



# Managing Gentrification

## Intercultural Cities Policy Study

May 2020

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# Introduction

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Globalisation, and its associated movement of global wealth and capital, has impacted urban strategies in many cities. Investment in declining neighbourhoods with the intention of attracting higher-income residents, has been the focus of many of these urban strategies. The transition from lower to high-income residents has been accompanied by a shift in housing tenure, from rental to home ownership, gradually displacing the existing residents through eviction or being priced out. This urban strategy by which working-class residential neighbourhoods are rehabilitated by middle-class homebuyers, landlords and developers is called gentrification. The term originates from the word 'gentry', first introduced by Ruth Glass in 1964, referring to people more affluent and educated than their working-class neighbours and whom Glass presumed to be the offspring of the landed gentry. Further definitions are:

'Gentrification is the process that dislocates traditional low-income residents and changes the social fabric of the neighbourhood'

'The process by which higher income households displace significant numbers of lower income residents of a neighbourhood, thus changing the essential character and flavour of the neighbourhood.'

Therefore, gentrification has two key features:

## 1. Displacement

1.a Physical dislocation (direct displacement) because of unfair increased costs of housing or eviction forcing residents out of a neighbourhood and further from the core of the city toward

cheaper and often poorer quality accommodation and impinging on the continuity of their social lives, relationships and networks.

1.b Symbolic displacement (indirect displacement) is the feeling of isolation or alienation, a sense of loss of place and a deeper sense of nostalgia for changing social relations and lost connections as a result of tenurial insecurity and changes in the physical and social environment. An unwanted loss of social diversity.

## 2. Change in social and urban character

The presence of higher-end services geared towards 'consumption' and 'consumerism' for higher-paying clientele, including rehabilitation of old or under-used buildings, changes the original fabric of the neighbourhood.

## Gentrification in the Intercultural City context

Intercultural Cities (ICC) is a Council of Europe capacity-building programme supporting local authorities to design and implement inclusive integration policies. The programme focuses on enabling communities, organisations and businesses to manage the diversity of people ensuring the equal value of all identities and cohesion. At the level of local policies, intercultural integration is a comprehensive approach driven by committed leadership across political divides and administrative silos. The programme proposes a set of analytical and practical tools to help local stakeholders through the various stages of the process. Intercultural integration policies imply a strategic engagement to develop institutional capacity ensuring equal rights and



opportunities for all, promoting positive intercultural mixing and interaction, encouraging participation and power-sharing throughout the public space. The model helps public authorities to achieve inclusion, equality and prosperity by unlocking the potential of diverse societies.

It is widely acknowledged that migrants and minorities are disproportionately affected by gentrification. The class-based displacement associated with gentrification, sharpens already existing social and economic divides. In the context of diversity, this means that in the process of spatial class transformation, neighbourhoods already segregated along the lines of migrant settlement and lower-income, become a target of these urban strategies, eventually leading to more segregation.

In gentrifying neighbourhoods, conflicts over 'social difference' and 'perceived urban fears' are more visible between long-term residents and 'gentrifiers'. This further exasperates segregation, not necessarily physically, but also in the claim to that place in the form of indirect displacement.

Gentrification is accompanied by the growth in 'spaces of consumption.' Another form of exclusion takes place, marked by lack of affordability (direct displacement) as well as a sense of 'not belonging' to the neighbourhood (indirect displacement).

In some cases, migrants may be a core part of the marketing of the neighbourhood as a multicultural and cosmopolitan hub, however, their structural inequalities remain unaddressed (education, employment, skill-level etc.), making them more vulnerable in the housing market. In some cities, this vulnerability is seen in the devaluation of whole migrant neighbourhoods because of these

structural inequalities, serving as grounds for legitimising and pushing forward gentrification.

Many urban policymakers favour social mixing. It is based on the hypothesis that lower-income households somehow benefit when they live in mixed-income neighbourhoods, leading to better schooling and service provision, as well as employment aspirations. However, social mixing has also been criticised for implying that poor people themselves bring nothing to the equation. That social mixing, if unmanaged, is a pretext for the economic upgrading of a neighbourhood by attracting middle-income households to so-called deprived neighbourhoods. The policy implication is social mixing must also go hand-in-hand with protecting existing migrant housing and businesses.





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### Signs of Gentrification

There are characteristics in a neighbourhood that indicate gentrification is underway:

- Reinvestment of capital into a 'declining neighbourhood'
- Social change of place by incoming high-income groups
- Landscape change; streetscape improvement, public art and street furniture
- Direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups
- Conspicuous cultural consumption; designer shops, art galleries, bars, restaurants, and cafes, farmer's markets, microbreweries etc.

### Forms of gentrification

Gentrification has often been connected to inner-city working-class neighbourhoods and historic centres in which building stock is considered of high 'potential value' to be rehabilitated and converted into luxury accommodation. However, particularly in the 21st century, this classic model has in fact expanded to include a range of geographies as well as actors/agents that impact neighbourhoods in diverse ways, and which require direct policy interventions. For example:

- Rural gentrification – in non-urban areas attracting professionals seeking higher quality of life
- Commercial gentrification - non-residential changes to meet new demand for services for higher-income residents, visitors and tourists
- New-build gentrification – found in non-historic areas, usually on brownfield regeneration sites
- Provincial gentrification - non-metropolises including smaller service-oriented cities

- Super gentrification - areas where the 'gentrified' are being replaced by the 'super rich'
- Family gentrification – reasonably priced areas attracting young family homebuyers
- Tourist gentrification – touristification in areas changed by high concentration of tourists and their demands for accommodation and services
- Student gentrification – studentification of areas attracting high concentrations of students and their associated lifestyle services

### Types of Gentrification

Since the 1950s, inner-city working-class neighbourhoods have seen disinvestment and decline as a result of deindustrialisation, and have become the focus of much of this initial reinvestment. The process of reinvestment has had a pattern in which different types of gentrification takes place over time. However, not all places go through all types of gentrification, and in some cases, it is only one type. Policies need to respond to which type of gentrification as different factors will need direct policy interventions, for example:

- Who are the 'agents of change' or 'gentrifiers'? Creatives, professionals, families, landlords, or developers?
- Is the urban change rehabilitation or new build?
- Is the urban change residential, or non-residential as well?
- What are the demographic changes and who is being displaced?

### Type 1

The well-educated, but economically struggling, avant-garde of artists, graduate students and assorted bohemian and counter-cultural types who rent and share the dilapidated inner city with the longer-term, often working-class residents.

This ‘marginal’ stage usually shows little or no displacement.

### Type 2

‘Early gentrifiers’: cultural professionals who work in public or arts sectors and hold liberal values of tolerance and egalitarianism, who are more likely to own their homes and do their own renovation.

This is also sometimes termed ‘family gentrification’ as properties are bought by young couples as a first home on the property ladder. Property prices begin to rise as demand rises but still below the market price elsewhere in the city. There is still little or no displacement.

### Type 3

The area is ‘discovered’ by people with more money who buy the still inexpensive houses or apartments as a home investment, and by developers and property investors who buy to rehabilitate and sell.

At this stage – gentrification ‘proper’ – both the old-established and new-wave tenants are displaced. Anti-gentrification movements are activated.

### Type 4

Highly renovated dwellings are returned to the market at greatly increased prices to the most affluent buyers and renters, as gentrification takes hold.

Social diversity diminishes and the search for the next ungentrified locality takes place.

### Type 5

Super-gentrification – real estate development and new build, residential and non-residential, expanding within partially gentrified neighbourhoods and outwards in a much more comprehensive way.

Type 5 is marked by the involvement of larger-scale developers; the marginal role of anti-gentrification movements; and a place that is already gentrified, prosperous, and a solidly upper-middle-class neighbourhood changed into much more exclusive and expensive enclave for the ‘super rich’.

The state is more systematically involved through policy (subsidies, tax incentives, planning de-regulation) and capital (land provision).





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### The Measures of Gentrification

Three elements can be used to measure gentrification; rent gap; affordability; and displacement. Each element can also guide policy development, as outlined below.

#### Rent Gap

Disinvestment in an area provides a rational incentive for investors and developers to buy up discounted property. The rent gap is the difference between the 'current' rental income/property value of a property and the 'potentially achievable' rental income/property value after renovation. Rent gap is the only incentive for investors to renovate, resulting in an increase in rent and property value. Rent gaps can also appear if changes in land use yield higher returns, for example converting redundant warehouses into luxury loft apartments.

#### Rent Gap Metrics:

- Rapid increase in rents and property prices over a short period of time (usually a few years)
- Rapid increase in business rates and rents over a short period of time
- Conversion of tenures from rental to ownership

#### Policy Implications:

- Control Mechanisms for rents/property prices e.g. rent laws and public subsidies
- Controlling land use change
- Controlling mix of tenures
- Investment in mix of community facilities

#### Affordability

The ability of households to purchase or rent property that satisfies the needs of the household without subsidy, determines its affordability.

$$\text{Affordability} = \frac{\text{Property price/rent}}{\text{Annual household income}}$$

Lenders tend to lend on the basis of an affordability ratio of 3-4.5 times annual household income.

Another measure of affordability is based on residual income. There is a general rule that housing expenditures should not exceed 25% or 30% of incomes. This implies that non-housing expenditures should not be less than 75% or 70%, irrespective of the level of income or household type.

Residual income = Annual household income minus household non-housing expenditure

#### Affordability Metrics:

- Identify different household incomes in relation to property prices or rental values
- Identify residual incomes in relation to housing rent/mortgage payments

#### Policy Implications:

- Safeguarding affordable rent within means of all residents
- Provision of affordable housing within means of all residents
- Safeguard local businesses rates and rents within means of local traders
- Bottom-up control of housing with greater governance over rent levels
- Wide range of housing providers who offer diverse types of tenures for full range of household types and incomes.





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### **Displacement**

A process in which lower- and middle-income households in the rental and purchase market are forced to move and unable to benefit from the improvements to the neighbourhood. This can happen as a result of eviction, landlord harassment, and high rent (direct displacement). It can also happen as indirect displacement of 'stressed households' who remain but are awaiting to be priced-out, leading to symbolic and emotional exclusion (indirect displacement).

Displacement Metrics:

- Demographic shifts such as increase in people with higher incomes, higher education levels or professional white-collar jobs over time.
- Increase in home ownership (either early gentrifiers or investors renting out their properties)
- Qualitative data on the 'experience' of neighbourhood change

Policy Implications:

- Provision for re-housing locally
- Safeguarding affordable rent
- Provision of affordable housing
- Laws against harassment and legal advice to tenants
- Safeguarding existing community facilities and local businesses

### **Developing an ICC Policy Study for Gentrification**

The ICC's three principles of equality, diversity advantage, and inclusion form the framework for policy. A key commitment is to ensure that institutions, neighbourhoods and public space are open and mixed rather than segregated. In the context of gentrification, the three ICC principles are interpreted as follows:

### **Equality:**

The right to affordable, fair, secure access to housing, neighbourhood amenities, and inclusive forms of urban governance. Public authorities commit to non-discrimination towards diverse groups as being of equal worth, impartial treatment and in an egalitarian manner in matters related to where migrants live, work, run businesses and spend time.

### **Diversity Advantage:**

Recognition of the advantage of diversity/difference in urban areas but also urban policies and strategies that enable diverse contributions to shape the cultural, economic and social fabric of neighbourhoods, and to manage inevitable conflicts which may threaten community cohesion. Public authorities commit to promoting a pluralistic and inclusive identity of place through public discourse which embraces the diversity advantage, prevents displacement and reduces segregation.

### **Social Interactions:**

Opportunities in public spaces and neighbourhood amenities for direct and indirect contact to take place as means of breaking down prejudice. The commitment to actively build trust between communities and foster shared values by promoting a 'we culture' of reciprocity in interethnic relations. To protect authentic and affordable migrant-owned shops and businesses to prevent the 'commodification' of migrant culture for the consumption of higher-income clientele. To encourage social integration and reduce segregation.

This policy study takes a case study approach to examine a variety of policy contexts and strategies that intervene in gentrification processes. As with policy contexts in general, they tend to be place-specific. However, by considering six themes of analysis representing the different factors influencing gentrification, lessons and recommendations can be drawn out. The six themes are:



### Policy and Regulation

Leadership, vision, governance, policy/regulatory frameworks at micro-local to national to support pro-social regeneration. Leadership by other bodies, for example housing providers.

### Diverse Housing

Social/affordable housing as central, the role of student accommodation/other transient populations, tourism, properties for more well off. Recognition of diversity as making a positive and enriching contribution to a place.

### Stakeholder Partnership

Working with partners and communities, genuinely and authentically engaging stakeholders, elements of co-design and local ownership of space.

### Inclusive Public Space

Space which works for the frequently marginalised, e.g. children, elderly, disabled, minority ethnic communities. Promotion of equality to meet the needs of diverse users. Understanding how the place can welcome cultural exchange, recognising shared or different narratives as equally valid.

### Nurturing Local Business

Balancing local business with inward investment and tourism demands. Making physical and economic space for migrant businesses.

### Holistic Community

Recognising and building in space for education, health, cultural and social/community facilities.

Making provision for food shopping. Physical accessibility, a permeable place, and walkable.



*“This city center has become a reflection of society uses and customs with historical, aesthetic, social, architectural, and cultural values. It is an example of preserving coherent relationships of social and cultural spheres with the needs of present inhabitants of this space.”*

**ICC Coordinator, Vinnytsia, Ukraine**

### Study Methodology

This Policy Study draws from the experiences of a wide range of cities and regions around the world, from participants working and operating in many different settings.

From research and experience in pro-social regeneration, and in collaboration with the Council of Europe, a set of theme areas were developed as a framework for the Policy Study, the aim being to explore various perspectives on these themes. These themes were selected as being likely significant markers of pro-social regeneration, and indeed of urban spaces that work well for the most diverse set of users. They were:

- Policy and Regulation
- Diverse Housing
- Stakeholder Partnership
- Inclusive Public Space
- Nurturing Local Business
- Holistic Community

A variety of methods were used to gather the information around the theme areas. Initially, we reached out to Intercultural City contacts in over 20 locations worldwide and invited them to engage with the research and contribute their experiences.

An online survey was used to gather data from participants and find out more about their experiences of managing gentrification. These were followed up with interviews with a number of the contributors and desk-top research into the issues.

Responses were received from a range of cities and regions, including:

- San Sebastian, Spain
- Oeiras, Portugal
- Vinnytsia, Ukraine
- Dublin, Ireland
- Lisbon, Portugal
- Aotearoa, New Zealand

Additionally, desk research was made for:

- Berlin, Germany
- Barcelona, Spain
- Chartsworth Road E5, London



***“Co-governance of facilities development.  
Dignifying and amplifying the culture of  
people from poorer neighbourhoods -  
especially indigenous peoples.”***

**Participatory Design Consultant,  
Aotearoa, New Zealand**



Figure 1 - Cities featured in the report



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# Theme Area 1: Policy and Regulation

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It was found that the organisations and agencies leading the promotion of pro-social regeneration in their area, and where there are particular policies in place to support it, were, in many locations, the local authorities, such as Councils and municipal leaders. This was through a variety of policy areas, including housing, tourism and community development.

