1), 39-52.**

Abstract: Gentrification has been viewed by some as a solution to many of the problems facing older central cities. At the same time, many are wary of the potential for gentrification to displace disadvantaged residents. To date, however, surprisingly little reliable evidence has been produced about the magnitude of this problem that could guide planners, policymakers, or community-based organizations. The study described in this article attempts to fill this void by examining residential mobility among disadvantaged households in New York City during the 1990s. We found that rather than rapid displacement, gentrification was associated with slower residential turnover among these households. In New York City, during the 1990s at least, normal succession appears to be responsible for changes in gentrifying neighborhoods. The article concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings for planning.

**Fullilove, M. & Wallace, R. (2011). Serial forced displacement in American cities, 1916-2010. *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of New York Academy of Medicine*, 88(3), 381-389.**

Abstract: Serial forced displacement has been defined as the repetitive, coercive upheaval of groups. In this essay, we examine the history of serial forced displacement in American cities due to federal, state, and local government policies. We propose that serial forced displacement sets up a dynamic process that includes an increase in interpersonal and structural violence, an inability to react in a timely fashion to patterns of threat or opportunity, and a cycle of fragmentation as a result of the first two. We present the history of the policies as they affected one urban neighborhood, Pittsburgh's Hill District. We conclude by examining ways in which this problematic process might be addressed.

**Glick, J. (2008). Gentrification and the racialized geography of home equity. *Urban Affairs Review*, 44(2), 280-295.**

Abstract: This article presents an exploration of how gentrification is restructuring racial disparity in home equity building across several U.S. metropolitan areas. The report reveals some ways in which gentrification is affecting the relative wealth levels of Black and Latino homeowners, a historically marginalized segment of the housing market. The most common trajectory involves a relatively high concentration of Black and Latino homeowners at the onset of gentrification, increased median levels of home equity for these homeowners as gentrification proceeds, and a relatively high attrition to other parts of the metropolitan area over time. The results suggest that although Black and Latino homeowners can reap financial benefits from gentrification, gentrification encourages net migration toward other parts of the metropolitan area where home equity gains are lower.

**Godsil, Rachel D. (2013). *The Gentrification Trigger: Autonomy, Mobility, and Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing* *Brooklyn Law Review*, 78(2).**

Abstract: Gentrification connotes a process where often white “outsiders” move into areas in which once attractive properties have deteriorated due to disinvestment. Gentrification creates seemingly positive outcomes, including increases in property values, equity, and a city’s tax base, as well as greater residential racial and economic integration; yet it is typically accompanied by significant opposition. In-place residents fear that they will either be displaced or even if they remain the newcomers will change the culture and practices of the neighborhood. Gentrification then is understood to cause a loss of community and autonomy – losses that have been well recognized in the eminent domain literature.

This article focuses on gentrifying neighborhoods that were abandoned during the government sponsored suburban migration of the 1950s through the 1980s. Racially discriminatory practices of government and private actors often denied Black and Latino families the option either to join the migration to the suburbs or to maintain their homes in city neighborhoods. This article argues that in-place residents of now gentrifying neighborhoods should have access to rental vouchers or low-interest loans to restore the autonomy they were previously denied, providing them with viable, self-determining options to remain or exit the neighborhood. Such a remedy – which is consistent with the Fair Housing Act’s obligation to HUD and its grantees to “affirmatively further fair housing” – has the potential to alter the political terrain of gentrification.

**Goetz, E. (2011). *Gentrification in black and white: The racial impact of public housing demolition in American cities.* *Urban Studies*, 48(8), 1581-1604.**

Abstract: The gentrification that has transformed high-poverty neighbourhoods in US cities since the mid 1990s has been characterised by high levels of state reinvestment. Prominent among public-sector interventions has been the demolition of public housing and in some cases multimillion dollar redevelopment efforts. In this paper, the racial dimension of state-supported gentrification in large US cities is examined by looking at the direct and indirect displacement induced by public housing transformation. The data show a clear tendency towards the demolition of public housing projects with disproportionately high African American occupancy. The pattern of indirect displacement is more varied; public housing transformation has produced a number of paths of neighbourhood change. The most common, however, involve significant reductions in poverty, sometimes associated with Black to White racial turnover and sometimes not. The findings underscore the central importance of race in understanding the dynamics of gentrification in US cities.

**Guerrieri, Veronica, Daniel Hartley, and Erik Hurst. (2013). “Endogenous Gentrification and Housing Price Dynamics.” *Journal of Public Economics* 100: 45–60.**

Abstract: In this paper, we begin by documenting substantial variation in house price growth across neighborhoods within a city during city-wide housing price booms. We

then present a model which links house price movements across neighborhoods within a city and the gentrification of those neighborhoods in response to a city wide housing demand shock. A key ingredient in our model is a positive neighborhood externality: individuals like to live next to richer neighbors. This generates an equilibrium where households segregate based upon their income. In response to a city-wide demand shock, higher income residents will choose to expand their housing by migrating into the poorer neighborhoods that directly abut the initial richer neighborhoods. The in-migration of the richer residents into these border neighborhoods will bid up prices in those neighborhoods causing the original poorer residents to migrate out. We refer to this process as “endogenous gentrification”. Using a variety of data sets and using Bartik variation across cities to identify city level housing demand shocks, we find strong empirical support for the model's predictions.

