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GENTRIFICATION AS A PHENOMENON OF A MODERN WORLD

Objective. To review the phenomenon of gentrification, as a term emerged in western studies in 1964 years, which means the reconstruction of decayed urban neighborhoods with the help of an influx of more affluent residents. To study the causes and social and economic consequences of gentrification and its signs and stages of development. To analyze approaches that emphasize the class nature of this phenomenon.

Methodology. The article uses the theoretical method of secondary data analysis and the method of reflection. This research was supported by a literature review and comparative analysis of gentrification in some cities of the world, in particular in Western Europe and in the post-Soviet space.

Conclusions. As a result of gentrification, there is an increase in the average level of incomes of the population of the district due to the replacement of low-income residents by more affluent ones.

Significance. The importance of this article is that the author traces the manifestations (features, characteristics) of this phenomenon in countries where it has arisen recently and gives its analysis and comparison with classical gentrification in Western countries.

Key words: gentrification, urbanisation, city, displacement, middle class, upper middle class

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Джентрифікація як феномен сучасного світу

Завдання. Розглянути феномен джентрифікації як поняття, що з'явилося в західних дослідженнях в 1964 році, яке означає відновлення зруйнованих міських кварталів за допомогою переселення нових заможних мешканців. Вивчити причини та соціально-економічні наслідки джентрифікації, її ознак і етапів розвитку. Проаналізувати підходи, які підкреслюють класову природу цього явища.

Методологія. У статті використовується теоретичний метод вторинного аналізу даних і метод рефлексії. Це дослідження базується на опрацюванні відповідної літератури й порівняльному аналізі джентрифікації в деяких містах світу, зокрема в Західній Європі і на пострадянському просторі.

Висновки. У результаті процесу джентрифікації спостерігається збільшення середнього рівня доходів населення району за рахунок заміни малозабезпечених жителів більш заможними.

Значимість. Важливість цієї статті в тому, що автор простежує прояви (особливості, характеристики) цього явища в країнах, де воно виникло нещодавно, аналізує і порівнює з класичною джентрифікацією в західних країнах.

Ключові слова: джентрифікація, урбанізація, місто, витіснення, середній клас, вищий середній клас.

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Джентрификация как феномен современного мира

Задачи. Рассмотреть феномен джентрификации как понятие, появившееся в западных исследованиях в 1964 году, который означает восстановление разрушенных городских кварталов с помощью притока более богатых жителей. Изучить причины и социально-экономические последствия джентрификации и ее признаков и этапов развития. Проанализировать подходы, которые подчеркивают классовую природу этого явления.

Методология. В статье используется теоретический метод вторичного анализа данных и метод рефлексии. Это исследование базируется на обработке специализированной литературы и сравнительном анализе джентрификации в некоторых городах мира, в частности в Западной Европе и на постсоветском пространстве. Анализируются подходы, которые подчеркивают классовую природу явления.

Выводы. В статье анализируются подходы, которые подчеркивают классовую природу явления. В результате джентрификации наблюдается увеличение среднего уровня доходов населения района за счет замены малообеспеченных жителей более состоятельными.

Значимость. Важность этой статьи заключается в том, что автор прослеживает проявления (особенности, характеристики) этого явления в странах, где оно возникло недавно, и анализирует и сравнивает с классической джентрификацией западных стран.

Ключевые слова: джентрификация, урбанизация, город, вытеснение, средний класс, высший средний класс.

Introduction. Gentrification has become a highly controversial topic in areas where the process has occurred. Whilst politicians, real estate companies and the middle class believe that the process is a method of opposing urban destruction and attracting taxpayers we witness the urban decline experience, greater costs of living, the breakdown of their social networks and the ultimate risk of being evicted and displaced. Therefore, the urgent topic is whether gentrification should be supported, or whether it should be controlled, constricted and prevented.

The aim of the article is to:

– understand challenges and common trends and make analysis of the concept;

– investigate its types, characteristics and existing works of sociologists, geographers, and urbanists;

– identify stages and signs of the proses;

– develop comparative analysis of the phenomenon in European, American and post-Soviet urban space.