However, in other settings, whilst the role of local authorities is noted, other organisations are taking the lead. In Lisbon, “NGO's, cooperatives, neighbours’ associations and other civil society organizations” were cited as heading up pro-social regeneration, whilst in San Sebastian, both the municipality and community empowerment organisations are involved; the Case Studies on these locations explain this in more detail.

In terms of innovations in policy and regulations, there were a high number of examples from which others could learn. In San Sebastian, residents have taken over the management and use of some of the public open space and work on community activities there, and networks have been developed to enable closer collaboration between agencies and residents, especially those most vulnerable or elderly. There has also been a programme of intercultural work to support international families in San Sebastian particularly in relation to education, meeting basic needs and social life.

In Dublin, the City Council gives the example of the Fatima Mansions (Herberton) development as a model of pro-social regeneration in practice. Fatima Mansions is a former high-rise Local Authority housing estate beset with social problems which was demolished and replaced

by 100 housing units (Phase 1) known as Herberton. The new development was achieved without moving the council tenants out, thereby aiming to protect the sense of community and social connections. The Herberton development is intended to be more socially inclusive, and was developed as a public/private partnership, offering better access, new community space, leisure facilities and play space. A subsequent phase has provided further substantial affordable, social and private housing. This was the first completed scheme to use Public Private Partnership funding principles and was formally opened by the President of Ireland in 2010.

Avoiding the displacement of communities is key to pro-social regeneration and was a deliberate strategy in the case of the Herberton development, supported with funding. Other cities and regions had less explicit goals to retain and support local residents, but in many cases have been successful in managing this. In Lisbon, gentrification has been held back through policies which restrict AirBnB uses, thereby making space for permanent residents rather than tourists. These policies are not in place across the city, and exclude neighbourhoods such as Marvila, which are, as yet, not regenerated and have poor connections to the rest of the city.

Policies and strategies which encourage better cross-cultural relationships and understanding were suggested as positive in stopping displacement in places where sport, recreation, interfaith work and leadership training have all been implemented as means to drive cohesion.

## Case Study: Berlin

### History of Housing Policy in Berlin

Germany traditionally provided a considerable amount of publicly subsidised housing. The State, local government, churches, unions and corporations owned Housing companies, receiving federal and municipal subsidies in exchange for rent ceilings and allocation priorities. Tax exemptions were given in exchange for limiting profits. This meant units were offered at below market levels even after the 30-year maximum subsidy period ended and the units entered the free market. The market operated under the principle of 'Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz' or 'common public interest.'

Following reunification in 1991, Berlin owned 19 housing companies holding approximately 480,000 units – 28% of the entire housing stock. Berlin's government invested heavily in housing construction and modernisation, offering subsidies and tax deductions for new social and private housing development, including subsidies for 60,000 new housing units from 1990-1995. During this investment period the government had predicted that Germany's new capital would grow rapidly to become a major city like London or Paris. However, growth expectations were overestimated and Berlin suffered a mid-1990s economic decline and population loss, creating a fiscal crisis.

Berlin's economic instability motivated privatisation with the aim of improving Berlin's budgetary situation and stimulating private investment in housing rehabilitation. By 1998, Berlin's government had abandoned social housing subsidies and instructed housing companies to sell 15% of their housing units, preferably to tenants. Two entire state-owned housing companies were sold between 1998 and 2004,





disposing of approximately 105,000 units, including state-owned housing companies selling numerous estates in their portfolios en bloc. Sales slowed down in 2007 due to popular opposition and the credit crisis. At that time, 270,000 units (14.3% of the city's housing stock) remained in state-owned housing companies.

Private investors followed a strategy of upgrading to increase rent levels. The apartments, often in substandard condition were rehabilitated, sometimes to a luxurious standard, and modernisation costs transferred to the tenants. This inevitably led to displacement of long-term residents and excluding low-income households from moving into newly renovated housing. While investors did attempt to sell individual units to tenants, the take up was low as rent levels are considerably lower than financing homeownership.

### **Careful Urban Renewal (behutsame Stadtterneuerung)**

In Kreuzberg in the early 1980s, the policy of 'careful urban renewal' had emerged as an outcome of militant protests against preceding renewal policies which had resulted in large-scale demolition of historical buildings and caused deep-seated civic unrest, visible in more than 100 squatted buildings.

The careful urban renewal strategies were aimed at:

- the preservation of existing structures
- the preservation of the social composition of the population
- an encouragement of citizens' participation
- transfer of land to public re-developers
- instalment of rent caps

Explicit was the government's intention to avoid (i) the displacement of low-income groups; (ii) the acceleration of processes of residential segregation; (iii) the implied consequences of an unbalanced

development; and (iv) the individual hardships for adaptable households.

The policy had a paradoxical outcome. First, Kreuzberg was restored as a functioning real estate market – a principle contributor to gentrification funded by public subsidy. Second, a significant upgrade in the basic standard of housing was established, including modern heating systems, bathrooms, inside toilet, modern electrical systems etc. This, alongside rent caps, enabled low income households to remain in modernised, high-standard apartments in a central location. The occupancy and price caps for these houses expired at the end of the subsidy period, usually 15 to 25 years, after which they became subject to general rental law. As a consequence, prices for new rental contracts have risen considerably.

### **Rent caps**

The significant welfare state intervention of careful urban renewal managed to preserve the income and resident structures of the neighbourhood. Due to the subsidy agreement outlining obligations to bind the rent prices to very affordable levels for up to 20 years. Special, mandatory permissions for all refurbishments in designated urban renewal areas formed the basis for these rent caps and had to be approved by the local authorities. These are now seen as a barrier by many property owners.

German law restricts rent increases in the following ways:

- Modernisation that upgrades the level of housing facilities
- A rent increase limit of maximum 15% every three years
- Protection of sitting tenants in many ways but only imposes marginal controls and restrictions on rent prices in new contracts.

Therefore, the only method of achieving a rent gap is by adding a new feature of housing infrastructure, increase rents in long-standing contracts to bring them in line with the average rent level for similar flats (within the 15% limit), or if new rental contracts are issued.

Landlords seeking to increase rent has led to tension between low-income households and increasing rent expectations. The 'rent gap' variance between rent prices in long-term rental agreements and in new contracts creates a strong displacement pressure.

In late 2019, Berlin City Council announced a five-year rent freeze and the right for tenants to have them lowered if they exceed 20% of government-imposed figures.

### **Social Environment Protection Law (*Milieuschutz*)**

Under this historic law, real estate is shielded against owners' attempts to renovate and modernise it to the extent that existing residents could be forced out. The law can work in conjunction with other measures, such as new rent control regulations, the right of authorities to block sales and the municipal right of first purchase (*vorkaufsrecht*), should the district authorities be able to raise the money to buy the building themselves.

In areas protected by the law, owners are forbidden to change floor plans, merge two flats into one or split large flats up into smaller units, add balconies or terraces larger than four square metres, install fitted kitchens or undertake luxury bathroom renovations – or to use the flat as a holiday let.

Today, there are more than 30 *milieuschutz* zones in Berlin, with more expected, though the protections are not ironclad. These zones prevent landlords from converting rental apartments to condos — unless they promise to sell only to current tenants for a period of seven years.

In two prominent tenement apartment blocks in Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain, a Luxembourg investor had threatened residents with eviction. Instead, the district authorities provisionally secured both blocks under the 'communal right of first refusal' rule. Moreover, the 'municipal right of first purchase' enables the council to match any offer made by a prospective buyer of a property. Not only can the council buy the property itself, it can also exercise its right on behalf of a third party, such as a public housing company or a cooperative. Nevertheless, there are limitations to the widespread use of this law; (i) the municipal right of first purchase can only be used in areas of special protection, and (ii) requires municipal funding to be available.

### **Holiday Let Law**

There are between 10-20,000 holiday apartments in Berlin, the majority concentrated in Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg and Charlottenburg, exacerbating the increasingly scarce housing options for local residents. The new law introduced in 2014, bans the regular short-term letting of rooms without permission from the local authority. Abuses to the law will rely on complaints from neighbours. There may be some exceptions for the occasional letting of a single room.

### **Social Mixing**

The ideal of social mixing is anchored in the Federal Town and Country Planning Code (*BauGB*), in housing policies at different levels and in regional development initiatives. Social mixing is a contested urban planning strategy in the way it can be used by politicians to influence gentrification processes.

As an example, Neukölln is considered an area of high cultural diversity by virtue of its industrial past and the settlement of 'guest workers'. With the demise of industry in the area and its sharp economic decline, it was one of the few areas where cheap housing was still available. In



1993 Neukölln ranked last among all Berlin districts with regard to childcare facilities and schools, theatres and public swimming baths, and first in terms of unemployment and social transfers. Similarly, its reputation as an ‘end of the line’ place referenced by a large number of social ailments; from low education, high crime, low-skilled people, poverty, drug-dealing, urban segregation etc. In response, the Berlin Senate and the municipality implemented several urban development schemes in the district: ‘Neighbourhood Management’ (from 1998), ‘Social City’ (1999), ‘Rehabilitation Zone’, (Sanierungsgebiet ) and in 2005 ‘Urban Restructuring’ (Stadtumbau-West ) and Active Downtown Development (Aktive Zentren) – the highest concentration of ‘special action’ areas in the city.

Several neighbourhood policies outline the value of social mixing. For instance, in the vision for the future development of the neighbourhood, presented in the Integrated Urban Development Concept (InSEK), the social and cultural diversity of the area represents great potential, but also a source of conflict. The InSEK aims to prevent further social and ethnic segregation and attract more ‘well-educated’ residents.

With regard to the norms for living together, it refers to the first of the 10 principles for Neukölln stated in the ‘Integration Policies’ document by the City Council: ‘All people in Neukölln live according to the values and rules of the free democratic basic order. The principle of mixed social communities is necessary.....As there are no other options, the slogan of our current mission is INTEGRATION in order to ensure a democratic, peaceful and tolerant community, for the future as well’. District mayor Buschkowsky (who came to office in 2001 and resigned in April 2015) claimed that segregation and delinquency constitute a dramatic threat to social peace. From his point of view the ‘multicultural society has absolutely failed’ – a phrase repeated in

popular commentaries on culturally diverse neighbourhoods by Chancellor Angela Merkel.

It is clear, negative narratives of culturally diverse places like Neukölln have permitted the principle of ‘social mixing’ to be used to encourage higher-income residents into the neighbourhood, however, there needs to be more detailed consideration of what that means in relation to the displacement of existing residents.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Berlin](#), Page 82)

## Case Study: Barcelona

Barcelona has been innovative in the range of laws, policies and regulations that are mitigating tourist gentrification. Policies have primarily addressed the re-balance required between liveability of neighbourhoods and measures to slow down the process of direct and indirect displacement as a result of the real estate speculation brought on by tourism.

The current legal system restricts municipal action and makes it impossible to apply mechanisms as provided for in other large cities such as Paris or Berlin. Barcelona is calling for measures for controlling rental housing and preventing gentrification by:

- Drafting a Catalan Statute on leases which:
  - Extends to 5 years the minimum duration of leases.
  - Restricts price increases among leases.
  - Introduces the benchmark rental-housing price index.
- Removal of tax breaks for Real Estate Investment Trusts and investment funds for halting speculative investments that expel local residents.

### **Law 4/2013 Flexibility Measures and Promotion of the Housing Market and Law 24/1994 Urban Leases**

Barcelona City Council proposes measures for controlling, limiting and imposing possible sanctions for abuses in rental prices. A rental price index is promoted by the city as an information and control provision for measuring the disproportionate growth of rents and the lack of market transparency. This law will increase the supply of real estate

available for rent and provide incentives for tenants and vulnerable groups such as young people and the elderly.

### **Strategic Tourism Plan 2020**

This plan favours a decrease in tourism and reducing overcrowding of the city. This plan was consulted on in a participatory process as a governmental measure in the city's tourism model. It's goal is to ensure Barcelona's sustainability, reconciling all forces at play and promoting the highest social return on tourist activities where visitor's expectations are met without any risk to the continued residence of those living in the city. There are ten programmes:

1. Governance: to shift from a promotional strategy to a comprehensive management of tourism, publicly-led and ensuring tourist policies respond to the general interest of the city.
2. Knowledge: Generate and publish a diverse range of information on tourist activities and studies conducting analyses of economic impact, tourist profiles, public perceptions of tourism, environmental management, and quality of jobs in the sector etc.
3. Destination Barcelona: aims to guarantee the competitiveness of tourist activities to avoid jeopardising the city's future by managing the impact of tourist activities on quality of urban life and ensuring a social return.
4. Mobility: the need to rethink manage and regulate the specific practices of tourist mobility.





Photo: Gothic Quarter, Barcelona by Anastasiia Tarasova on Unsplash

Development Plan (PEUAT) continues to ensure social and economic balance in areas with greater tourist pressure and mitigating displacement of the resident population.

6. **Managing Spaces:** Measures and tools agreed by public and private players to reduce the pressure created by large numbers of visitors and maintain the local commercial network of businesses.
7. **Economic Development:** ensuring the redistribution of the wealth brought by tourism for the entire population by integrating tourist activities into local economic development. Initiatives focus on creating stable work conditions.
8. **Communication and Welcome:** expand narratives of the city beyond the crowd-pulling icons and to communicate the goal of a sustainable destination.
9. **Taxes and funding:** a tourist-tax investment and funding plan with tax measures for management tools and taxing activities that affect daily life.
10. **Regulation and Planning:** Inspecting and pursuing illegality of accommodation, strengthening byelaws including economic activities of crowded places.

### **Licensing**

The moratorium on licenses for tourist apartments has had the greatest impact and was seen as a preliminary step in drawing up a special regulation plan for tourist accommodation. There was opposition to the extension of the moratorium to all types of tourist accommodation in which the hotel sector saw the measure as a threat to its possibilities for growth and speculation in the tourism real estate sector. This moratorium came to an end with the enforcement of the PEUAT.

A further Decree for Tourist Regulation was passed in 2016 providing a legal framework for extending regulation to include room rental. This regulation will guarantee the technical and hygiene requirements needed for offering secure and good service to the consumer/client. The regulation helps control the number and location of these room rentals. It also helps overcome the nuisance and anti-social behaviour prevalent. The regulation stipulates the dwelling unit must be the owner's primary residence, that the owner must stay overnight in the property when the rooms are rented and that the owner is liable for non-compliance.

An initiative of the municipality of Barcelona is an online platform for neighbours and/or tourists to check if a tourist housing is registered or not and it offers the possibility to let the municipality know if it is not registered. The municipality has also undertaken on-site inspections and has sent letters to neighbours to ask for their collaboration in reporting non-registered tourist dwellings.