**Hackworth, Jason. (2002). “Postrecession Gentrification in New York City.” *Urban Affairs Review* 37 (6): 815–843.**

Abstract: Although multiple authors have identified changes to gentrification since the early 1990s recession, there is not yet a composite sketch of the process in its contemporary form. The author synthesizes the growing body of literature on postrecession gentrification and explores its manifestation in three New York City neighborhoods. The literature points to four fundamental changes in the way that gentrification works. First, corporate developers are now more common initial gentrifiers than before. Second, the state, at various levels, is fueling the process more directly than in the past. Third, anti-gentrification social movements have been marginalized within the urban political sphere. Finally, the land economics of inner-city investment have changed in ways that accelerate certain types of neighborhood change.

**Hackworth, Jason, and Neil Smith. (2001). “The Changing State of Gentrification.” *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 92 (4): 464–477.**

Abstract: Gentrification has changed in ways that are related to larger economic and political restructuring. Among these changes is the return of heavy state intervention in the process. This paper explores heightened state involvement in gentrification by examining the process in three New York City neighbourhoods: Clinton, Long Island City, and DUMBO (Down Under the Manhattan Bridge Overpass). We argue that state intervention has returned for three key reasons. First, continued devolution of federal states has placed even more pressure on local states to actively pursue redevelopment and gentrification as ways of generating tax revenue. Second, the diffusion of gentrification into more remote portions of the urban landscape poses profit risks that are beyond the capacity of individual capitalists to manage. Third, the larger shift towards post-Keynesian governance has unhinged the state from the project of social reproduction and as such, measures to protect the working class are more easily contested.

**Hamnett, Chris. (2003). "Gentrification and the Middle-class Remaking of Inner London, 1961-2001." *Urban Studies* 40 (12): 2401–2426.**

Abstract: This paper reviews the debates over the explanation of gentrification and argues that gentrification is best explained as the social and spatial manifestation of the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy based on financial, business and creative services, with associated changes in the nature and location of work, in the occupational class structure, earnings and incomes and the structure of the housing market. The paper sets out the links between these changes in the London context. It also examines the evidence for gentrification-induced displacement in London, arguing that it may be more appropriate to view the process partly as one of replacement.

**Hankins, K. & Walter, A. (2011). 'Gentrification with justice': An urban ministry collective and the practice of place-making in Atlanta's inner-city neighborhoods. *Urban Studies*, 49(9), 1-20.**

Abstract: Scholars and policy-makers have increasingly sought to understand the relationship between poverty and place in the inner city. This paper examines the spatiality of an anti-poverty strategy called 'gentrification with justice' and implemented by an urban ministry collective in three neighborhoods in Atlanta, Georgia, USA. This place-based approach centers on the movement of middle-class 'strategic neighbors' into impoverished neighborhoods as a way to transform the local sociospatial dialectic of poverty. The urban ministry collective draws upon notions of diverse community, social justice, the 'where' of faithful practice and a faith-governed market in seeking to redevelop neighborhoods. Based on archival analysis and semi-structured, in-depth interviews with leaders and members of the urban ministry collective, this paper provides a deeper understanding of the place-making role that faith-motivated actors play in local contexts of poverty.

**Helms, Andrew. (2003). "Understanding Gentrification: An Empirical Analysis of the Determinants of Urban Housing Renovation." *Journal of Urban Economics*. 54.1: 474–498.**

Abstract: The "back-to-the-city" phenomenon presented an unpredicted countercurrent in the prevalent tide of suburbanization, and this process of upper-income resettlement in the inner city has been thoroughly analyzed in the urban economic literature. Housing renovation, a process that always accompanies gentrification and constitutes a significant portion of residential housing investment, has been studied much less. Contrary to the expectation that "location matters," the existing empirical studies have concluded that most neighborhood amenities and structural attributes are insignificant as determinants of renovation. Using a detailed parcel-level data set that documents all residential renovation activity in Chicago between 1995 and 2000, this paper establishes that the characteristics of a building and its neighborhood do indeed influence the likelihood that it will be renovated.

**Hyra, D. (2012). Conceptualizing the new urban renewal: Comparing the past to the present. *Urban Affairs Review*, 48(4), 498-527.**

Abstract: In the 1990s and 2000s, inner city neighborhood redevelopment occurred throughout the United States as billions in public and private investments entered impoverished black communities. This revitalization process led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of African-Americans. Based on this circumstance, some scholars suggest that this circumstance was a return to the past urban renewal period (1949-1974). While there have been many case studies of contemporary inner city redevelopment, this article uses a comparative historical approach to claim that we have entered and completed a new urban renewal period (1992-2007) that rivals but yet is distinct from the old urban renewal period in four important ways. First, the new urban renewal was a central business district (CBD) expansion strategy, whereas the old urban renewal was a preservation strategy. Second, the dynamics driving the new urban renewal were more complex and included global, federal, and local factors, while federal forces were more important in structuring the old urban renewal. Third, the consequences of the new urban renewal were not explained by race alone but involved an interaction between race and class. Lastly, the new urban renewal was associated with rising suburban poverty and the old urban renewal institutionalized the inner city ghetto. Specifying the parallels and differences between the old and new urban renewal periods is vital for understanding how twentieth- and twenty-first-century urban policies, and their consequences, relate to an ever-changing metropolitan America.