Presentation of the material. The term "gentrification", loaded with social class meaning, was introduced into English in 1964 by the English sociologist Ruth Glass (1964, p. 9). She wrote about how gradually the working class is being forced out (of the middle class) in London by the middle class. The dilapidated barracks, more like stables, blown by drafts and devoid of basic amenities, were rebuilt into two-level apartments (two rooms upstairs, two downstairs), which look not just sturdy, but luxurious. This is how the process of gentrification started, embracing many developed countries today: the middle class moved to the former factory districts located not far from the center, rebuilding the dilapidated housing stock, raising the rent that workers who were moving to the so-called social housing, were no longer able to pay.

Another definition was given by N. Smith who defined this proses as: «process by which poor and working-class neighborhoods in the inner city are refurbished by an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters... a dramatic yet unpredicted reversal of what most XXth-century urban theories had been predicting as the fate of the central and "inner-city" (Smith, 1996).

However, later he claimed that gentrification had expanded again to become a new form of neo-liberal urban politics. In cases where the original definition focused on "sweat softening", with a middle-class homeowner, rebuilding their home.

More modern explanation belongs to German urban sociologists Matias Bernt and Andrei Holm. They noted that if you move away from market and social relations, you could say that the growth cycles of cities and the development of their districts are a metaphor for life. Inevitably, something appears and grows, dies and begins anew. Poor artists have always been looking for cheap housing in disadvantaged areas, followed by the gallery owners and bohemians, after some time the bourgeois and elite, supplanting the less affluent residents (Bernt, Holm, 2009, pp. 312–332).

Writing about gentrification in London, economist Chris Hamnet is convinced that ousting former residents as an independent problem can be neglected, since the size of the working class is in any case declining (Hamnett, 2003, pp. 2401–2426).

It replaces, and does not force out the middle class. Other authors, especially those who write by order of city administrations, prefer to talk not about gentrification, but "urban regeneration", "city renaissance", "sustainable urban development". These expressions and concepts are convenient because they derive the corresponding economic processes from under social criticism. Meanwhile, it is the class nature of gentrifications that is significant for critical urbanists, who understand that a change in the class configuration of a particular residential quarter was not associated with crowding out those who lived here before.

How to recognize that the process of gentrification has been started. As for the signs of gentrification, as German urbanist M. Bernt writes: "Usually the story is the following: artists and hipsters find a place in a neglected area – dead, but attractive. Then, with the help of art, they transform it – and after that, better-off people appear. Now gentrification is very diverse. In cities such as New York or London, the process can go without the participation of hipsters. Sometimes gentrification ends at the hipster stage, because there is not enough capital to attract rich people. Sometimes the capital and the rich come without hipsters. So the idea of blaming the hipsters for gentrification is absolutely wrong. For ordinary citizens, the signs are obvious. Most people living in a gentrified area can see everything with the naked eye. When people appear on your street that look different, instead of "stolovaya", a trendy coffee house opens, your landlord notifies you that the rent will increase, seeing an opportunity to make more money. When you are involved in this process, it is not difficult to understand everything immediately" (Bernt, Holm, 2009, pp. 312–332).

There are different stages that cover this process. American researcher T. J. Pattison cited by Clay, identified four stages of gentrification (Clay, 1979).

The first stage includes a small group of people who buy and upgrade properties in previously described urban areas for personal use. At that stage, there is very little movement the first pioneers purchase housing, which is vacant or is a part of the normal market turnover. This group of beginners mainly consists of artists, design professionals and who have the skills and time to conduct out such renovation projects.

At the second stage of the gentrification process, a similar group of people joins the first getters and updates their new dwelling. At that stage, quiet and subtle promotional activities of real estate agencies often begin, while small entrepreneurs often renovate several houses for resale or, alternatively, rent. Homes bought at this stage are overextended across a larger area and often become vacant and, therefore, relatively easy to purchase. In addition, if the neighborhood changes its name or boundary, it will appear at this stage of the gentrification process. This stage often draws the attention of government agencies.