### **Special Urban Plan for Tourist Accommodation (PEUAT)**

The PEUAT is pioneering in its scope of regulating urban planning and management criteria for tourist accommodation, including tourist establishments, youth hostels, collective residences with temporary accommodation and HUTs. The purpose of the PEUAT is to improve the quality of life for residents in the following ways:

1. Alleviating tourist pressure in different areas of the city.
2. Responding to public concerns regarding the growth of tourism, particularly the increase in tourist accommodation.
3. Seeking urban balance, preserving the quality of public spaces, and diversification to make tourism sustainable with other economic activities in the city.



4. Guaranteeing a city with morphological diversity in the urban fabric, depending on the characteristics of the urban area and the necessary conditions for accessibility.
5. Guaranteeing the right to housing, rest, privacy, the well-being of the neighbourhood, spatial quality, sustainable mobility, and a healthy environment.

The PEUAT operates in 4 distinctive zones with specific regulations that aim to achieve an urban equilibrium which is a sustainable mix of the tourist sector in relation to other economic activities and liveability of the city. Each zone depends on the distribution of accommodation in the zone; the ratio between the number of tourist dwellings offered and resident population; the relationship and conditions in which certain uses are allowed; the impact of activities on public spaces; and the presence of tourist attractions.

Zone 1: a zone of negative growth, completely banning the issuing of tourist licenses for all tourist accommodation (hotels, apartments etc.). In some areas with high concentrations of establishments, a set of rules exist to regroup places for tourists into an entire building and possibly relocate any possible reduced spaces to Zone 3.

Zone 2: maintains the number of places and establishments by prohibiting the existing ones to expand. Therefore, it is permitted to start a new tourist establishment only when an existing one closes. When a reduction occurs in Zone 2, it is possible to open a new establishment in Zone 3.

Zone 3: setting up new establishments and expanding existing ones is allowed, provided the growth is contained. This is achieved by not exceeding the maximum density of places determined by the morphological capacity of the area and the current degree of tourist accommodation that is offered.

Zone 4: includes other areas of the city with specific regulations as they are regeneration zones with specific building density, uses and development. Establishing new HUTs is not allowed.

The PEUAT includes two further stipulations:

1. Areas of Special Treatments (ATE) will limit the setting up of new establishments with additional conditions because of their urban morphology and predominant uses taking place there, mainly old quarters.
2. Certain conditions must be followed for establishments located along the main axes of the city. In this way imposing a linear density condition of 150m between establishments, which is linked to the radial distances they generate across their immediate surroundings.

#### **Plan for the Right to Housing 2016-2025**

The plan was drawn up with a participative process in the neighbourhoods suited to the characteristics of each. The goals are:

- An increased public housing stock
- Defending the citizens' right to housing over and against corporations
- Fighting against gentrification and evictions
- Backed up with a significant budgetary allocation from the City Council.

There are five actions;

1. Increase in new build public housing stock through the cooperative and third sector, and public-private partnerships such as the Metropolitan Operator for Housing, similar to a Housing Association, achieving energy efficiency, promoting healthy environments, flexibility and gender equality. The

intention to build 4000 new homes within 4 years (a four-fold increase in the public housing stock)

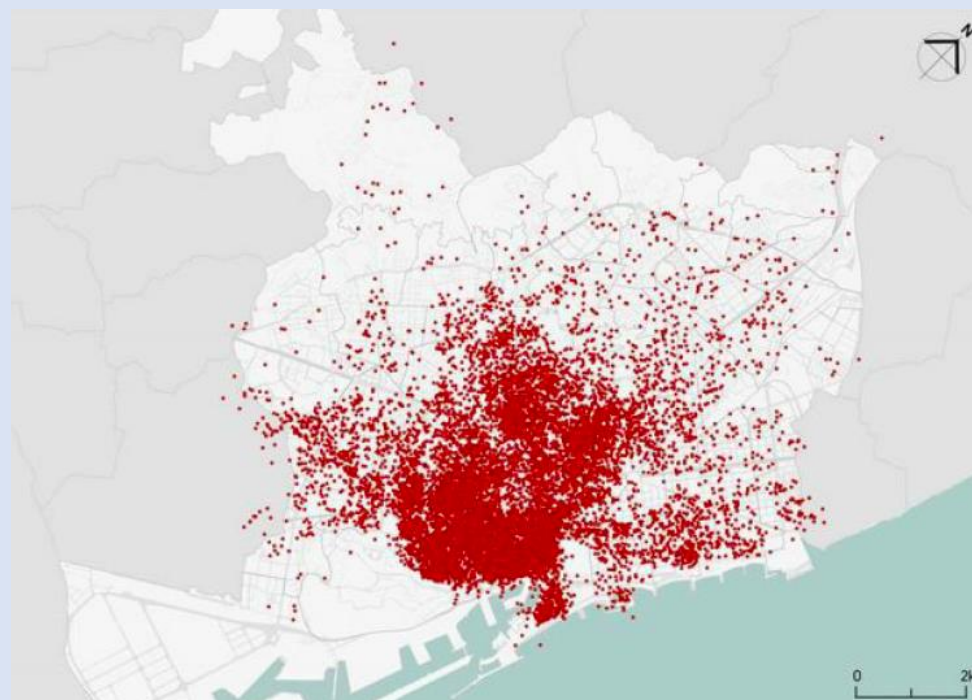
2. 50% increase in aid to families for rental payment
3. Strengthening tools for the management of housing emergency resulting from evictions by setting up the UCER (Unidad Contra la Exclusión Residencial, Unit Against Housing Exclusion). Similarly, the creation of the APROP (Alojamientos de Proximidad Provisionales, Temporary Neighbouring Housing) allows for rapidly built temporary, modular and prefabricated houses to be located in areas of high real estate pressure, and the strategy is to strengthen local community life.
4. Promotion of residential use of empty housing. Allocating resources and tools to achieve a good use of the current housing stock, such as the empty flats census, by providing grant aid to owners to renovate their houses and incorporate them into the affordable housing stock. Setting fines on illegal tourist accommodation, penalties to banks and financial



Photo: Historic Centre, Barcelona by Richard Hewat on Unsplash

entities that keep flats empty. Establishing measures for a new housing approach that combats sub-standard housing, the withholding of houses that are empty for more than two years, or real estate harassment. Introduction of new actions such as the renovation of interiors, proactive technical intervention in areas of high complexity and the introduction of urban renewal approaches that include anti-gentrification measures.

5. Public regulation of rental prices through rental ceilings in the private rental market.



Flats listed in Airbnb Barcelona 2 October 2015 Source: Inside AirBnB



### **Co-Responsibility Space (EC) on Gentrification**

This space is to enable a coordinated strategy to be designed and implemented on measures and initiatives that neutralise and reverse the gentrification processes that lead to the expulsion of local residents from their neighbourhoods.

This Space has been focusing its work on three basic fronts:

- Preventing the replacement of residents and retailers.
- Preventing the replacement of uses, especially that of regular housing with housing use for tourism.
- Preventing the elimination of uses that causes certain properties to become vacant.

The Regulatory Byelaw on Municipal Intervention Procedures in Public Works (ORPIMO) has been amended to guarantee the right to rehusing in the event of public works. This is to avoid displacement during major construction and regeneration projects.

### **Modifications to the General Modification Plan**

The Modification to the General Metropolitan Plan (Modificación del Plan General Metropolitano, MPMG) uses a shift in urban planning approaches to protect the right to housing, by reserving a thirty percent quota of affordable housing in all the projects (constructions above six hundred square metres) in a consolidated urban fabric, whether they are new construction or rehabilitation projects.

### **Right of First refusal**

The 'right of first refusal' gives the City Council overall ability to purchase residential buildings and land for housing city-wide to rapidly increase the public housing stock.

### **The Neighbourhoods Plan**

The City Council have allocated 150 million euros for the implementation of social, economic and urban actions in the most vulnerable neighbourhoods. There are two innovations in comparison to previous rehabilitation policies. First, the strong cross-sectoral and multi-dimensional approach in the development of public policy, in fields such as education and community health. Second, a strong participatory co-production of public policy between public institutions and community organisations.



### **The Superblock programme**

This programme aims at redesigning the city's road network by transforming a number of city blocks as they become emptied of traffic and pedestrianised for quality public spaces as places to stay, walk and cycle, organise sports and leisure activities, and create greener environments.

The strength of this programme in combating gentrification is in its participatory process to accompany the measures for change, seeking joint responsibility and involvement in the social fabric of the area.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Barcelona](#), Page 81)

# Case Study: Montreal

 <p><b>LA GENTRIFICATION, AU-DELÀ DU LOGEMENT</b></p> <p>AGNÈS GRANIER NICOLAS ZORN</p>	Activity Area	Federal and provincial governments	Local Public Authorities	Citizens
 <p>OBSERVATOIRE QUÉBÉCOIS des <b>in</b>égalités Évaluer • Éclairer • Éveiller</p>	Urban development and housing	Implementation of affordable housing policies  Budget increases for provincial and federal bodies working on affordable housing	Modification of residential and commercial categories  Introduction of new taxes limiting gentrification  Universal access to inclusive, non-privatized public spaces  Equitable access to transportation  Gentrification dashboard  Conjugation of the environment and the social	Assignment of lease  Refusal of excessive rent increases  Contestation of a repossession of housing in bad faith
	Communities and inclusion	Reduction of inequalities  Impact assessment of policies having an impact on gentrification	Construction and maintenance of participation and consultation structures (direct or indirect)  Investing in places of inclusion where different populations can come into contact  Encouraging entrepreneurship of gentrified local populations  Recognition, enhancement and preservation of the cultural and physical heritage of gentrified populations  Impact assessment of policies impacting gentrification	Pressure on governance bodies for the construction of social housing  Community mobilization to occupy the neighborhood, its public and abandoned spaces



## Summary

The theme of policy and regulation in the study and in the case studies highlight a number of key areas for policy development.

### Modernisation, Rent Gap and Rent Control

One of the key factors contributing to gentrification is rent gap, a mechanism in which properties – residential or non-residential – can yield higher returns by improvements to building’s original state. In Berlin rent gap was created through the modernisation of buildings which was transferred to the tenants in raising their rents. In Barcelona, rent gap was created by renting out Homes Used for Tourism at higher prices for shorter-term than longer-term rental contracts.

Policy implementations seen in the research, regarding different forms of rent control, include:

- Laws that restrict rent increases due to modernisation
- Renovated properties offered to existing tenants for 7 years
- Rent caps to not increase more than 15% every three years
- Imposing five-year rent freezes
- Giving tenants the right to have rents lowered if they exceed government-imposed figures
- Extend the minimum duration of leases to 5 years
- Introduce the benchmark rental-housing price index

### Neighbourhood-level Policy

The case studies showed that the most effective policies operated at the scale of the neighbourhood, addressing the specific challenges of

the context, for example segregation, displacement, and urban regeneration.

Policy implementations seen in the research, regarding the identification of Special Zones for intervention, include:

- Implementation of social, economic and urban actions in the most vulnerable neighbourhoods
- Laws, such as the Social Environment Law (Milieuschutz), preserving the social composition of existing residents by limiting displacement through renovation
- Careful Urban Renewal programmes aimed at preserving existing structures, preserving social composition, encouraging citizen participation, installing rent caps, and transferring of land to public redevelopers.
- Taking a cross-sectoral and multi-dimensional approach in the development of public policy such as education and community health
- Co-producing public policy between public institutions and community organisations
- Participatory processes to accompany the measures for change, seeking joint responsibility and involvement in the social fabric of the area.

### The Right to Housing

An impact of gentrification is existing, longer-term residents get priced out of their homes and neighbourhoods. Affordability of housing is a critical factor, particularly for lower-income households.

Policy implementations seen in the research, regarding the provision of sufficient social and genuinely affordable homes and protecting tenants, include:

- Developing a 'Plan for the Right to Housing'
- Increasing the public, social, affordable housing stock
- Using and improving empty properties to house the most vulnerable
- Providing public land for co-operative models of housing
- Defending the citizens' right to housing over and against corporations
- Removing tax breaks for Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs) and investment funds for halting speculative investments that expel local residents
- Using urban planning approaches to reserve a 30% quota of affordable housing in all large schemes.

### Restrict Speculation

Public authorities have the power to step in and protect buildings that are under threat of speculation.

Policy implementations seen in the research, regarding the use of public authority powers, include:

- Exercising Right of First Purchase to match any offer made by a prospective investor
- Using the Right of First Purchase on behalf of third parties, such as public housing companies or a cooperative to keep existing affordable buildings
- Using the Right of First Refusal to purchase residential buildings to rapidly increase public housing stock.

### Manage Touristification

Tourism is a powerful gentrifying force in cities and neighbourhoods of historic or special interest. Tourism's itinerant and temporary nature of visitors, effects the quality of life of long-term residents by taking over the public spaces and commercial parts of the neighbourhood to cater for tourist services, as well as displace residents by investors buying property for short-term holiday lets.

Policy implementations seen in the research, with regard to using regulatory mechanisms to balance between resident and tourist co-existence, include:

- Issuing moratoriums on licenses for tourist apartments
- Licensing of tourist apartments including room rentals to regulate live-in owners in their primary residence
- Producing an online register of licensed apartments so tourists can check
- Implementing a Strategic Tourism Plan with programmes that protect residents from negative impact of tourism in their neighbourhoods
- Mapping the location of Homes used for Tourism (HUTs) to manage distribution of concentrations, and morphological diversity in the urban fabric
- Creating Zones assessed on the conditions for tourism accessibility depending on concentration of tourism accommodation to guarantee the right to housing, rest, privacy, the well-being of the neighbourhood, spatial quality, sustainable mobility, and a healthy environment.



### **Gentrification Strategy**

In Barcelona the setting up of the 'Co-Responsibility Space (EC) on Gentrification' is a dedicated government office to implement a coordinated strategy to design and implement measures and initiatives that neutralise and reverse the gentrification processes that lead to the expulsion of local residents from their neighbourhoods.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Preventing the replacement of residents and retailers
- Preventing the replacement of uses, especially that of regular housing with housing use for tourism
- Preventing the elimination of uses that causes certain properties to become vacant

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# Theme Area 2: Diverse Housing

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Housing that accommodates and avoids displacing the original community, its values and its social connections is hugely important in pro-social regeneration and resisting gentrification. There are many dimensions to this, including tourist and student accommodation, housing for affluent residents and space for transient populations. Findings demonstrated how important the creation of housing for lower income residents had been within regenerated areas across all areas of the study.

Housing policy to ensure provision is made for lower income residents is found in Ireland, where the Dublin Docklands Development Authority required that 20% of all market units would be acquired by Dublin City Council for public housing. This does not necessarily address the issue of displacement of communities during periods of regeneration but would help to generate diversity within communities.