**Joseph, M. & Chaskin, R.(2010). Living in a mixed-income development: Resident perceptions of the benefits and disadvantages of two developments in Chicago. *Urban Studies*, 47(11), 2347-2366.**

Abstract: Policy-makers in several countries are turning to income- and tenure-mixing strategies in an attempt to reverse decades of social and economic isolation in impoverished urban areas. In the US city of Chicago, all high-rise public housing developments across the city are being demolished, public housing residents are being dispersed throughout the metropolitan area and 10 new mixed-income developments are being created on the footprint of former public housing complexes. Findings are presented from in-depth interviews with residents across income levels and tenures at two mixed-income developments and the paper explores residents' perceptions of the physical, psychological and social impacts of the mixed-income setting on their lives.

**Kennedy, M. & Leonard, P. (2001). Dealing with neighborhood change: A primer on gentrification and policy choices. *The Brookings Intuition Center on Urban Metropolitan Policy*, 1-70.**

Abstract: This paper serves as a primer on how to view the complex issue of gentrification. It reviews the findings, analyses and frameworks developed during the gentrification wave of the '70s and '80s. The paper outlines the complex ways that current and "original" residents view gentrification—and clarifies that long-time neighbors can take very different positions on the gentrification issue. Additionally, the

paper shows the wide range in the way gentrification pressures play out in three very different cities and one multi-city region – Atlanta, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., and the San Francisco Bay Area – pointing out that gentrification is a much more urgent concern in some areas than in others, where it hardly exists at all. Finally, the paper suggests policies and strategies that can be pursued to advance equitable development by optimizing the benefits of neighborhood change while minimizing or eliminating the downsides of such change.

**Kolko, J. (2007). The Determinants of Gentrification. *Public Policy of California*. 1 29.**

Abstract: This paper assesses why lower-income urban neighborhoods gentrify. Over the period 1980-2000, gentrification was more likely in Census tracts that are closer to the city center and have older housing stock, consistent with theoretical predictions from classic urban models and with other recent empirical work on gentrification. The paper makes three contributions. First, neighboring tract income is shown to contribute to gentrification, providing evidence of positive inter-neighborhood spillovers. Second, the reasons for gentrification are shown to vary across cities: proximity to the city center and an older housing stock contribute more to tract-level gentrification in metropolitan areas where these characteristics are scarce - larger and newer metropolitan areas, respectively. Accordingly, U.S. regions vary in how well their cities fit the general pattern of gentrification: cities in the South and Midwest exhibited gentrification over the period 1990-2000, whereas gentrification was characteristic only of the Northeast over the period 1980-1990. Finally, gentrification is accompanied by increases in the number of households and a growing housing stock, as well as changes in residential demographic composition.

**Less, L. (2012). The geography of gentrification: Thinking through comparative urbanism. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(2), 155-171.**

Abstract: This paper revisits the ‘geography of gentrification’ thinking through the literature on comparative urbanism. I argue that given the ‘mega-gentrification’ affecting many cities in the Global South gentrification researchers need to adopt a postcolonial approach taking on board critiques around developmentalism, categorization and universalism. In addition they need to draw on recent work on the mobilities and assemblages of urban policies/policy-making in order to explore if, and how, gentrification has travelled from the Global North to the Global South.

**Less, L. (2008). Gentrification and social mixing: Towards an inclusive urban renaissance?. *Urban Studies*, 45(12), 2449–2470.**

Abstract: Nearly 30 years ago now, Holcomb and Beauregard were critical of the way that it was assumed that the benefits of gentrification would ‘trickle down’ to the lower classes in a manner similar to that hypothesized in the housing market. Nevertheless, despite fierce academic debate about whether or not gentrification leads to displacement, segregation and social polarization, it is increasingly promoted in policy circles both in

Europe and North America on the assumption that it will lead to less segregated and more sustainable communities. Yet there is a poor evidence base for this policy of ‘positive gentrification’—for, as the gentrification literature tells us, despite the new middle classes’ desire for diversity and difference they tend to self-segregate and, far from being tolerant, gentrification is part of an aggressive, revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes. In light of this, it is argued that these new policies of social mixing require critical attention with regard to their ability to produce an inclusive urban renaissance and the potentially detrimental gentrifying effects they may inflict on the communities they intend to help.

**Levy, D. , Comey, J., & Padilla, S. (2007). In the face of gentrification: Case studies of local efforts to mitigate displacement. *Journal of Affordable Housing & Community Development Law*, 16(3), 238-315.**

Summary: This report explores strategies used by nonprofits organizations, for-profit developers, and city agencies from six different cities facing a variety of housing market pressures to ensure low-to moderate-income residents can live in revitalizing neighborhoods. The report describes why certain affordable housing strategies were chosen, how they were implemented, outcomes of the strategies, and implementation challenges faced. These lessons can prove invaluable to District nonprofits, city agencies, and interested residents as they attempt to implement similar strategies. The findings show that three criteria need to be met to foster successful affordable housing efforts: land availability, city government responsiveness, and community involvement. Nonprofit organizations and city officials in virtually all six sites stressed the importance of land banking early before a housing market spike drives land prices upward. Community and privately-run land trusts are also important in mitigating displacement. Additionally, district governments play a key role in creating regulatory supports and removing barriers to housing development, providing project financing or technical support, and marketing the message that affordable housing is a priority. Finally, community involvement can make or break affordable housing plans. Without consultation, community members are likely to attempt to block any change.