After the first two stages of gentrification, the media begins to attract attention to these neighborhoods and make them popular and as a result this area becomes the focus of interest. While pioneering people continue to have a bearing on this area, they are often accompanied by developers at and urban renewal begins. Due to the increase in the amount of work carried out by individual investors and new developers the third stage, physical improvements are becoming more noticeable. Consequently, housing prices in the area are beginning to grow and the movement process continues and may even increase if the code is enforced or if revaluations reflect the increasing value of even unimproved dwellings. Renovated properties are becoming part of the middle class market, while property owners try to take advantage of the good reputation of this area, which leads to the further movement of already new people. At the third stage, new residents of the middle class instead of forming an inner community life get outside their narrow community attracting other members of this class in order to finally make requests for state resources. This often may cause some tension between the pioneers and the new nobles.

At the last, in the fourth stage, gentrification process and the inflow of the middle class occur in parallel. It must be noted that such middle class means people from business and management circles and not from professional ones. Because of growing demand for dwelling in certain area, non-residential buildings are usually transformed into condominiums, housing for rent or speculation purposes. On top of all this there appear commercial activities and various consumer services. All these factors cause the increase of housing prices and rent prices which in turn bring more active movement of tenants and homeowners respectively. At that stage, some additional space is searched for in the city area to furnish the middle class with necessary housing.

From an academic point of view, gentrification, like all social processes, is ambiguous. Different people can find both strengths and weaknesses in it. The sniff with gentrification is that it involves the movement of people with low incomes to other areas it brings the destruction of local communities, it harms social diversity. From the point of view of social justice, gentrification is a problem, consider M. Bernt and A. Holm (2009, pp. 312–332).

However, the work of a researcher, of course, is not to judge, but to analyze the processes: how and why they occur.

In the academic literature that attempts to explain what is happening, gentrification is based on several explanations (three key explanations.)

First, the English geographer (Lees, 1994, pp. 199–217) states that the origin of gentrification stems from a change in industrial structure in large cities. The transition from manufacturing to services-based industries in domestic cities leads to a simultaneous change in the structure of the professional class mainly based on the production staff of the working class, which is increasingly replaced by white-collar workers, financial, cultural and service industries in big cities.

Secondly, also in relation to industrial restructuring in inland urban areas, L. Lease and T. Butler (2006, pp. 467–487) believe that due to changes in class, changes also occurred in the cultural orientation, advantages, and working patterns of this new middle class segment that induced live in the inner city, instead of moving out of the suburbs. These researchers suggested that the purchase of real estate in the inner city was more focused on individualization and demand, rather than on the theory of mitigation of N. Smith.

In the end, Neil Smith believes that today gentrification is widely used as a strategy to supplant liberal urban policies. There is a transition from the policy of social reproduction, which was a priority to the policy of production of capital, which is at the center of neoliberal urbanism. The neoliberal state is becoming an agent, not a regulator (as before) of capitalism. As a result, the city is transformed from a place of social reproduction into a place of capital investment (Beauregard, pp. 35–55).

From the point of view of social stratification, gentrification means the eviction of the lower class and the lower stratum of the middle class by the more affluent members of the middle and upper stratum of the middle class to less prosperous areas. The center and the adjacent areas, given away to the elite, are essentially a kind of social clause, i.e. social isolation of one stratum from others, closure within the boundaries of its social group. If the sub-centering falls into the old industrial 3–5-mile zone that surrounds the business center not only in the American, but also in many Ukrainian cities, then enterprises lose the labor force that usually settled not far from them. Spatial separation of the place of work and place of residence may further reduce the material level of the poor (Trubina, 2011).

Usually in urban areas, gentrification occurs where infrastructure creates opportunities for cost-effective reconstruction. It also occurs in societies where the loss of productive employment has led to an increase in the number of middle-class specialists with the detention of central housing in the city and the associated abandonment of the suburbs.

Residents of urban areas who are likely to be displaced as a result of the process of gentrification are those who live in low-cost but architecturally desirable housing near central business districts. They occupy housing, which is abandoned and is no longer economically and politically valuable. Such people live in the area for various reasons; cheap rent, close employment opportunities or places may have historical or emotional significance. Their location may or may not be a matter of choice.