Findings from San Sebastian found that when regeneration work was undertaken in the neighbourhood of Egia, the ratio of social housing is regulated by regional government to help ensure it remains a neighbourhood of working people. Housing which replaced the demolished football stadium recently comprised both private and social developments. San Sebastian also noted that there are local groups formed to promote co-housing in the city, working together with the local authority to find solutions, which is seen as a positive development for residents.

Whilst these local, organic groups have also formed in Lisbon to push forward cooperative or co-housing projects, they are facing extensive bureaucracy and being forced to compete with real estate investors for land, available on the open market.

It was found in Vinnytsia, Ukraine that provision for lower income residents within the five districts of the city which have undergone regeneration. The homes for lower income people have been developed alongside the infrastructure needed to build community, such as shops, schools, hospitals and restaurants.

The demographic mix within an area can provide some indication of how inclusive and diverse a population it houses, and the research looked at the demography of the regenerated area, looking at age, income, social class and ethnic and cultural background. Participants from both Vinnytsia and San Sebastian described a mixed and diverse community within the regenerated areas, comprising migrants, students, autochthonous elderly populations and the less wealthy.

## Case Study: Egia, San Sebastian

San Sebastian is a coastal city in Spain, close to the French border with a population of around 185,000. The neighbourhood of Egia is the focus for this case study, where just over 15,000 people live. The neighbourhood has many international residents, with around 8% of inhabitants being non-Spanish (many are Latin American), an increase of 7% over the last twenty years. Whilst the average age of residents in Egia is 44, the migrant population tends to be younger, whilst the Autochthon Spanish residents are frequently in the older age groups. Residents in Egia have amongst the lowest average household incomes in San Sebastian.

The City Council is working on increasing the inclusion of migrants within the neighbourhood of Egia, against a background of neighbourhood improvements and changes that have led to claims of gentrification. The improvements in the neighbourhood need to be achieved without attracting new businesses and residents with higher incomes, pushing up housing prices and displacing the most vulnerable people. The district of Egia has a strong Neighbourhood Association which is active in campaigning for public space, accessibility, housing and community facilities, giving a voice to local people in the process of regeneration. Whilst housing co-operatives are starting to form to lead on developing community housing, these have not yet acquired sites or begun to deliver housing.

New housing has been developed in Egia, in the recent past on the site of a former football stadium, where a mix of private and social housing was provided. Housing development in San Sebastian is regulated by regional government to ensure a proportion of social housing is

developed, which is set at a minimum of 55% of the land suitable for residential use.

Existing residential property is regulated to ensure it remains in use by permanent residents by controls over AirBnB rentals thus setting a preference for long-term over short-term rental.

A significant development resource for the community of Egia, and other city residents, is the renovated tobacco factory, Tabakalera, which attracts tourists and wider city inhabitants with its cultural activities. It is an inclusive neighbourhood space, used by people of all ages including the homeless, students and young migrants. Whilst there have however been tensions between different user groups, with some feeling threatened by the presence of others, the Tabakalera remains a well-used space and an important community focal point.

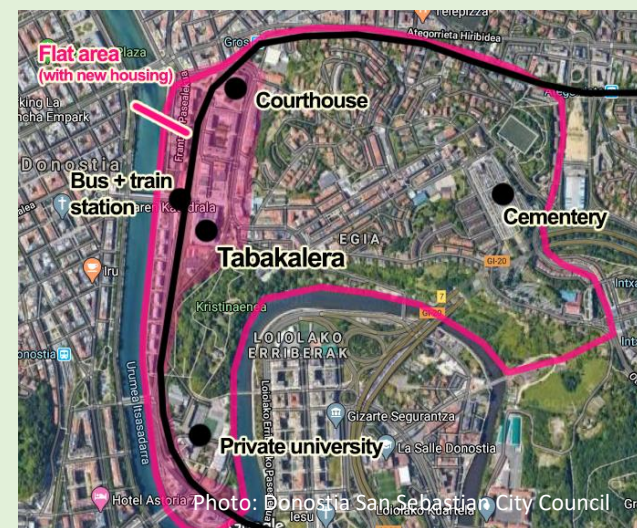






Photo: New housing in Egia, San Sebastian by Donostia San Sebastian City Council



## Case Study: Marvila, Lisbon

Marvila is a district of Lisbon, Portugal which has at its heart the industrial port and historic warehouses. It is somewhat disconnected from the riverbank by the topography and by two railway lines, while other riverside districts have seen gentrification taking place where old industrial warehouses have been renovated and rehabilitated by the 'creative class'.

There are some signs of change, with creative city residents taking advantage of Marvila's character and large, inexpensive spaces. There are large amounts of social housing in Marvila, and it has been selected as a Priority Intervention Zone, meaning it will be supported with masterplanning and a budget through the Local Development Fund.

Other districts which have been gentrified have seen displacement of their residents, and the co-operative movement which has previously been very active in the area has declined significantly. Whilst a policy on resisting AirBnB rentals is in place in other parts of Lisbon, this does not apply to Marvila, and there is consequently little protection should it become a "hot destination".

However, there are activists in the city, and projects to promote the inclusion of migrant and refugee inhabitants, such as the "Refugi.Arte Em Marvila". This focuses on the "socio-spatial inclusion of refugees and economic migrants". It has been led by a local architectural cooperative known as 'Working with the 99%' and primarily aims to "contribute to the inclusionary revitalisation of Marvila Street and surrounding areas through the rehabilitation of a municipal under-used heritage facility: Marquês de Abrantes Palace."

The project recognises a struggle emerging in the area between the market and local resistance, whereby gentrification and an upsurge of wealthy residents conflicts with extremely vulnerable refugees and economic migrants. This initiative, and its predecessor project, have been supported by the municipal authorities in terms of funding, and it is driven forwards by residents, migrants, refugees and students volunteering time.



Photos: Marvila, Lisbon by Atelier Mob



## Case Study: Barcelona

### Homeownership vs rental

A large majority of Barcelona's public housing built over the last century has been converted to private ownership. It is estimated that in Catalonia, Barcelona's region, almost two hundred thousand public houses have become privately owned. In 2015, there were fewer than seven thousand public rental houses owned by the municipality. Public housing agencies such as Obra Sindical del Hogar, the Ministerio de Vivienda, ADIGSA and the Patronat Municipal de la Vivienda had thirty thousand homes between them. With the rise in homeownership, Barcelona's housing market has shown to be less resilient in times of financial crisis when serious problems of foreclosures resulting from non-payment of debts and the difficulties in accessing mortgages led to a social movement, Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (Platform for the Victims of Mortgages), in which the current Mayor, Ada Colau, was active.

Rental housing has emerged as a reasonable option in the face of purchasing difficulties. Rental housing now accounts for 30% of existing housing. This change in trend has led to a 23% increase in rental income, with rents being much higher compared to other cities such as Madrid, Prague, Munich and Berlin. It is estimated 4 out of 10 tenants spend more than 40% of their income on rent.

### Investment Funds

Tourism has placed increased pressure on housing and rental prices as more properties are converted to Housing Use for Tourism (HUT). According to data from the Census of Tourist Establishments, in April 2017 there were 10,544 establishments offering 149,058 places of

accommodation, of which 58,951 correspond to HUTs with a license. AirBnB offered 17,369 tourist homes, of these 49.6% are rooms rented within an inhabited dwelling, and the remainder are apartments.

One third of home purchases in Barcelona are financed by investment funds, whose objective is to maximise profits. The central government has attracted these large companies in the form of SOCIMIS – a Spanish Real Estate Investment Trust, which relies on tax advantages. The interest is global with investors from China, France, and Israel purchasing entire buildings for tourist rental.

### 2008 Financial Crisis Response

The mortgage foreclosures resulting from the financial crisis instigated the implementation of Catalonia's 2007 law for the Right to Housing. Several measures were introduced to protect homeowners from eviction, from displacement during renovation (regulated by construction permits), and municipal norms against real estate harassment. This in effect assisted in keeping residents put in their neighbourhoods.

### Recent Response of Barcelona en Comú Party

Other forms of housing protection are implemented through the PEUAT, as well as the purchasing of complete buildings to avoid residential evictions, and real estate speculation by investment funds. The City's census of empty flats showed 4% of all homes in the city are in disuse. The city contacts the owners and offers them the possibility of incorporating their homes in the rental market by guaranteeing rent, facilities and benefits for renovating dwellings.

### **Habitatge Metròpolis Barcelona**

This is the State's first public-private affordable-rent operator enabling an expansion of the city's affordable-housing stock and moves towards a model where public power, in creating affordable housing, can be complemented with the private power of non-profit entities. It is a mixed-economy, social-promoter company that is made up, on the public level, of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area and Barcelona City Council. A private member was found in 2018 to complete the company's incorporation. The first stage provides for the building of 600 dwellings.

### **Barcelona Municipal Institute of Housing and Renovation (IMHAB)**

The new institute integrates all housing-policy related services to improve the service to city residents.

The institute is responsible for new housing promotions, managing existing promotions, renovation grants for the private rental housing stock, managing the demand for affordable housing, attending to housing emergencies, purchasing dwellings, detecting vacant housing and rent payment grants.

### **The Barcelona Metropolitan Housing Observatory**

Sets out to collect data on the following:

- Indicators on housing
- Information laboratories; Comparative study on rent-regulation measures in Europe; Benchmark rental price index in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area; Offer and demand for rental housing in Barcelona.
- Gentrification. A study on gentrification was begun, in conjunction with Barcelona City Council's Co-Responsibility Space on Gentrification, to establish the methodological

criteria that would enable the drafting of a gentrification index that could become a predictive data model.

### **Co-Housing**

Cohousing is a means of access to housing that allows a community of people to live in a building without being owners or landlords, for a long period of time – 75 years – and at a lower-than-market price. It consists of the cession, by the City Council, of an unused property or lot to a neighbourhood cooperative. The members pay an entrance deposit and a monthly fee for the use of their home, but they will never be the owners: the property belongs to the cooperative. The City Council has already invested 10.6 million euros in the first cohousing projects being carried out on public land. One of the basic premises is that public land must remain public in order to avoid speculation and gentrification. The City Council has created a cooperative housing committee to promote cohousing as a model to provide housing at below market values.

The co-housing model is designed to promote community life, through the participatory and cooperative self-management of common spaces and services, such as the dining room, laundry room, library and / or others, while maintaining the private spaces. Each family unit occupies its own space, the planning and building phases as well as the maintenance and the common spaces of the new buildings are managed jointly.

Cohousing operates on a principle of The Right of Use and Ownership. This stipulates a mix of exclusively owned homes with collective rights-of-use of the common areas, their management and maintenance. As in the right-of-use model, transfer or sale of properties is limited in price and restricted to co-op members who are still in need of housing. Once financing has been paid back, families become owners of their

own homes while the common areas are owned by the co-op. If a family decides to leave the Cohousing community, their privately-owned home is sold to another co-op member without profit but recovering their entire investment.

Individuals have the right to occupy a particular apartment by mutual agreement but do not hold exclusive ownership to it. This agreement may be indefinite if the co-op is the land owner or limited if the plot has been leased to the co-op by the City Council. The co-op builds the building and becomes its owner on a plot of land that may belong to the co-op or be granted to it privately or ceded by the City Council at a symbolic price and for a limited amount of time. In the case of Barcelona, the period is 75 years.

The advantage for the administration is that a plot leased to a co-op remains public property. The advantage for the co-op members is that they gain access to decent housing at an affordable price. The advantage for the city and its citizens is that this system avoids speculation and soaring real estate prices.

In response, a number of co-housing organisations have been founded, including coHousing Barcelona SCCL. Their goals are:

- The creation of a community environment for all by sharing common interests and spaces that are managed together
- Providing access to decent housing at below market prices
- Offering greater rent security as people will be living in their homes without having to face big fluctuations in their monthly payments
- Creating healthy and sustainable buildings and homes
- The promotion of community life, shared use of basic infrastructures and co-responsibility in designing and managing the buildings

- Enabling people to stay in their neighbourhoods in spite of rising housing costs and spreading gentrification

In summary, Barcelona's shift from homeownership to rental has revealed the vulnerabilities of access to housing in the city where measures have been implemented to manage foreign investment and housing being converted for tourist use (HUTs). Measures have focused on increasing housing supply (both municipal and renovated empty housing) such as cohousing, protecting homeowners and tenants from eviction, and in monitoring the liveability of neighbourhoods through maintaining 'urban equilibrium' for a sustainable balance of tourist and local economies.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Barcelona](#), Page 81)





Photo: Historic neighbourhood in Barcelona by Zach Rowlandson on Unsplash



## Case Study: Berlin

Berlin's housing market is dominated by rental housing. Only 14 percent of the overall housing stock is used by owner occupants, the rest is rentals. More than 60 percent of the rental sector is owned and managed by private property owners and companies, including 150,000 housing units of institutional investors. Around 24 percent are held by public housing associations or housing cooperatives.

Between 1990 and 2012, Berlin lost more than 200,000 state-owned housing units, which were mainly sold to private companies and Anglo-American financial investors. Berlin became the stronghold of housing privatization, as the municipal housing stock declined from 482,000 units after the reunification to approximately 273,500 in 2012. The successive withdrawal of public authorities in the housing supply and a turn towards a more market-orientated housing supply impacted the subsequent loss of social housing from 20% of the total German housing stock in the 1980s, this portion decreased to only 6% until 2008. The en bloc sales of several thousand public housing units between 2004 and 2006 included about 20%–25% social housing units.

There were three strategies employed by investors in Berlin's housing market:

- 'Value-added strategy' through upgrading the social housing stock and increasing rents
- 'Opportunistic investment strategy' based on the speculation for returns due to a rising investment demand in Berlin, and often purchasing property with no development potential and no upgrading incentive simply for financial leverage.
- After the 2007 crash, increased vacancies forced investors to target lower-income households on welfare in a 'transfer payment

strategy', based on secured rent payments by the authorities. In this case, affordable housing was available but at much lower quality.

Berlin's remaining six housing companies altered their strategies on the housing market from the mid-2000s, opening up to other target groups. The reason for this was due to the City Council selling its own housing companies to other city-owned housing companies to achieve sales revenues. To afford the portfolios, the companies had to take out huge loans, positioning them in economically adverse situations nearly causing the bankruptcy of some companies. To deal with this problem, the City Council passed a master plan, inducing a strict economic consolidation for its housing companies to enable them to make profit in order to extract dividends. This new economic incentive impacted investment strategies to maximise rent and led to the displacement of low-income tenants.

In 2012, Berlin City Council, together with its six housing companies, issued the 'Alliance for social housing policy and affordable rents' to ensure affordable accommodation for low-income households. It was agreed to let 50% of all vacant apartments in the inner city to housing permit holders. Furthermore, the agreement included the expansion of the state-owned housing stock from 275,000 to 300,000 units by new construction and purchases until 2016. A further advancement was enshrined in the development of the new 'Housing Provision Law' (Wohnraumversorgungsgesetz) which became effective in January 2016 in which the city's housing companies would expand to 400,000 housing units geared towards a stronger emphasis on low-income households.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Berlin](#), Page 82)





Photo: Felix Neudecker on Unsplash



## Summary

The theme of diverse housing in the study and in the case studies highlight a number of key areas for policy development.