**Ley, D., & Dobson, C. (2008). Are There Limits to Gentrification? The Contexts of Impeded Gentrification in Vancouver. *Urban Studies*, 45(12), 2471–2498.**

Abstract: This paper examines conditions that impede inner-city gentrification. Several factors emerge from review of a scattered literature, including the role of public policy, neighbourhood political mobilisation and various combinations of population and land use characteristics that are normally unattractive to gentrifiers. In a first phase of analysis, some of these expectations are tested with census tract attributes against the map of gentrification in the City of Vancouver from 1971 to 2001. More detailed qualitative field work in the Downtown Eastside and Grandview-Woodland, two inner-city neighbourhoods with unexpectedly low indicators of gentrification, provides a fuller interpretation and reveals the intersection of local poverty cultures, industrial land use, neighbourhood political mobilisation and public policy, especially the policy of social housing provision, in blocking or stalling gentrification.

**Lipman, P. (2009). The cultural politics of mixed-income schools and housing: A racialized discourse of displacement, exclusion, and control. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 40(3), 215-236.**

Abstract: This article examines the contested and racially coded cultural politics of creating mixed-income schools in mixed-income communities. Policymakers claim deconcentrating low-income people will reduce poverty and improve education. However, based on activist research in Chicago, this article argues these policies are grounded in “culture of poverty” theories that pathologize Black urban space. They legitimate displacement and gentrification and further the neoliberal urban agenda while negating that urban communities of color and their schools are spaces of community.

**Macloed, G. (2012). Stretching urban renaissance: Privatizing space, civilizing place, summoning 'community'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 36(1), 1-28.**

Abstract: In common with many countries in recent years, visions of an urban renaissance have been instrumental in guiding a transformation of England's cities, enabling a boom in economic development and urban living. However, while critics voice concerns about the reascent downtowns being increasingly privatized and inscribed through displacement-inducing gentrification, a seemingly inexorable rise in inequality also prompts misgivings about the social and geographical reach of any purported renaissance. Appreciative of this, the New Labour government introduced as part of its sustainable communities plan an initiative called Housing Market Renewal, designed to reconnect distressed areas of low demand to the vibrant city centres. However, the extent to which this endeavour to stretch the frontier of England's urban renaissance is premised upon a fundamentalist faith in private property inclines us to delineate it as an archetypical case of late-neoliberalizing accumulation by dispossession that licenses state-orchestrated gentrification. We go on to consider how the landscape conversions precipitated by the renaissance vision have been convened alongside an unprecedented expansion of policies for crime control, designed to instill a particular version of civility within the urban and suburban vernacular. The article thereby reveals how politically orchestrated endeavours to induce an urban renaissance appear to be increasingly intertwined with gentrification and a punitive urbanism, and how this chimes with experiences across many parts of the urban world.

**Maeckelbergh, M. (2012). Mobilizing to stay put: Housing struggles in New York City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 36(4), 655-673.**

Abstract: This article examines how housing becomes a basis for mobilization that brings residents in East Harlem, New York City into internationally mobile social movement networks. These networks foster the mobility of people, practices and ideas to transform housing from an immobile practice into a mobile, shifting entity experienced as tenuous, a counterfactual demand for immobility, and an expression of a shared desire for self-determination. Through mobilizing frames that turn the demand for decent housing into a



struggle against neoliberalism, gentrification and displacement, and for collective self-determination, housing struggles create multi-scale networks of mobility that are essential to pursuing a neighborhood-level struggle to stay put.

**Martin, L. (2007). Fighting for control: Political displacement in Atlanta's gentrifying neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review*, 42(5), 603-628.**

Abstract: The loss of political influence is an important adverse consequence of gentrification for long-time residents. This study examines why neighborhood organizations in three gentrifying neighborhoods in Atlanta, Georgia, chose to address this potential problem, while organizations in another gentrifying community did not. Organizations of long-time residents, whether formed before gentrification or in response to it, were more likely to address political displacement. Neighborhood organizations with strong track records of providing benefits for neighbors and that adopted accepted organizational forms were more likely to mobilize effectively to protect the political participation of long-time residents. Interorganizational conflict minimized groups' ability to address political changes.

**McKinnish, T., Walsh, R., & White, K. (2010). Who gentrifies low-income neighborhoods?. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 67(2), 180-193.**

Abstract: This paper uses confidential Census data, specifically the 1990 and 2000 Census Long Form data, to study demographic processes in neighborhoods that gentrified during the 1990s. In contrast to previous studies, the analysis is conducted at the more refined census-tract level, with a narrower definition of gentrification and more closely matched comparison neighborhoods. Furthermore, our access to individual-level data with census tract identifiers allows us to separately identify recent in-migrants and long-term residents. Our results indicate that, on average, the demographic flows associated with the gentrification of urban neighborhoods during the 1990s are not consistent with displacement and harm to minority households. In fact, taken as a whole, our results suggest that gentrification of predominantly black neighborhoods creates neighborhoods that are attractive to middle-class black households.