Today the fashion for places to live and work along with representatives of creative professions is set by start-up entrepreneurs and armies of programmers with high salaries. Bobo (from French “Bourgeois bohemian”, “bohemian bourgeoisie”) is a sociological concept introduced by American writer and journalist David Brooks. The term refers to the social class of bohemian bourgeois, formed in the late XX century in the United States) as a class was very accurately described by American journalist David Brooks,

who stressed that they prefer not to destroy the urban identity, but to make money on it. Art galleries are side by side with fashionable offices of technology companies located in the buildings of former factories, and organic food stores are just as popular as authentic cafes where they feed the newly fashioned simple cakes with mashed potatoes – once a cheap food for workers (Issenberg, 2004).

Old and unattractive urban areas are first populated by people with low incomes who do not have the opportunity to freely choose their place of residence due to the limited supply of cheap housing. In European cities, the working-class neighborhoods that arose around the old city center at the end of the 19th century became very often such areas. In the middle of the 20th century, the wages of workers allowed this urban class to start moving to private houses closer to the green areas outside the city, and less wealthy citizens began to occupy their old housing. At the end of the 20th century, these quarters, which have a very distinctive appearance, were beginning to gain popularity among young representatives of the creative class, who were slowly moving to similar areas in search of a new experience of urban living and lower prices. Over time, the number of such "urban explorers" (tracing from the English urban pioneers) increased, and related businesses started to appear in the area: frozen yoghurts, photo technical stores, etc. A more traditional audience was starting to move to the area: the infrastructure already appeared, and was much talked about the area. The value of real estate began to grow; developers were connecting, restoring old buildings and building wastelands. Such areas were included in tourist guides, and previous residents were forced to leave, since all the changes that were taking place often did not take them into account in any way. Such is the typical pattern of gentrification.

When it comes to social justice, gentrification poses a serious problem, because it anyhow implies displacement of low-income people, making them even more vulnerable. Both Bernt and Holm have emphasized this point. Furthermore, gentrification affects social and cultural diversity and is certainly at odds with the concept of open city that provides equal housing opportunities to all inhabitants. Nevertheless, there are several examples of "good" gentrification, which can benefit not only better-off newcomers. You might have heard about Eindhoven, a Dutch city, where Philips, one of the largest electronics companies in the world, had been headquartered for almost a century. In the late 1970s, the company started to farm out its production to Asia. Hundreds of skilled workers were laid off, and the city was also left with several abandoned and polluted factory complexes, acting as a reminder of the destructive side of global outsourcing. To tackle the industrial downturn, the local authorities initiated special programs which helped not only to create new jobs but also transform Eindhoven into a "top-technology and design" city. The old Philips buildings have evolved into state-of-the-art residential and commercial areas, and the famous Design Academy is now located there. Since 2002, Eindhoven has been hosting the annual Dutch Design Week, bringing together creative people from around the world. Other contributory factors of gentrification include tourism,

as well as major cultural and/or sporting events – like the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics held in Brazil. The preparation for these events involved construction of new sports facilities and road networks, improvement of transport links, redevelopment of Rio de Janeiro's waterfront, etc. But this large-scale "upgrade" seriously affected the poorest strata – favela residents, who make up about 6 % of the country's population, or over 11 million people. Their rickety houses were torn down, and the people themselves were relocated outside the city. Very few favelas – one of them is Babylonia, near Copacabana Beach – seem to have benefitted from gentrification. Having been "spruced up", they became popular tourist attractions. But then again, not all residents are satisfied with the situation, asserting that tourists do nothing but add to their problems.

These are classic examples of gentrification in the west, but our situation is a bit different. German sociologist Matias Bernt argues that Gentrification stands on two pillars: the possibility of transferring ownership of real estate and the availability of capital. Both components are taken for granted in Western teachings, they are self-evident. There is capitalist property – and people can be moved in one way or another. And it also takes for granted the interest of investors, the ability to invest and make a profit. In addition, both components are not obvious in the post-Soviet countries, particularly in Ukraine. This is partly due to the privatization process when the apartments were given to those people who lived in them until 1991, that is, they became owners of elite apartments, not because they were rich, but because their ancestors, for example, had status achievements; in the USSR, they were party functionaries, high-ranking state officials, and sometimes shock workers. Often, people cannot afford to equip this housing in a decent way, and now to buy like housing is practically not available to the middle class. It is almost impossible to take a mortgage here because it is not profitable.