### Mixed Tenure

The rise in homeownership in the housing market has shown to be less resilient in times of financial crisis when serious problems of foreclosures result in non-payment of debts and the difficulties in accessing mortgages. Rental housing has emerged as a reasonable option in the face of purchasing difficulties.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Providing a mix of housing tenures of public/social rented, shared ownership, private rented, and private homeownership
- New developments having a fixed quota of rented housing e.g. 40% for large schemes

### Public Housing

In both Berlin and Barcelona the loss of public housing has been a contributing factor to lower-income residents being priced-out of neighbours for lack of supply.

Policy implementations seen in the research, to increase public housing supply, include:

- Issuing an 'Alliance for social housing policy and affordable rents' to ensure affordable accommodation for low-income households
- Expanding state-owned housing stock by new construction and purchase

- Developing a 'Housing Provision Law' in which housing companies expand their housing units geared towards a stronger emphasis on low-income households.

### Private Investment

A considerable number of buildings and homes are purchased by investment funds whose objective is to maximise profit from tourism rental and upgrading entire buildings for higher-income tenants.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Remove tax breaks for Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs) and investment funds to halt speculative investments that expel local residents.

### Use of Vacant Properties

In the drive to increase supply of public housing, vacant properties can be brought back into a habitable condition and prepared for occupation by lower-income households.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Developing a city census or register of empty flats
- Public Authorities offering owners the opportunity to incorporate their homes in the rental market by guaranteeing their rent, facilities and benefits for renovating dwellings.

### Right to Purchase

Public authorities have the power to step in and protect buildings that are under threat of speculation.

Policy implementations seen in the research include using public authority powers to:

- Exercise Right of First Purchase to match any offer made by a prospective investor
- Use the Right of First Purchase on behalf of third parties, such as public housing companies or a cooperative to keep existing affordable buildings
- Use the Right of First Refusal to purchase residential buildings to rapidly increase public housing stock.

### Public-Private Partnership

Public Authorities may not have all the funds to supply public/social and affordable housing. Therefore partnerships are a mechanism of sharing the risk and the financing.

Policy implementations seen in the research include the development of different types of partnership to expand public housing stock:

- Developing public-private partnership as an affordable-rent operator in a model where public power in creating affordable housing is complemented with the private power of non-profit entities.
- Working with housing companies to issue an 'Alliance for social housing policy and affordable rents' to ensure affordable accommodation for low-income households.

### Data Collection

To ensure management of affordability in the rental sector, data collection tools are necessary. In Barcelona, *The Barcelona Metropolitan Housing Observatory*, has been set up to collect important data.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Producing indicators on housing
- Setting up information laboratories to produce housing studies
- Developing a comparative study on rent-regulation measures
- Benchmarking rental price index in the city
- Mapping the offer and demand for rental housing in the city
- Developing a gentrification index that could become a predictive data model.

### Co-Housing

Cohousing is another means of providing below-market level rents. It consists of the cession, by the City Council, of an unused property or lot to a neighbourhood cooperative. Cohousing operates on a principle of The Right of Use and Ownership over a period of 75 years, the building is owned by the co-operative itself.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Identifying public land in the city for co-operative models of housing
- Strengthening the co-operative infrastructure in the city through promotion, legal support, and participatory processes

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# Theme Area 3: Stakeholder Partnership

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An important theme was how the wider community and other partner agencies and organisations have been engaged in shaping and helping to co-design the regenerated area.

In Vinnytsia, Ukraine, residents have been invited to participate in regeneration, via a scheme known as “*A Budget of Public Initiatives*”. This is a democratic process where citizens select the projects they want budgets to be spent on. The budget has been spent on renovating some of the historic buildings. There is no evidence that the properties have been sold or rented at a higher value after the renovation. Vinnytsia also uses a platform for participation processes where all regeneration issues can be openly discussed. The hub is used by active citizens, pro-active NGOs and city council representatives, including the mayor, for open discussions.

San Sebastian has also developed a pilot “*community listening*” online platform with the purpose of fostering positive and sustained relationships within the neighbourhood, and better communication between agencies and residents.



## Case Study: Barcelona

In the context of unregulated tourism growth several grassroots organisations emerged to protest the effects of tourism. Barcelona has a strong history of political activism and strong civil society that has proved successful in their bid for pro-social regeneration. Following the financial crisis and the foreclosures of mortgages that placed many families at risk of eviction, social resistance mounted spurring several social movements for change.

### 15M

On May 15th 2011, after two years of protesting, millions of people started a process of social change, a movement that was called 15M. It gave a clear and unmistakable signal that they were not merchandise in the hands of politicians and bankers. They claimed that representative democracy was dying, and that the political class had failed them despite the growing protests and the outcry of upset people. They claimed the ruling classes were using the crisis to plunder the common wealth, risking the lives of people.

15M sought to guarantee the right to the existence of the 99%. They had 6 demands, of which one focused on housing:

- Guaranteed right on access to adequate housing.
- Retroactive donation in payment.
- Social rental housing.
- Promotion of housing co-operatives.

The 15M movement was the result of a confluence between a group of traditional actors that preceded the crisis – neighbourhood associations, community-based grassroots organizations, no-global

movements, traditional left-wing parties, critical academicians, trade unions, and the movement for free knowledge— and a set of new protests, movements, and organizations that emerged in the context of the crisis with a significant weight of people without a previous activist experience: the Mareas against public cuts, Platform for the Victims of Mortgages (PAH), and other anti-eviction organizations; the 15M and its local assemblies; and new political organizations like Podemos, Equo, Procés Constituent, and Partido X. This movement is regarded as a political catalyst for change.

### Platform for the Victims of Mortgages (PAH)

A number of critical stakeholders have been instrumental in co-producing public policy in the face of the crisis but also in the development of the measures to manage tourist gentrification. For one, the role of the Platform for the Victims of Mortgages (PAH) was instrumental as a social movement capable of influencing public opinion and of providing innovative collective strategies, such as collective re-negotiation of mortgage debts with financial institutions to support affected families. By thoroughly investigating the judicial eviction process and the Mortgage law, the PAH published documents and ready-to-use forms to target institutions into debt mediation.

The outcome has been the temporary suspension of evictions and through a change in the law regulating payment in kind (by returning the house to the bank), as well as private and public institutions augmenting the rental social housing stock, for example by transforming evicted apartments or empty building blocks into social housing. In some instances, where evictions could not be prevented

and social services could not re-house families, the PAH would accommodate them in one of the empty blocks they occupied. The occupation of empty blocks was a well-thought out campaign to pressure the City Council to meet the need for social housing and to demand financial institutions offer their empty buildings for rent. In February 2014, 8 months after the start of the collective occupation of building blocks, 20 blocks were occupied, sheltering 1049 people.

### **Observatory DESC**

Key members of Observatory DESC overlap with PAH. The Observatory is an umbrella organization that gathers multiple organizations active in economic, social and cultural rights. They produce vital knowledge and conduct research useful for the PAH movement. The unofficial but strong link between key actors of the PAH and employees of the DESC ensures a network and creates a bottom link towards (public) institutions. This clear strategy makes it possible for the social movement to retain their confrontational attitude towards public institutions and yet ensure a relation or information flow with institutions through the Observatory DESC.

### **Assembly of Neighbourhoods for Sustainable Tourism ABTS**

The Assembla de Barris per un Turisme Sostenible (ABTS) is a grassroots organisation that emerged in Barcelona in 2015 when over 35 collectives from different neighbourhoods unified to prove the current model of tourism growth is unsustainable. ABTS opposed the Council's vision for tourism and suggested that the most basic answer to the current effects of tourism in Barcelona is a planned and regulated system of tourism de-growth. They argued for a number of stipulations to:

- Reduce the number of visitors and tourist-oriented commercial activities to achieve a fairer city, both socially and environmentally.
- Redistribute the benefits generated by the sector and to promote economic alternatives
- Resist the growth of tourism accommodation including hotels and holiday rentals
- Audit the illegal activities of the tourism sector
- Participate in governance process of the Strategic Tourism Plan 2020.

The ABTS has carried out targeted social mobilisations. For example, they held a Neighbourhood Forum on Tourism with a motto 'the city is for living in, not for living off' with debates focused on the economic model of tourism, the management of ports and cruises, and alternative uses for housing and public space. ABTS also organised a march with 100 residents under the slogan 'Mass tourism and speculation won't force us out' which ended in the lobby of a hotel. They also occupied the SOHO hotel for several hours which had been built after an investment fund displaced tenants. Their #UNFairbnb campaign led to actions to book unlicensed holiday apartments using the airbnb.com website. They were located in buildings in which all of the residents had been displaced. Once ABTS were inside the apartments they hung banners from the balconies while other members took action on the street. The idea was to publicly denounce the expulsion suffered by residents and to dismantle the social myth regarding Airbnb and its false pretension of a collaborative economy. In this instance the property owners were not simply increasing their incomes by renting their flats – they were professional speculators and owned several apartment buildings in which similar expulsion processes took place in order to accommodate tourists. The

#UNFairbnb actions received considerable media attention and caused the city council to examine the properties, leading them to take action against the owners. In a number of neighbourhoods in the city, ABTS has supported campaigns such as in Barceloneta – the gentrified leisure and night-life oriented fishing harbour – where slogans were painted on the pavement saying ‘Tourist Go Home’, ‘Tourist, Respect or Die’, and ‘Your Tourism Kills My Neighbourhood.’ In the Gòtic quarter mottoes refer directly to displacement with banners saying ‘Neighbours – a species threatened with extinction’ or ‘more tourist apartments, fewer family homes.’

ABTS is a city-wide initiative that supports local activists in raising the profile of the changes that are happening in their neighbourhood.





Photos: Ernest Canada

### **Federation of Neighbourhood Associations (FAVB)**

The FAVB brings together over 100 neighbourhood organizations in Barcelona. On collective housing issues, they search for solutions through cooperating with social movements and civil society organizations: Laio Flautas, 500\*20, 15 M, Caritas and the PAH, all concerned with the deprivation dynamics of the crisis. FAVB members have organized their own mediation service where people are attended individually by a lawyer and expert in mediation.

### **Municipal Advisory Board on Social Housing (ABSH)**

The Advice Board on Social Housing (ABSH) emerged from one of the thematic boards of the City Council as the participatory organ of the municipality of Barcelona. The ABSH formed in 2007 within the framework of the “Consorti de l’habitatge de Barcelona”: the municipality’s and the autonomous community’s overarching body on housing at the municipal level. The ABSH was designed to function as a participatory and consultative structure concerning all issues of housing policy in Barcelona. It is the main tool for consultations and information on the city’s housing policy.

More than sixty members take part in it, with representatives from the Generalitat regional government of Catalonia and the City Council, municipal political party groups, public bodies and enterprises relating to housing planning and construction, sectoral municipal participation councils, non-profit social entities, associations and entities providing social support for housing access, cooperative-member entities, local-resident movements, unions, social foundations, universities, professional associations etc. The Observatory DESC, which collaborates closely with the PAH, is member of the ABSH, as is the FAVB (Federation of Neighbourhood Associations of Barcelona). Also, the ombudswoman is always invited and informed as a visiting member of the Board.

### **Caritas’ mediation service in housing**

In September 2011, Caritas started the Mediation Service in Housing (MSH). Caritas mostly runs on individual donations and with volunteers. These funds serve to give financial support to households in need. Until June 2013, Caritas owned 250 buildings acquired with multiple resources. Caritas established a communication channel with financial institutions. This link consists of an agreement with the financial institutions that they will cooperate and keep the communication open on all the cases of mortgage troubles of socially excluded groups. For Caritas, a case is solved when it succeeds in renegotiating the mortgage debt, people can stay in their houses with a social rent or reach an accord of payment in kind.

### **The Sindicat de Llogaters (Tenants Union)**

The Tenants Union is an association aimed at representing to the municipality to demand measures to alleviate problems generated by tourist pressure.

### **Habitatge.barcelona**

A website portal designed to present the Council’s services linked to housing on campaigns such as ‘Housing, an essential right’, ‘The key is in your hands’, ‘We’re putting all our energy into preventing your electricity, gas and water supplies from being cut’, and ‘Renovating your home Improves your life’.

### **Superblock programme**

The establishment of the Superblock Model in Barcelona Programme, depends on the participation and coordination of various players that are central to its delivery:

- Local residents, associations and specific groups provide contextual expertise



- City Associations provide specialist expertise in matters such as mobility, greenery and public spaces
- The Districts provide comprehensive expertise on ecology, urban planning and mobility
- Experts: these contribute research, innovation and comparisons with other experiences around the world.
- Technical Secretariat that provides professional support and is made up of representatives from the Area of Urban Ecology of Barcelona City Council.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Barcelona](#), Page 81)



## Case Study: Berlin

Berlin has a history of activism and self-organisation. The 1970s saw the formation of New Social Movements and citizens' action committees (Bürgerinitiativen) concerned with municipal urban policies. Radical protest and self-help was expressed in the squatting movement of the early 1980s in West Berlin. Today, Berlin Tenants Association is a visibly active contributor to the gentrification debate in the city.

In Kreuzberg the grassroots activism movement is called Bizim Kiez, fighting to maintain diversity. Other neighbourhoods have other forms of self-organisation and resistance. In Neukölln, the Neukölln Tenants' Alliance and F54 Kiezladen (a neighbourhood cooperative) squatted their apartment block after an investor from Luxembourg served eviction notices on the residents and ground floor business. F54 sought ways to use the milieuschutz law to purchase the building themselves

with the support of the Council. Within two months the Council had managed to negotiate with one of Berlin's city-owned housing companies, Gewobag, to take over the building, allowing the residents to stay on and pay social housing rentals. However, this deal came at an inflated price, as the Council had to match the bid of the private investor. In this case, a not-for-profit foundation was found to fill the funding gap, but that might not be possible in other cases. One option could be to raise money through crowdfunding drives.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Berlin](#), Page 82)

## Summary

The theme of stakeholder partnership in the study and in the case studies highlight a number of key areas for policy development.

### **Participation**

Social exclusion from the processes of urban governance and urban change are a defining part of gentrification. Therefore, democratic and inclusive forms of participation in developing urban policies and programmes are important.

Policy implementations seen in the research, with regard to providing a variety of opportunities for citizen-led decision-making, include:

- Giving citizens a say in where and how budgets are spent on projects through A Budget of Public Initiative
- Providing a platform of Hub for participation in regeneration issues with the purpose of open discussions between the Mayor, active citizens, pro-active NGOs and city council representatives
- Developing a 'Community Listening' online platform to foster positive and sustained relationships within the neighbourhood, and better communication between agencies and residents
- Developing programmes for lifelong learning, volunteering, intercultural understanding, and leadership to encourage citizens to be active in their communities and contribute to positive change towards building a vibrant and resilient city.