**Moore, K. (2009.). Gentrification in black face? The return of the black middle class to urban neighborhoods. *Urban Geography*, 30(2), 118-142.**

Abstract: This article explores the historical, economic, and social factors that shape the recent migration of middle-class Blacks to low-income, urban, Black neighborhoods. It focuses on the meanings associated with this pattern of Black gentrification and the extent to which this residential pattern is consistent with previous models of urban gentrification. Using three years of ethnographic data from a low-income neighborhood in Philadelphia that has experienced an increase in Black middle-class residents, I conclude that this pattern of neighborhood change is distinct from previous models of urban gentrification. In this article, I argue that Black gentrification represents a unique set of opportunities and constraints that produce a group of middle-class African

Americans willing to invest their social, economic, and cultural capital into improving the quality of life for low-income Black neighborhoods and their residents.

**Newman, K. & Wyly, E. (2006). The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies*, 43(1), 23-57.**

Abstract: Displacement has been at the centre of heated analytical and political debates over gentrification and urban change for almost 40 years. A new generation of quantitative research has provided new evidence of the limited (and sometimes counter-intuitive) extent of displacement, supporting broader theoretical and political arguments favoring mixed-income redevelopment and other forms of gentrification. This paper offers a critical challenge to this interpretation, drawing on evidence from a mixed-methods study of gentrification and displacement in New York City. Quantitative analysis of the New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey indicates that displacement is a limited yet crucial indicator of the deepening class polarization of urban housing markets; moreover, the main buffers against gentrification-induced displacement of the poor (public housing and rent regulation) are precisely those kinds of market interventions that are being challenged by advocates of gentrification and dismantled by policy-makers. Qualitative analysis based on interviews with community organizers and residents documents the continued political salience of displacement and reveals an increasingly sophisticated and creative array of methods used to resist displacement in a policy climate emphasizing selective deregulation and market-oriented social policy.

**Perez, G. (2002). The other "real world": Gentrification and the social construction of place in Chicago. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economics*, 31(1), 37-68.**

Abstract: This paper explores various competing constructions and understandings of the gentrifying neighborhoods on Chicago's near northwest side and the ways in which Puerto Rican youth are implicated in these changes. Since the mid-1990s, neighborhoods like Humboldt Park and West Town have been radically transformed by new residential and consumption patterns often in direct conflict with both poor and working-class Latina/o and black residents as well as dominant media images of these neighborhoods depicting them as violent, gang-ridden, and dangerous spaces. This paper explores these contradictory images of neighborhoods, residents' responses to these changes, and various linguistic attempts to refashion new ethno-racial spatial designations in the name of neighborhood "development" and "revitalization."

**Podagrosi, A. (2011). The diversity of gentrification in Houston's urban renaissance: From cleansing the urban poor to supergentrification. *Environment and Planning A*, 43(8), 1910-1929.**

Abstract: The paper explores the diversity of gentrification, which involves various types of agents and processes in driving Houston's urban renaissance. The research advances a technique that enables a broader analysis of gentrification, consistent with the approaches of Damaris Rose, Robert Beauregard, and Eric Clark to studying this process. A principal

components analysis and a K-means cluster analysis revealed a grouping of fifty-four tracts in Houston, consisting of some 75 km(2) just within the 610 loop (Houston's urban core), experiencing similar levels of upgrading. A qualitative analysis was developed around three case-study neighborhoods, captured from this one cluster, identifying similar scales of gentrification, but showing the internal diversity of the process: the 'chaos' and the 'complexity' of gentrification. The authors explore different mechanisms of redevelopment, used in different combinations throughout the city by different types of agents, in driving reinvestment and displacement throughout Houston's urban core and surrounding neighborhoods. The research suggests that no one income group in Houston is secure in maintaining its socio-economic neighborhood composition, including the rich.

**Podagrosi, A. (2008). Tearing down freedmen's town and African American displacement in Houston: The good, the bad, and the ugly of urban revival. *Urban Geography*, 29(4), 371-401.**

Abstract: In the second half of the 20th century, considerable resources and efforts have been devoted to revitalizing American central cities. In these redevelopment processes, however, the common byproduct of physical upgrading is social upgrading, the displacement of many of the original residents, who are often low-income and minority, from their traditional neighborhoods. This article explores the various processes of physical and social upgrading-including locally driven urban renewal, private sector "blockbusting," and gentrification-occurring in late 20th century Houston, Texas. This research also examines the neighborhood characteristics and demographic patterns that influence the occurrence of specific upgrading processes. One location of particular interest in the study is Houston's historic African American community of Freedmen's Town, which has experienced decades of conflict over land and space. Most recently, Freedmen's Town has been at the focus of Houston's urban revival, where physical upgrading has been accompanied by the displacement of the community's traditional population and the destruction of this historic neighborhood.