### **Managing gentrification movements**

The cities making the greatest progress in combating gentrification are those with a strong and active social movement context. These movements place demands on public authorities to make changes affected by the negative impact of gentrification, and should be encouraged.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Giving citizens the right to make demands on housing, rent and mortgage affordability, and the impacts of touristification
- Seeking solutions in which a redistribution of the benefits generated by the tourism sector can promote economic alternatives
- Ensuring participation in governance process of Plan- and Policy-making is open and clear.
- Placing greater responsibility on citizen-led housing e.g. co-operatives
- Provide funding for services such as debt and eviction mediation

### **Alliances of civil society to co-produce policy**

The most effective policies are those that have been consulted on by a broad range of stakeholders.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Bringing together neighbourhood associations, community-based grassroots organizations, no-global movements, decision-makers, critical academicians, trade unions, and the movement for free knowledge
- Bringing together collectives from different neighbourhoods
- Networking neighbourhood organisations campaigning on housing issues
- Developing a website portal designed to present the Council's services linked to housing
- Engaging different tiers of stakeholders on a neighbourhood project; Local residents, associations and specific groups provide contextual expertise; City Associations; The Districts; Experts; Technical Secretariat that provides professional support.



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# Theme Area 4: Inclusive Public Space

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How public spaces work for those who are frequently marginalised, and whether cities and regions had made particular provision to promote equality to ensure the needs of diverse users are met were investigated. Examples of inclusive public spaces in their regenerated areas which attract a wide range of users were of particular interest.

In San Sebastian, representatives quoted the example of Plazaundi, a square in the middle of the neighbourhood which forms a focal point for people of a range of ages and origins to meet. The participatory redesign process involved a range of users, including families, children, elderly people and social organisations. The case study on San Sebastian provides further detail on Tabakalera, where conflicts between different social, economic and cultural groups have taken place and interventions have been undertaken to reduce tension and build community cohesion.

The needs of people with disabilities are being increasingly recognised in Vinnytsia, where housing and public spaces are being created to enable independent lifestyles for those with mobility issues. The City Council has been active in this work and has developed a strategy to support the inclusion of those with disabilities.



Photo: Vinnytsia Historic Centre by Vinnytsia City Council

## Case Study: Barcelona

Tourism growth has not only led to residential gentrification, but just as significantly to commercial gentrification and the privatisation of public space. In neighbourhoods such as Santa Caterina the traditional food market has become a new tourist attraction in which old sandwich bars have been replaced by elitist restaurants and the elderly customers displaced by the younger and more affluent consumers in search for authentic and local products.

### Ordenanzas Civicas

Approved in 2005, this law aimed to regulate the use of public spaces by criminalising homelessness, drinking in public areas and sitting on the floor or on steps. This law has had a negative impact on neighbourhood life.

As an example, George Orwell Square located in the Gòtic area was planned where a block of derelict buildings once stood. One of 23 squares in the Ciutat Vella founded through building demolitions to open up closed and insidious buildings with high levels of prostitution and drug-related crimes, George Orwell Square consisted of mainly family businesses providing daily services for low-income residents. The square became a gathering space for young people and the homeless. Both groups would sit on the steps and drink and chat during the evening.

The enforcement of the Ordenanzas Civicas in the square removed benches and dispersed any gatherings perceived as 'anti-social'. Gradually new bars and restaurants opened, including the conversion of a building into a luxury hotel in 2013. The installation of terraces was

permitted providing outdoor seating for the bars and restaurants. There are now 16 businesses in the square, 10 are bars and restaurants, 2 are clothes stores, 1 is a tattoo parlour, 1 is a tourist-oriented bike rental store, 1 is a home store and another is a bakery. These businesses have all displaced a butcher, working class snack bars, grocery stores, and a warehouse. Those who were renting moved out.

The square is limited in size. The terraces take up a large space and is where the majority of the 192 seats are located. There is an absence of benches deterring the elderly from using the square. A children's playground is used primarily by tourists. The result has been a congested space, that caters to the tourist, has a lack of facilities for residents, privatised space, and commercial gentrification. Besides direct gentrification which is visible with the loss of local business, there is an additional sense of indirect gentrification as local people have lost their place to gather and chat in the evening.

There have been a number of neighbourhood-level campaigns that challenged the increasing nature of the transient consumer and loss of communal space.

### Vivim Aquí

The Angel Baixeras primary school does not have a playground. Children play on the rooftop. Therefore, the Council demolished a few buildings to open a new space in front of the school. The aim was to reveal part of the historic wall and create a new public space. Close to the square is a Segway rental shop and the square gets used to practice in. To prevent the space from being 'rented' to a touristic activity, the

Recuperem l'espai  
Públic com a  
lloc de Convivència



Photo: Elisa Bruttomesso



school launched Vivim Aquí (We Live Here) campaign. The mobilisation of residents is using the campaign to remind the Council of the importance of local resident's needs for safety, places to gather, peace from noise pollution, and community facilities.

### **Cruïlles**

In 2002 a group of residents decided to take some chairs to sit and talk in the small Sant Francesc square. Residents claim that Cruïlles – meaning crossroads – is not a protest but an activity to reclaim the square as a place to meet the neighbours because they do not have places to do so. Cruïlles has become a reference of togetherness and a means of regaining community life. The police have threatened the group of residents to fine them for gathering in compliance with the Ordenanzas Civicas banning of such activity. Residents feel the injustice that terraces are not considered an invasion of public space but they are. They have had to apply to the Council for an annual license in order to maintain their weekly activities.

### **Fem Plaça**

Similar to Cruïlles, Fem Plaça – meaning 'square making' – is a rally in which residents 'occupy' a square for a few hours to resist the privatisation of public space and the difficulties in engaging in community life. They select a square that is 'rented' to bars and restaurants and used by tourists. They show up with their children to play and talk. Their intention is to claim the public space and say 'here we are, we live here, and we are alive'.

The initiative started in 2013 when different community associations in Ciutat Vella gathered to complain about the liberalisation of terraces and the resultant lack of public space. Instead of demanding legal changes to local authorities, the residents repositioned themselves in places that belonged to them. The police do not expect people to use a

public space to gather and talk, they regularly check what is going on and they see families playing with their children they leave.

Even if living in the Gòtic area can be a traumatic experience, for many staying put is a conscious strategy to resist the oppression of accumulation by dispossession and indirect displacement.

The primary principle is to prevent traffic access to open up the possibility of other uses; such as children and teenagers exercising their right to play games, practise sport, engage in cultural or financial exchanges, expressive actions and protests, with streets becoming a meeting space between several generations of people and groups.

### **Superblocks**

The Superblocks programme is called 'Let's Fill Streets With Life', initiated to improve people's quality of life by making the city healthier and more habitable. The superblock challenges air-pollution, traffic noise, road-accident rates, lack of greenery, and quality spaces for interacting, by closing down roads to traffic and claiming them back for pedestrian and sustainable use.

A participatory process has been designed that is intended to accompany the entire deployment of the measures to be implemented, seeking at all times the involvement and joint responsibility of the social fabric of each area.

The transformation of public space as a place for gathering is a key principle, starting with more tactical interventions, such as benches, planters, playgrounds, and public art. With the increase in walking and cycling and the eradication of through traffic, the streets are occupied by all generations.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Barcelona](#), Page 81)

## Case Study: Berlin

Public space governance in Berlin, reveals entrepreneurial strategies, as well as the call for more civic engagement. The severe cuts in public funding for public green space due to the severe fiscal crisis of the Council, led to a search for new ways of maintaining parks, playgrounds and other public spaces.

The Council's entrepreneurial activities included the formal privatisation of parks, the introduction of park entrance fees, the increased use of the low-wage sector and workfare programmes for maintenance, and the outsourcing of maintenance work to private companies.

At the civic engagement level, several local resident groups started 'Rescue the Borough Park' initiatives called Bezirk, in which local residents were encouraged to adopt their parks. Another campaign from a different borough asked for volunteers to support the parks department.

One of the common forms of inclusive public space in Berlin are community gardens run by volunteers. Most of these gardens have both an economic function (food provision) and a social function (provision of social contact). Although some of the gardens are only temporarily open to the general public, they can still fulfil important social or other functions that are relevant for a broader group of people or for the whole neighbourhood.

The community garden groups are organized in different ways, ranging from loose groups to formally registered associations. The groups get funding from different sources: member fees and member donations,

donations from outside or prize money. Most of them get public funding as well, sometimes only for the creation of the gardens, sometimes also for maintenance costs.

In 1999 in Neukölln, the Kids' Garden was set up as part of the urban renewal programme by a formal neighbourhood representation body (Betroffenenvertretung) and 14 parents which run private childcare facilities (Kinderläden) in the area. They registered as an association called Grün für Kinder.V.— Green Spaces for Children as a garden for interim use only, and established on public land for at least 10 years. After that period, and pending sufficient financing, a public kindergarten and a public path connecting two streets were planned for the 3,000 m<sup>2</sup> plot. The aim of the Kid's garden is to provide inner city children with the opportunity to be exposed to nature and environmental education by growing flowers, fruits and vegetables. The garden is only accessible by the children, their educators, parents and their parents' friends. It is estimated that the garden is used by 250 children and 100 adults. However, criticism of the association's representation limits its inclusiveness, as it does not reflect the cultural diversity of the area. The association is mostly run by white middle-class Germans, typical for private childcare groups in Germany. Migrant inhabitants can use the garden through some of the children's facilities.

A more inclusive public space is the urban farm for children, kinderbauernhof Mauerplatz in Kreuzberg, claimed by squatters on this plot of derelict land beside the Berlin wall in 1981. A registered association was founded in the same year. Organised mainly by single mothers, the aim was to create an educationally supervised green

space for small children in the inner city where they would have access to animals and gardening. Members of the group have also been engaged in local politics. One member became a borough councillor and actively influenced the local democratic system. The users of the public space reflect the diversity of the neighbourhood.

Many other community gardens have been designated for interim use on vacant land earmarked for development, but with no long term guarantee. As a result the tenure of community gardens is fragile. The current arrangements are only valid until 'big investors' come back into the city. Comments by Berlin officials and their insistence on the term 'interim use' suggest that gardens are seen mostly as a stop-gap measure or a second-best option in times of slow real estate development. This is also related to the fact that the gardens meet certain aspirations of the local state, but do not tackle the real problem: the maintenance of larger existing parks.

Berlin's budgetary restrictions has meant taking a more entrepreneurial approach to public spaces by promoting voluntarism and civic governance.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Berlin](#), Page 82)



Photo: Nikita Pishchugin on Unsplash



## Summary

The theme of inclusive public space in the study and in the case studies (below) highlight a number of key areas for policy development.

### Public Space Governance

In areas undergoing urban change, often changes to the way public space is used, and by newcomers, gradually excludes longer-term residents. One way to ensure this process does not occur is through greater responsibility and control over a public space's governance.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Engaging with all diverse sectors of the local community
- Encouraging volunteering such as 'Friends Of', 'Rescue the Park', 'Adopt a Park' etc.
- Supporting local groups to organise into registered associations
- Ensuring associations reflect the cultural diversity of the area

### Access to public land

In neighbourhoods undergoing urban change, there are often opportunities for interim use of vacant land earmarked for development or being piloted as a space before larger investment is made. This form of temporary use can provide an opportunity for great social cohesion. Temporary interventions in public land is called tactical urbanism.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Designating vacant land to local groups for interim use
- Starting with more tactical interventions, such as benches, planters, playgrounds, and public art

- Supporting events and other opportunities for gathering by all generations and segments of the community
- Encouraging exercise, walking and cycling.

### Privatisation of Public Space

The interests of investors and businesses in public space has meant that more space has become privatised. Privatised space caters to higher-income clientele and provide lifestyle services targeted for them in the form of restaurants, coffee shops, boutiques etc.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Protecting the businesses of local traders
- Protecting the authenticity of migrant businesses to avoid 'commodification of culture' for higher-income consumption
- Managing the number of non-local shops and services that open
- Managing the change of uses of shops and services that do not provide for local residents

### Co-Design

Public space best meets the needs of local people through a process of participatory design.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Promoting participatory design processes such as co-design
- Involving a range of users, including families, children, elderly people and social organisations

### **Conflict in Public Space**

Genuinely public space is open to all members of society. It is inevitable that conflicts will occur.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Acknowledging that laws aimed at regulating anti-social behaviour are not always favourable. They tend to criminalise the more vulnerable in society.
- Encouraging greater dialogue through face-to-face contact and social interactions to break down prejudices
- Designing the public space to give all groups a sense of belonging

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# Theme Area 5: Nurturing Local Business

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The growth and success of small scale, locally grown businesses within an area is an indicator of how it has managed to regenerate without gentrification, and it is interesting to note how the pattern of business ownership had changed since regeneration took place.

We found overall agreement that the pattern of business had changed, predominantly in a positive way, with an increase in cultural spaces, diverse locally owned food outlets, co-working spaces and independent shops. Small businesses were thought to have proliferated in the regenerated areas, indicating that the lower income entrepreneurs had not been driven out. We enquired further about measures taken by the agencies and authorities to foster migrant or refugee entrepreneurship, but we did not find that there were particular policies or strategies to support this.





Photo: Markus Winkler on Unsplash



## Case Study: Historic core, Vinnytsia

Vinnytsia is an historic city in Ukraine with a population of around 370,000, with a heritage that dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The central historical area of Vinnytsia is a cultural asset and important to the historic, ethnic and cultural identity of the city. The historic centre of the city is where, traditionally, commerce has taken place, blended alongside homes and community activities, and there is not a separation between the commercial and historic districts that is seen in some European cities.

In terms of architecture, there is a mix of structures from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, including over 50 protected “listed” buildings in the main street, Soborna Street. The Catholic church and monastery buildings of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries are amongst those protected in accordance with the Law of Ukraine on the Protection of Cultural Heritage.

Parts of the city have undergone regeneration in recent years, especially the historic centre, which has become increasingly commercialised and has begun to attract more visitors. This has implications for the historic city centre’s longstanding residents, many of whom are elderly homeowners whose properties have been passed through several generations. The process of transformation in the historic city centre has had effects on local people and businesses.

The key change that has been observed has been the replacement of traditional residential occupation with commercial uses. Whilst these uses have co-existed within the central historic area for centuries, the City Council is finding that there is a substantial increase in commercial

uses, which then triggers further investments, for example the growth in shopping malls, supermarkets, banks and hotels, and the use of residential apartments for small businesses. Ground floor apartments are especially vulnerable to being sold for business use. The City Council has no current policies over this shift in use, and consequent potential displacement of populations as the buildings in question are privately owned. This has resulted in a change in character of the historic centre, particularly with private owners having the right to modify property, within some constraints, which has resulted in modern and potentially out-of-place additions to buildings in this area.

Vinnytsia central historic area is therefore seeing an increase in commercial activity, but also a shift in the type of commercial activity, with fewer small, local indigenous businesses and more large-scale national corporations bringing investment to the city. This potentially risks displacing locally generated activity and residents. The class structure of the population in the city centre is changing, and prices for the sale and rental of apartments are higher than in other city quarters. Whilst housing and public infrastructure has improved in the central historic area, both the cost of housing and the cost of living have increased. Home ownership remains high, however, and has allowed the central historic area to continue to be a diverse district. Home ownership is identified by the City Council as a factor in reducing the risk of displacement to the poorest citizens from their neighbourhoods.



Photo Credit: Vinnytsia Historic Centre by Vinnytsia City Council



## Case Study: Barcelona

Commercial displacement is a key feature of Barcelona's tourist gentrification. This urban change is taking place in the more historic parts of the city; both in the walled area but also along the seafront.

La Barceloneta, the old fishing port, for example, has experienced unregulated expansion and commodification of youth-centred and tourist-centred leisure activities during the day and night-time. The transformation of the neighbourhood started in 1990s with the studentification of the city, mainly the result of Erasmus students that began arriving. Their presence favoured the rise and expansion of a cosmopolitan nightlife scene. The opening of discotheques in Baja Beach in 1997 responded to the success of restaurants, pubs, late-night bars and small-sized discotheques located at the Olympic Port in 1992 as a new leisure and tourist zone. These types of tourist- and youth-centred activities began to spread along La Barceloneta's beach promenade. Late night bars in Joan De Borbó Avenue, as well as 24/7 corner shops in the neighbourhood provide quick and cheap sources to alcohol.

The night-life impacts on resident's sense of belonging – resulting in what could be conceptualized as a form of 'neighbourhood resource displacement' or indirect displacement. Local bars and restaurants, traditionally frequented by working-class residents, have been progressively substituted by new tourist and cosmopolitan middleclass-oriented activities. This in turn affects affordability and with these changes of lifestyle residents now feel uncomfortable going to bars and restaurants they used to frequent.

The touristification of La Barceloneta in the night-time economy has also led to the progressive spatial displacement of local night-time leisure practices of youth, like playing football in the street, smoking while chatting, etc. The expansion of tourist nightlife has gradually expanded into the heart of the neighbourhood, moving from the beachfront, so that those squares where locals used to frequent are no longer accessible to them.

This is the case in La Repla, the most popular square, and a place for the youths to gather. The square was remodelled between 2005 and 2007 together with the popular market that was located there. The rehabilitation of the La Barceloneta Municipal Market turned this space into a gourmet food market. Today the square is a meeting point not only for some locals but for tourists and international college students. In La Repla, night-time leisure activities of local youth have been marginalized in order to give way to commercially led ways of experiencing the square. This unregulated spread into the interior of the neighbourhood has caused complaints from residents about noise and disturbances related to private parties in tourist flats and late-night bars and discotheques. These disturbances are amplified by the physical layout of the mixed-use neighbourhood and the narrow streets.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Barcelona](#), Page 81)

## Case Study: Berlin

Many of Berlin's inner-city neighbourhoods are culturally diverse largely due to their industrial pasts and the settlement of guest workers from Turkey and Arab-speaking nations as part of a bi-national agreement to rebuild Germany's economy after World War 2. Neukölln and Kreuzberg have high proportions of migrant communities and high concentrations of their businesses, therefore are directly impacted by the gentrifying pressures of these neighbourhoods. There are several hundred businesses registered by Turkish origin entrepreneurs in sectors such as gastronomy supply, cafes, restaurants, diners, supermarkets, hairdressers and beauty salons, corner-stores and clothing are particularly common among self-employed immigrants from Turkey. However, there is also a large number of doctors, accountancy and law offices, all in all providing a relatively diverse array of services.

For a long time, Neukölln and Kreuzberg had a particularly bad reputation and numerous German publications used the neighbourhood as a prominent example of the failure of integration, and portrayed it as a "ghetto" plagued by crime, decay and anti-social behaviour. This has changed completely. An influx of 3,800 'internationals' per year in 2011 and 2012 has steadily increased. They have on average higher incomes and are paying higher rents. More than 60 percent of them were classified as 'gentrifiers' or 'pioneer gentrifiers' of a certain 'creative class'. The rising number of students are moving in as these neighbourhood's attractiveness as a new urban hotspot changes perceptions. One of the most visible parts of neighbourhood transformation is the functional gentrification in terms of a comprehensive change of the local gastronomy. New pubs, coffee shops and clubs make the neighbourhood more attractive to young, creative and cosmopolitan people than for the traditional mix of working-

class Turkish, Arabic and Eastern European migrants and the lower-income German households.

For some of the businesses, they have taken advantage of the transformation by targeting the new consumer profile by de-emphasizing certain aspects of their culture and emphasizing others, or by transferring practices from other minority and/or foreign cultures. However, in the process of adapting their businesses, they tend to exclude their lower-income communities, not only because of the products they offer and the prices they demand for these products but also because they feel that their middle-class consumers will be bothered by the sheer presence and consumption habits of lower income people.

On the boundary between Neukölln and Kreuzberg is located the Turkish Market, established in the 1960s to supply Turkish goods for home-cooking and gastronomy to the guest workers. In January 2005, a new agency took over the market's operation and with it changing the branding from Turkish Market to 'BiOriental'. The new name implies its exotic and oriental experience but now targeting a wider Berlin clientele and their organic lifestyle needs.

What this example demonstrates is the pressure of gentrification in erasing local identities and the authentic character of local businesses. Strategies to protect these businesses and their lower-income clientele would need to protect their services and their clientele through means such as protecting rents and subsidising business rates, as well as strategies to protect diversity of business offer.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Berlin](#), Page 82)

## Case Study: Chatsworth Road E5, London

The case of Chatsworth Road E5 in London's inner-city borough of Hackney, is an example a community working together to endeavour to make policy at the neighbourhood level. In 2011, the UK's Localism Bill for the first time gave communities the right to devise Neighbourhood Development Plans to secure their compliance with a pro-growth agenda and increase the sites allocated for housing within defined neighbourhood boundaries according to their vision.

Within this new planning context, the 'Chatsworth Road Traders and Residents Association' (CRTRA) was constituted as both a 'Traders' and a 'Residents' association. The CRTRA's Neighbourhood Development Plan (NDP) for Chatsworth Road E5 focused on promoting 'social mix' — managed gentrification — for the running of the street market and for setting an agenda of guiding ambitions for the neighbourhood based aspirations for a sociable, diverse, accessible, independent and sustainable location.

The Chatsworth Road E5 Neighbourhood Development Plan has not been "made", or adopted by the local authority, the London Borough of Hackney, and work appears to have ceased on its development. However, it is worthy of inclusion as a Case Study due to the clear long term local aspirations and work towards pro-social regeneration, and in particular guiding local business and avoiding gentrification.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Part of the Localism Act 2011, Neighbourhood Planning gives communities direct power to develop a shared vision for their neighbourhood and shape the development and growth of their local area

There are substantial pressures for change in Chatsworth Road, with a diverse population growth, and an increase in young professionals, driven towards this part of Hackney by the gentrification of neighbouring areas. It is an increasingly diverse area, with White British people being the largest ethnic group, but nevertheless representing a minority of people. Just 29% of residents are White British. There is a general trend of decreasing numbers of White British people, more Other White (including Turkish and Eastern European), more mixed ethnicity (all categories) and more Black British (African, Other).<sup>2</sup>

Population changes above impact housing, but also shopping and commercial premises. There is pressure for more shop units, which is driving up retail rents, and an aspiration to preserve the cultural and socio-economic diversity which means ensuring that local shops cater for a wide range of households. There is also a need to ensure that existing small businesses and small chains serving long standing residents remain viable, whilst also encouraging new businesses that serve a wider, mixed demographic.

At the start of the Neighbourhood Development Plan process, Chatsworth Road Traders and Residents Association (CRTRA) carried out extensive community engagement to establish the vision for their Plan. In terms of

<sup>2</sup> Reference terms specifically used in the UK context



local businesses, the focus was on supporting and enhancing independence and diversity, with the vision being:

*“We want a neighbourhood with a healthy and resilient local economy, a place where money remains in the community and profit is measured not solely in pounds and pence. A place not dependent on any single company for goods, services or employment. A place that supports a diverse range of local small and medium-sized business, and provides a nurturing environment where new businesses can flourish. A place that attracts talented, creative and the entrepreneurial people to live and to work.”*

In the draft Neighbourhood Development Plan’s policies, managed gentrification is stated in a number of ways; affordability, protecting diversity of land uses and employment, limiting change of land uses, and limiting the types of new businesses. The Plan specifically articulated draft policies aimed at:

- *Protecting existing employment space by protecting existing employment floorspace*
- *Adding new employment space whenever there is redevelopment in the area around Brooksby’s Walk*
- *Preventing shops, offices and dentists from being turned into poor quality homes by protecting the existing commercial floorspace*
- *Maintaining the current number of shops as the minimum for the area*
- *Limiting the number of cafes and estate agents to keep pressure off rents by setting quotas for each use class*

- *Allowing flexibility for changing shop types within the limits above”*

Chatsworth Road E5 Neighbourhood Development did not proceed through to local authority submission, Examination and finally Referendum but with the work on the plan ceasing in 2015. However, Chatsworth Road Traders & Residents Association CIC (founded in 2012) continues as a not-for-profit organisation run entirely by volunteers to promote and ensure the sustainability of the High Street.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography – Chatsworth Road](#), Page 84)

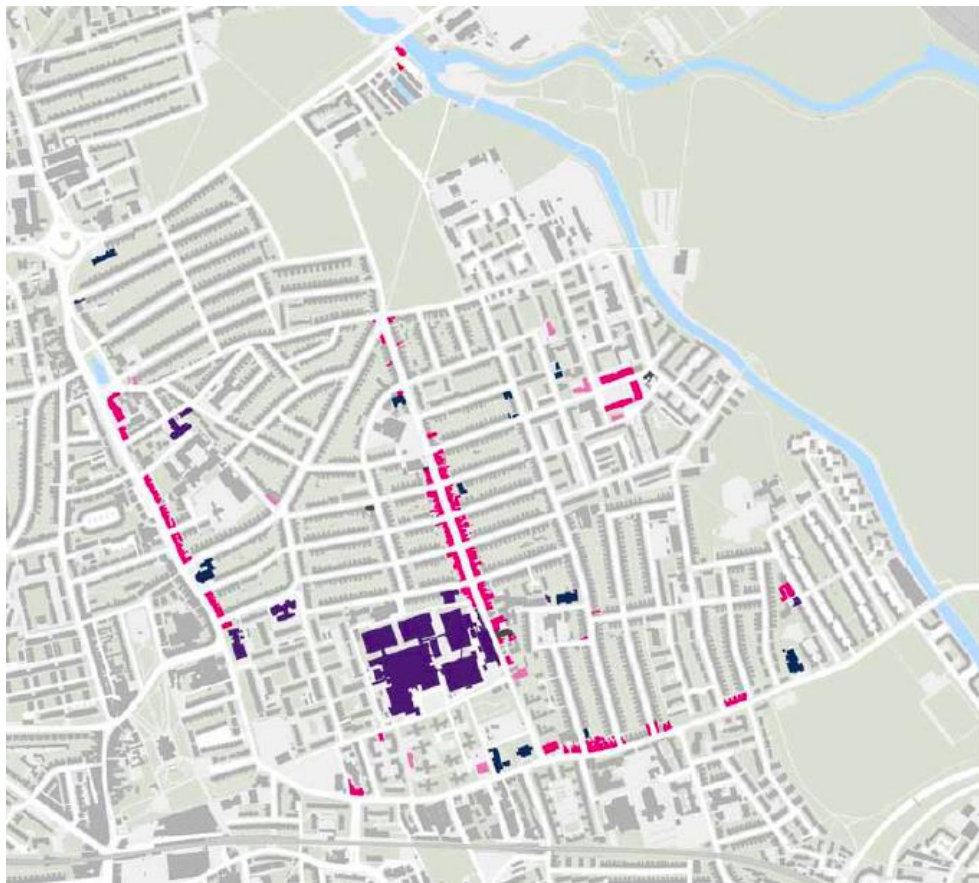
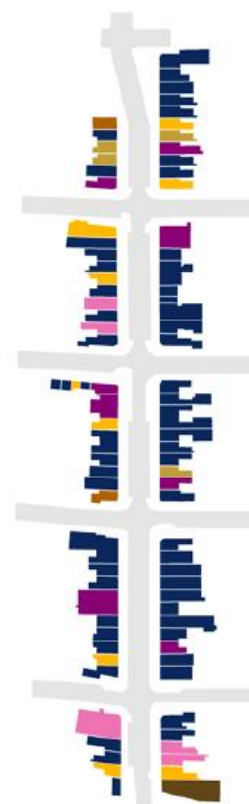
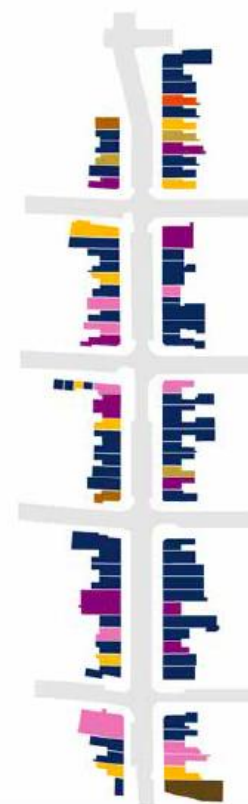


Photo: Chatsworth Road E5  
Neighbourhood Development  
Plan

- A1
- A2
- A3
- A4
- A5
- C3
- D1
- SG



Chatsworth Road 2008



Chatsworth Road 2014

## Summary

The theme of Nurturing Local Business in the study and in the case studies highlight a number of key areas for policy development.