**Reese, E. (2010). Weak-center' gentrification and the contradictions of containment: Deconcentrating poverty in downtown Los Angeles. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(2),**

Abstract: This case study of recent efforts to deconcentrate poverty within the Skid Row area of Los Angeles examines processes of 'weak-center' gentrification as it applies to a 'service dependent ghetto,' thus filling two key gaps in prior scholarship. We document the collaboration between the government, business and development interests, and certain non-profit agencies in this process and identify two key mechanisms of poverty deconcentration: housing/service displacement and the criminalization of low income residents. Following Harvey, we argue that these efforts are driven by pressures to find a 'spatial fix' for capital accumulation through Downtown redevelopment. This process has been hotly contested, however, illustrating the strength of counter-pressures to gentrification/poverty deconcentration within 'weak-center' urban areas.

**Rerat, P., Soederstroem, O., & Piguet, E. (2010). New forms of gentrification: Issues and debates. *Population, Space and Place*, 16(5), 335-343.**

Abstract: This special issue addresses the questions of gentrification and new-build gentrification, two processes of urban transformation that significantly contribute to the reconfiguration of the socio-demographic profile of populations in contemporary cities. Whereas gentrification has long referred to the physical and social transformation of central areas through rehabilitation of existing housing stock and population displacement by more affluent households, the concept has recently been extended to include new high-status developments (regeneration of brownfield sites or demolition/reconstruction of existing residential areas). Although these new developments do not always cause direct population displacement, the question of the possible indirect consequences has been critically raised while the densification of the built environment appears as a favourable outcome in a context of environmental sustainability concerns. The papers collected in this issue focus on the emerging debates surrounding the new forms of gentrification, the increased residential attractiveness of core cities, and the actors who are involved or affected by these processes. In so doing it discusses the geography of gentrification, expanding analysis towards a wide range of contexts.

**Rosen, Marcia and Wendy Sullivan. (2012). From Urban Renewal and Displacement to Economic Inclusion: San Francisco Affordable Housing Policy 1978-2012. *Poverty & Race Research Action Council and National Housing Law Project.***

Summary: Once notorious for urban renewal that diminished housing affordability and displaced residents, the City of San Francisco is now renowned nationally for its best practices in housing and community development. How did this “hot market” city with limited land for development, extremely low rental vacancy rates and high demand for housing move from archaic urban renewal practices to thoughtful policies designed to preserve and enhance housing opportunities for low income families, prevent displacement of low income families, and create inclusive communities?

During the 1970’s, in the absence of state and federal funding, neighborhood and tenant organizations came together to maintain housing affordability in their communities and prevent the displacement of families from neighborhoods disrupted by the City’s urban renewal programs and private development interests. The focus later expanded to include a community development mission – the preservation and development of affordable community housing and resident services to meet the changing demographic needs of families, maintain the City’s diversity and mitigate the exclusive effects of the rising cost of market housing within the City. By ensuring the creation and retention of a range of housing to serve diverse resident and community needs within the City, these forces have counteracted the detrimental effects of gentrification caused by market forces and have kept affordable community housing in the forefront of the City’s development and redevelopment decisions.

Therefore, the overall success of the housing system and policies employed in San Francisco is the result of an interaction of four key factors: dedicated community advocacy and strong coalitions; development of and access to substantial funding

sources; a holistic vision of building “not just housing, but communities;” and constantly evolving housing programs that meet new challenges and opportunities. The interaction of these factors has allowed the City to take advantage of ever-changing markets and political forces to maintain and develop strong local communities. This report describes the development and interaction of each of these four key components of housing program and policy development since the late 1960s and how they have resulted in the current dynamic affordable housing system in San Francisco.

**Shaw, K. (2008). Gentrification: What it is, why it is, and what can be done about it. *Geography Compass*, 2(5), 1697–172.**

Abstract: This article outlines the key contemporary debates on gentrification, most of which arise from variations in the process: in interpretations, assessments of displacement, the agents involved and the forms that gentrified cities take. The variations are so extensive that some scholars argue that gentrification has become too broad a concept to retain analytical coherency. Others counter that the logic of gentrification is now so generalised that the concept captures no less than the fundamental state and market-driven ‘class remake’ of cities throughout the world. The article agrees with the latter position and proposes that gentrification should be considered part of a broader continuum of social and economic geographic change, replacing the useful but out-dated stage model but still accommodating the myriad of variations within its underlying logics. Understanding gentrification as a complex but coherent concept highlights the importance of time and place in the viability of progressive policy responses to gentrification's inequitable effects.

**Slater, T. (2009). Missing Marcuse on gentrification and displacement. *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 13(2-3), 292-311.**

Abstract: Drawing upon the work of Peter Marcuse, this paper charts and challenges the politics of knowledge production on gentrification by critically engaging with some recent arguments that celebrate the benefits of gentrification and/or deny displacement. Peter Marcuse's contributions to the study of gentrification and displacement are immense, not just when measured in theoretical development, but in analytical rigor, methodological influence, cross - disciplinary relevance and intellectual-political commitment to social justice. However, his contributions have been conveniently missed in the disturbing 21st - century scholarly, journalistic, policy and planning re-scripting of gentrification as a collective urban good. This paper charts and exposes the politics of knowledge production on this pivotal urban process by critically engaging with recent arguments that celebrate gentrification and/or deny displacement. It explains that these arguments not only strip gentrification of its historical meaning as the neighborhood expression of class inequality; they are also analytically defective when considered alongside Marcuse's conceptual clarity on the various forms of displacement in gentrifying neighborhoods. Understanding and absorbing Marcuse's crucial arguments could help critical urbanists breach the defensive wall of mainstream urban studies, and reinstate a sense of social justice in gentrification research.

**Slater, T. (2006). The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(4), 737-757.**

Abstract: Recent years have seen an extraordinary resurgence of interest in the process of gentrification, accompanied by a surge of articles published on the topic. This article looks at some recent literature — both scholarly and popular — and considers the reasons why the often highly critical perspectives on gentrification that we saw in earlier decades have dwindled. Whilst a number of reasons could be put forward, three in particular are discussed. First, the resilience of theoretical and ideological squabbles over the causes of gentrification, at the expense of examining its effects; second, the demise of displacement as a defining feature of the process and as a research question; and third, the pervasive influence of neoliberal urban policies of ‘social mix’ in central city neighborhoods. It is argued that the ‘eviction’ of critical perspectives from a field in which they were once plentiful has serious implications for those at risk from gentrification, and that reclaiming the term from those who have sugarcoated what was not so long ago a ‘dirty word’ (Smith, 1996) is essential if political challenges to the process can be effective.

**Sullivan, D. (2012). The subtleties of social exclusion: Race, social class, and the exclusion of blacks in a racially mixed neighborhood. *Sociology Mind*, 2(2), 153-157.**

Abstract: This report uses interviews, content analysis, and surveys to describe how a neighborhood association in a racially mixed neighborhood in Portland, Oregon (USA) subtly excludes many blacks from being full members of the neighborhood. In contrast to explicit cases of social exclusion, this neighborhood association excludes blacks without ever referring to race. They instead justify their actions-e.g., helping close down a black social club and discouraging more affordable housing-based on such nonracial goals as increasing homeownership, minimizing crime, and maximizing "economic diversity." The article concludes that without the inclusion of black residents and their neighborhood organizations (e.g., churches) in the decision-making process, mixed-race neighborhoods will continue to lose their diversity.

**Sullivan, D. (2011). Retail gentrification and race: The case of Alberta Street in Portland, Oregon. *Urban Affairs Review*, 47(3), 413-432.**

Abstract: Alberta Street is emblematic of Portland’s image as a city that embraces the “creative class,” ranking high in being “bohemian” and embracing “diversity.” It is a street that has had a decline in Black businesses and an increase in White ones, both mainstream and bohemian. Through interviews with longtime Black and White residents, we find that race is salient for understanding their use and opinion of the new retail sector. Many Blacks have negative feelings, and they use racial language to articulate why they dislike the products offered and how they feel culturally excluded. Longtime, mainstream White residents, in contrast, fully embrace the new retail. These findings should give pause to cities that promote economic development by making themselves attractive to the “creative class”: They may be refashioning their cities and

neighborhoods—including their retail—in a way that is hostile to some forms of diversity, including longtime Black residents in gentrifying neighborhoods.

**Thompson, C. (2011). Discourses of community contestation: The fight over the Atlantic yards in Brooklyn, New York. *Urban Geography*, 32(8), 1189-1207.**

Abstract: This study examines community discourses contesting neoliberal urban governance using a case study of opposition to a growth-oriented mega-project. Utilizing the notion of "articulations of contestation" in neoliberalism (Leitner et al., 2007b), it seeks to understand the multiple ways that community organizations engage with neoliberal urbanism. It does so through an examination of community discourses surrounding the Atlantic Yards development in Brooklyn, New York. Employing the notion of 'neoliberal communitarianism' (DeFilippis, 2007), wherein community groups are brought into neoliberal frameworks, this study finds this process to be highly contested by multiple community coalitions. In this case, the developer and state economic development agency use endorsements by select community organizations to bolster local support for this controversial redevelopment project. It is argued here that community organizations are not only constrained or co-opted by neoliberal urbanism, but they are also contesting it.

**Ugenyi , C. (2011). Displacement due to gentrification: Mitigation strategies. *Georgia Institute of Technology. School of City and Regional Planning*, 1-51.**

Abstract: This study focuses on the strategies and tools that can be used to mitigate displacement caused by gentrification, and enable the benefits that are inherent in a gentrifying area to be better utilized by the residents indigenous to the area. As a specific case study, the Atlanta neighborhood of Oakland City is studied. An understanding of these strategies and tools will allow the area to be proactive in addressing residents' needs before they intensify into a social dilemma. This research is important to the neighborhood of Oakland City as there are many low income residents, and the community is likely to face gentrification pressures in the future. Prevention techniques will be discussed in anticipation of gentrification within this neighborhood. The second chapter describes the methodology used in this study. I conducted an extensive analysis of previous and current approaches to address gentrification, in conjunction with relevant neighborhood studies; and neighborhood organizations and plans. The third chapter presents a study-specific review of the pertinent literature, studies, and previous analyses on the subjects of gentrification, displacement, and planning tools and techniques. Much of the literature available indicates that there are particular strategies that can reduce the negative effects of gentrification; and that community involvement in the earliest stages is key to the achievement of this end. A description of the case study neighborhood Oakland City and further rationale for the implementation of anti-displacement measures in that area is provided in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter presents an examination of the tools and strategies in the context of the case study.