### **Support for Local Businesses**

Pressures to cater for higher-income clients can displace local businesses as business rates and rents increase, or retailers or restaurants aimed at different tastes occupy more space.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Focusing on the economic development of migrants and existing residents by building their capacity to be entrepreneurial and improve their business skills
- Fixing business rates and rents for local businesses providing a service to local residents
- Protecting existing employment space by protecting existing employment floor space
- Adding new employment space where there is redevelopment or new development

### **Expansion of night-time tourist-centred activities**

The impact of tourist-centred and student-centred activities on neighbourhoods can be particularly disruptive during the night-time with late-night bars, discotheques, and other entertainment venues.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Regulating the opening hours to reduce noise impact on residents

- Protecting local and traditional bars, cafes and restaurants for residents
- Zoning areas on the 'outside' of neighbourhoods for disturbing uses and higher concentrations of visitors
- Protecting local business rents and rates to ensure services remain affordable to local residents

### **Loss of diversity of local businesses**

Gentrification's key feature is the conversion of local businesses to cater for the newcomers. The range and type of goods and services diminishes, and in some case national supermarket and food chains price out the independent shops.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Preventing shops, offices and dentists from being turned into poor quality homes by protecting the existing commercial floorspace
- Maintaining the current number of shops as the minimum for the neighbourhood
- Limiting the number of cafes, bars, restaurants, supermarkets etc.
- Controlling local business rents by setting quotas for each use class
- Allowing flexibility for changing shop types within the limits of the quota system



- Managing the rehabilitation of local markets to remain local and authentic

**Ethnic commodification**

It is common in gentrifying neighbourhoods that local migrant business owners feel the need to change what they offer to serve the newcomers. This is a form of displacement of services and affordability so that gradually longer-term residents lose their access to amenities and services that support their everyday life.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Protecting the diversity and range of local businesses by protecting rents

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# A TASTE OF REALITY

FRISH MEAT • POULTRY • FISHERY



Photo: Omar Jan

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# Theme Area 6: The Holistic Community

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Sustainable communities which make provision for education, health, cultural and social/community facilities are likely to be more successful in creating desirable places to live, work and visit. Details were provided, describing the cultural, community and social facilities in their regenerated areas.

In San Sebastian, the Tabakalera is a central space with cultural attractions for both local people and visitors/tourists from further afield. Other spaces were noted as key in promoting a holistic community. These included higher and further education institutions, libraries, community hubs and local centres. Some of these, like San Sebastian's Tabakalera, have emerged from a citizen's movement, driving forward positive local change. Accessibility is a key issue, both within the community and its links to the wider city region. New public transport links have been established in San Sebastian, and in Dublin, the Herberton development specifically geared its new urban form towards breaking down physical barriers and making this part of the city more accessible.



## Case Study: Barcelona

The city of Barcelona plans to radically transform its mobility, public space, and environmental impact by constructing over 500 superblocks that cover all areas within its boundaries. Physically, a superblock is a traffic-regulated cell of city blocks approximately 400m x 400m, which consists of nine smaller blocks in a three-block by three-block mesh. In the outer streets, buses and car traffic circulate, while the newly created space in the interior is reserved mainly for pedestrians and cyclists. Thus, the model allows traffic for residents, services, or emergency vehicles, and for future public space interventions. The aim is to improve the quality of life and conditions for local residents, by rationally managing natural resources and public spaces, through the active participation of everyone involved and by fighting inequality and social exclusion.

In its ambition to drastically reorganize urban mobility infrastructure and land use, the superblock intervention aims at reducing car traffic by 21% while restructuring the public transit and cycling system and infrastructure. Environmental goals include diminishing alarmingly high noise levels, reducing the 3500 premature deaths per year associated with air pollution, and, converting a substantial portion of the 60% of space occupied by car use into not only public pedestrian-oriented but also multiple-use space for leisure (e.g. playgrounds), neighbourhood interaction, and activity (local festivals, etc.). In sum, Barcelona's superblock programme is an intervention into multiple dimensions of urban life and structure.

Under the new public administration of Barcelona en Comú, the previous superblock initiative was re-focused to include developing

municipal policy centred on residents' quality of life, access to an affordable city, anti-mass tourism, citizen-driven public spaces, and non-traditional models of local economic development. The Mayor, Ada Colau, has been vocal in her rejection of a Barcelona city model tailored to the interests of entrepreneurs, star architects, real estate investors, and tourist industry business owners. This has caused varying degrees of opposition in the five superblocks that have been piloted; Les Corts, Hostafrancs, Eixample, Poblenou and in the area around Glòries.

In Poblenou, a citizens group was started to block the superblock called Association of People Affected by the Poblenou Superblock (Plataforma d'Afectats per la superilla del Poblenou) which lobbied the administration to reverse the superblock, and held protests. In response a local neighbourhood Association was set up as superblock advocacy group called Col·lectiu Superilla Poblenou, campaigning to transform the streets into places for health, play and rest.

Contrary to the *Ordinanza Cívica* in other parts of the city eliminating gatherings in public spaces, in addition the increasing privatisation of public spaces through commercial transformation geared towards tourists, the superblocks are located in areas of high social housing provision, ensuring they do not get gentrified. Public spaces are designed through interventions of tactical urbanism to encourage streets to be lively and well used. Tactical changes are fast, low-cost, and high-impact, things like changing the direction of a one-way street.



Photo: Superblock, Barcelona City Council

The positive outcomes of the supermodel are:

1. More sustainable mobility: by integrating the new Orthogonal Bus Network and Biking in accordance with Barcelona's Urban Mobility Plan, encouraging journeys on foot and by bicycle and improving the distribution of goods, in order to reduce both noise levels and emissions.
2. Revitalising public areas: by making the streets quieter, increasing the number of recreational areas and promoting new uses for these places.
3. Fostering biodiversity and urban vegetation: by improving the trees in the streets, favouring microhabitats in order to attract birds and increasing the amount of urban vegetation by creating new community areas
4. Fostering the city's social fabric and promoting cohesion: by guaranteeing appropriate local facilities, encouraging productive activities that create jobs and working for social inclusion.
5. Promoting self-sufficiency in the use of resources: by reducing consumption, producing renewable energy, decreasing the demand for drinking water and making better use of greywater and river water.
6. Integrating governance processes: by involving the general public when defining projects and developing actions.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Barcelona](#), Page 81)



## Case Study: Berlin

In 1999, the Berlin Senate Administration for Urban Development and Neukölln's district authorities began implementing different urban renewal schemes including the Neighborhood Management programs (Quartiersmanagement), based on their socio-demographic and socio-economic statistics. In 1999, its umbrella program, the Socially Inclusive City Programme (Soziale Stadt) also started. Local, federal, and national authorities further implemented programs responding to the area's physical decay; two of the most notable are Urban Restructuring West (Stadtumbau-West) and the implementation of Rehabilitation Zones (Sanierungsgebiete), aimed at the consolidation of the urban socio-spatial structures.

The Quartiersmanagement programme is an example of how social policies are increasingly oriented towards citizens' involvement in problem solving. In order to tackle the consequences of increasing social fragmentation and growth of spatial inequalities in the city. This program involves the district councils and the City Council of Berlin and consists of the improvement of the physical and social conditions of impoverished neighbourhoods with the involvement of neighbours, who decide on the type of interventions. The programme is based on micro-interventions, assigning resources to neighbourhoods for the development of social policies in three areas: education, active employment policies and ethnic and social integration. Neighbours participate in the assignation of resources to specific programs through a neighbourhood council (Quartiersamt) created ad hoc for the program, while a Neighbourhood Manager implements the measures and manages the running of the programme. Every neighbourhood participating in the program has a Quartiersmanagement office ruled

by technical staff where neighbourhood councils meet to decide the allocation of funds to projects.

One example of a neighbourhood project in Kreuzberg is 'Südliche Friedrichstadt creative neighbourhood', a group of private and public actors organising a strategy to change the negative image of the neighbourhood through creative industries and arts and 'with the participation of neighbours and artists'. The actors supporting the project are the district council, the local job training school Forums Berufsbildung, the public housing company GEBOWAG, a local urban planning consultancy (Urbanitas Berlin Barcelona) and a network of art gallery owners. In order to ensure a social dimension, the local Quartiersmanagement office is also involved and neighbours participate through its local council. The project is based on the construction of a network of actors for the economic, social and cultural transformation of the neighbourhood that will decide urban interventions. In parallel, actors promoting the initiative have developed a document that has been accepted as part of the urban renewal part of the area including different interventions.

The plan foresees physical intervention in the public space and the creation of new spaces for the creative economy. Intervention in the public spaces seeks to promote sociability and a new identity for the neighbourhood. Is in this field that artists and architects are called to play a role, participating in the design of public space in the neighbourhood (for instance through the creation of a path connecting cultural institutions in the neighbourhood signalled with sculptures and other artistic elements). For the creation of new spaces for the creative

economy, the plan foresees a new cultural centre linking all the spaces in the neighbourhood and the creation of spaces for artistic pioneers, creating workshops for artists that will be called to play a role in social integration, despite the project does not define clearly this role. The plan foresees also to hire GEWOBAG business premises to businesses that 'activate the public space', rejecting non-desired businesses. This regeneration project seeks the transformation of the economic life of the neighbourhood and its physical environment, but the design of this transformation is being developed with weak intervention of neighbours, particularly those of culturally diverse backgrounds, and no

intervention at all from artists. In this regard, both groups are called to participate in implementation but cannot intervene in the design of the project, in effect not fulfilling the primary aims of the Neighbourhood Management policy to stabilise neighbourhoods and strengthen their social cohesion achieved through participation and investment decisions.

(Sources for this Section can be found in [Bibliography - Berlin](#), Page 82)





Photos: Tabakalera, San Sebastian by Donostia San Sebastian City Council Council



# Summary

The theme of holistic community in the study and the case studies highlights a number of key areas for policy development.

## Neighbourhood Management

The development of local neighbourhood programmes based on strong social policies and citizen-involvement can tackle the consequences of social segregation and spatial inequalities.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Developing a neighbourhood level programme based on social policies and citizen-involvement
- Focussing on improvement of physical and social conditions
- Involve residents in decision-making and deciding on type of interventions
- Developing social policies in education, active employment policies and ethnic and social integration.
- Recruiting residents that represent the diversity of the neighbourhood in a neighbourhood council
- Recruiting a Neighbourhood Manager to implement and manage the neighbourhood programme
- Organising festivals and events that promote social interactions

## Resident-led initiatives

Policies that focus on building the capacity of longer-term residents in an area and involving them in the urban changes, ensures they have greater control over their neighbourhood.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Assigning resources to resident-led micro-interventions in the neighbourhood
- Supporting residents in developing neighbourhood-level strategies such as a Creative Strategy that involves local creatives
- Strengthening multi-agency and resident partnerships from local networks that represent the diversity of the area

## Spaces for social interaction

A common feature of gentrification is indirect displacement and the loss of spaces to meet other longer-term residents.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Protecting existing places for social interaction such as libraries, community gardens and parks
- In new development, ensuring places for social interaction are positioned on the edge of development, and accessible and affordable to lower-income groups

- Involving local residents in the design and use of spaces for social interaction
- Promoting sociability in public space through locally-delivered creative programmes

### **Transport**

Access and linkages between the neighbourhood and the city centre are critical in overcoming social exclusion and social segregation. Often in gentrifying areas, the transit connection to the city centre accelerates the presence of higher-income groups settling in an area.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Ensuring Transit must be affordable to local longer-term residents
- Zones around transit stops are most likely to be gentrified first. Zoning regulations, masterplans, detailed plans will protect the diversity of residential and non-residential uses, independents and national chain stores, and mixed tenure housing
- Encouraging walking and cycling
- Managing traffic on the edge of neighbourhoods to give more room for pedestrians and cyclists in the interior.

### **Public Accessibility**

Community facilities need to be accessible to all, which means they are meeting places, affordable, provide a safe and dry space, and are inclusive for people of diverse backgrounds and physical abilities.

Policy implementations seen in the research include:

- Positioning public space on public land and in areas of high social housing
- Implementing tactical urbanism interventions to encourage people of all ages, genders, diverse backgrounds and physical disabilities to use
- Community facilities being free or subsidised wherever possible
- Offer a range of community facilities meeting local need of longer-term residents such as leisure centres, libraries, cultural centres, cinemas etc

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# Conclusion

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The ICC Managing Gentrification Policy Study has considered examples from around the world of communities, local authorities, central governments and housing organisations seeking to make a positive difference to citizens, following the three ICC principles of equality, diversity advantage and interaction in their policies and actions.

The six theme areas of this Policy Study have helped to focus on these principles through the different areas of community life, including working, recreation, travelling, living and community participation. It has been apparent that different cultures approach the idea of the management of gentrification in various ways, but that there is learning that may be appropriate and replicable in many if not all circumstances.

It has been shown through the research that those cities and regions who manage gentrification successfully tend to be those which are able to control the rent gap, affordability and displacement. The equality, diversity and inclusion principles are shown to be central in increasing citizen participation to create understanding and genuine sense of place where citizens can feel a sense of belonging.

We are grateful to those who have provided their time and expertise to contribute towards this policy study, and recognise the broad spectrum of experience that has been offered, including that of architects, planners, urbanists, participation managers and inclusion officers.

Not all of the cities who participated had yet been involved in pro-social regeneration, and that even those that had may have come up

against barriers and difficulties. It is also recognised that there can be significant learning from problems faced in other locations; issues cited concerned trust and communication between stakeholders and decision makers. Intercultural issues and difficulties of trust between groups within the community were sometimes obstacles to progress. Financial concerns were raised, and a lack of clear agenda, policy setting and direction from leadership.

Some commented that despite efforts towards pro-social regeneration, gentrification was creeping in with indigenous businesses and populations becoming priced out of an area that is increasingly popular and affluent. A disconnect between local people and the authorities was also described, as well as an inability to secure co-design or integrated community buy-in to the proposals for change.

In some locations, regeneration has not been overtly “anti-gentrification” based but has been carried out with the pro-social values in mind. This included avoiding displacement and including the stakeholders in the development process. In others, such as in Vinnytsia in Ukraine, regeneration work to an historic part of the city centre has been undertaken, restoring buildings, encouraging tourism whilst supporting lower income residents to remain living here.

Several of the cities described a housing focus to their management of gentrification work, whilst communities in Australia and New Zealand noted the importance in their work of cross-cultural engagement,



building of understanding and community development which is leading to positive pro-social outcomes.

Several of the international case studies were from cities challenged by the emergence of gentrification processes, and which are seeking solutions specific to their policy contexts. Other case studies such as Berlin and Barcelona, however, are more advanced in their policy response to gentrification, often because of strong anti-gentrification social movements and developed civil society infrastructure that helps raise the profile of the negative impacts on place.

In Berlin, gentrification of the inner-city migrant neighbourhoods of Neukölln and Kreuzberg are under pressure from higher rents following the expiration of the rent cap terms on publicly subsidised housing.

In Barcelona, the pressures of tourism have displaced long-term residents in the historic core, both directly and indirectly. Both cities have developed a range of mechanisms of policies, laws and regulations to manage neighbourhood change, however, in Berlin the public sector has gradually withdrawn from housing provision, in contrast to Barcelona where the public authorities are taking the lead. In either case, it is evident that managed gentrification is important to ensure cities are accessible to all.

Though the mechanisms and cultural, social and political context will differ between nations, and even between regions, it remains centrally important that a key commitment is made to ensure that institutions, neighbourhoods and public space are open and mixed rather than segregated. The values of equality, diversity advantage and social interaction should be placed front and centre of policy making to

ensure anti-gentrification and a positive legacy of places that authentically welcome many not few.

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