**Vigdor, J. (2010). Is urban decay bad? Is urban revitalization bad too?. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 68(3), 277-289.**

Abstract: Neighborhood revitalization could, in theory, harm some existing residents if it leads to price increases that exceed their willingness-to-pay. I use data from the American Housing Survey to estimate a discrete choice model identifying households' willingness-to-pay for neighborhood quality. These willingness-to-pay estimates are then compared to the actual price changes that accompany observed changes in neighborhood quality. The results suggest that price increases associated with revitalization are smaller than most households' willingness to pay for neighborhood improvements. Conversely, declines in neighborhood quality are generally not accompanied by rent declines sufficient to compensate the typical resident. For the majority of the population, then, neighborhood revitalization is beneficial and decline detrimental.

**Vigdor, J. (2002). Does gentrification harm the poor?. *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*, 133-182 .**

Abstract: Some observers see gentrification as the antidote to urban decay; others see it as a threat to indigenous urban populations. This paper discusses the theoretical and empirical difficulties in determining whether urban revitalization harms the initial residents of urban communities. One implication is that studies of gentrification and displacement, which comprise most of the existing literature, cannot definitively answer the question posed here. New empirical evidence, based primarily on American Housing Survey data from Boston, suggests that any harm caused by gentrification occurs through increased housing costs, not involuntary displacement. While this study does not definitively conclude that gentrification has harmed poor residents of Boston, it is worthwhile to consider proper policy responses, should some future study produce evidence that is more conclusive. An appropriate strategy for public policy would directly target those households deemed vulnerable to the pressures of gentrification—in the Boston case, this group would include older individuals, especially those living alone, in rental units. Targeted households might become eligible for rent subsidies or assistance in finding and moving into a new, less expensive residence.

**Wacquant, L. (2008). Relocating gentrification: The working class, science and the state in recent urban research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1), 198-205.**

Abstract: This article amplifies Tom Slater's diagnosis of the causes of the gentrification of recent gentrification research. It argues that the shift from the denunciation to the celebration of gentrification, the elision of the displacement of the established residents, and the euphemistic focus on 'social mixing' partake of a broader pattern of invisibility of the working class in the public sphere and social inquiry. This effacing of the proletariat in the city is reinforced by the growing heteronomy of urban research, as the latter becomes more tightly tethered to the concerns of city rulers. Both tendencies, in turn, reveal and abet the shifting role of the state from provider of social support for lower-income populations to supplier of business services and amenities for middle- and upper-



class urbanites - among them the cleansing of the built environment and the streets from the physical and human detritus wrought by economic deregulation and welfare retrenchment. To build better models of the changing nexus of class and space in the neoliberal city, we need to relocate gentrification in a broader and sturdier analytic framework by revising class analysis to capture the (de)formation of the postindustrial proletariat, resisting the seductions of the prefabricated problematics of policy, and giving pride of place to the state as producer of sociospatial inequality.

**Weller, S. (2012). Gentrification and displacement: The effects of a housing crisis on Melbourne's low-income residents. *Urban Policy and Research*, 30(1), 25-42.**

Abstract: This article examines gentrification processes in the context of a policy-induced housing crisis. It describes the effects of the crisis on Melbourne's inner western suburbs and documents the consequences for low-income residents. The article presents quantitative and qualitative evidence to show that the housing reallocation process has brought more affluent residents to the inner western suburbs and displaced low-income residents, pushing them into more affordable suburbs further from the city centre. This evidence exposes some of the limitations of the existing quantitative approaches to the study of displacement. We argue that the displacement effects of gentrification depend on pace of neighbourhood housing reallocation processes and housing affordability in adjacent neighbourhoods. The article concludes that planning, housing and population policies need to be better coordinated to prevent further erosion of the housing standards of low-income households and dissolution of their local communities.

**Williams, B. (2002). Gentrifying water and selling Jim Crow. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economics*, 31(1), 93-121.**

Abstract: In this paper, I explore the gentrification of Washington, DC's Anacostia watershed. I trace the projects of federal and local government to devitalize and demolish living black relationships and institutions while reifying lost, invented, or imagined communities. I also explore connections among capital, community, culture, and state power. Finally, I examine the problems in the economy of the city that underlie gentrification and make it possible.

**Wyly, E, Newman, K., & Schafran, A. (2010). Displacing New York. *Environment and Planning A*, 42(11), 2602-2623.**

Abstract: The capitalization of urban property markets intensifies the contradictions between housing as use-value affordability versus exchange-value asset accumulation, and exacerbates displacement pressures. Policies designed to deal with these contradictions-public housing and rent regulations-allow some low-income renters to resist displacement, particularly in gentrifying neighborhoods. Unfortunately, the resulting empirical configuration has been interpreted in ways that cast doubt on the extent of displacement, its causal links to gentrification, and the necessity of protective policies. In this paper we present an alternative interpretation, using New York City as a

case study to analyze the spatial evolution of displacement pressures amidst the restructuring of an embattled yet vital municipal welfare state.