For example, in Kyiv before and today for the most part, to live in the center is an indicator of prestige. But today, the wealthy, like the Western rich, are moving out of town. Apartments with improved planning for free (or at symbolic prices) in our country were previously provided only to the (very small) part of the population that had some status achievements; in the USSR. However, today, with money, you can buy elite housing without any obstacles. Unfortunately, it is not about middle class.

Another thing is that the concept of elite and luxury housing has changed a bit. People are looking for comfort not only in square meters, but also in infrastructure, security and the community of "the same as they are" in class orientation.

The urban space is stratified in such a way that it is divided into open, closed and semi-closed social segments, intended primarily for the special class, who are conventionally called "insiders". Places of concentration of only "insiders" can be whole cities or their districts, individual streets and buildings. The doorman and the guard, the janitor, determine whether the person "has the right" to enter where he wants. Anyone who is allowed to enter must prove his right to be inside. Moreover, the entire burden of proof lies on the one who wants to enter, and the right to decide whether this evidence is

satisfactory is concentrated entirely in the hands of those who control the entrance. There are different selection criteria. For example, to visit the theater, the most important criterion is money, although they may not miss it at the entrance, if a person does not meet certain other requirements, for example, is improperly dressed. A citizen's day of life is divided into periods of time spent in such protected spaces and spent on movement between them (we go from home to work, to college, to a club, to a restaurant or a concert hall, and then home). Between closed spaces there extends a vast area of free entry. We try to reduce the time spent in such intermediate areas where we are among the "alien".

Therefore, all this leads to a more fragmented structure of gentrification. Buildings are being renovated point wise - and this is unlikely to have an impact on the entire area. Therefore, it is almost impossible to speak about gentrification in the full sense of this concept in our country. Another thing is that we can take some of the components, as well as signs of this process and trace them for example in Kyiv, maybe they will have a different nature and other qualities of manifestation. Perhaps they even will lead to a completely new functional concept inherent in the Ukrainian big cities.

In Kyiv, former industrial facilities can also be reused as multipurpose art spaces. Probably, the most popular of them is "Art Zavod Platforma" that serves as a venue for diverse workshops, festivals and charity fairs. Residential areas are being built on the old industrial sites as well – for instance, in a neighborhood called Vydubychi or on the Rybalsky (Fishermen) Isle. Interestingly, these areas, despite being situated quite far away from the city centre, have a fair chance of becoming prestigious – as the apartments are intended for middle to high income earners. In conclusion we can say that "Normal" gentrification in the context of normal political and economic development of the city, has positive and negative sides, and can be adjusted in some way by municipal authorities working for the benefit of urban residents. Whether gentrification is an unambiguous good or evil is impossible to say, it can only be used for the good of the city, but it always has "losers". In short, gentrification carries a positive economic impetus for the city, achieved through increasing social inequality.

This process has been researched and is still researched by many scientific journalists, economists and public figures today. In the case of our country, I think we should pay more attention to the nature, characteristics and transformation of the concept into our social reality.

As E. Trubina writes, no matter what narratives of urbanization are suggested by urbanists, it always makes sense to investigate exactly how it manifests itself in a particular region and what kind of attitude it causes to itself (Trubina, 2011, pp. 201–501).

The unification and international style of cities emerge, but also another connotation of the process of substitution appears on which the gentrification process is based.

Environment is changing with some jobs being replaced by others. Instead of grocery shops and hairdressing salons coffee shops and barber shops appear. With new technologies, there is no need in a large number of offices and a lot of people working

there. However, more and more entertainment and sports centers emerge where most communications and social contacts take place.

We can witness growing national exclusion in the social space of cities. Let us give an example of gentrification (national exclusion) that happened in one of Brooklyn districts. The Polish and Latin American communities lived and worked there maybe not quite legally. They had their own grocery shops, where all the surroundings came for delicious and high-quality products. But suddenly some oddly looking people, the so-called free-lance, settled down in the area, began to open barbershops and tattoo parlors, where the local "bohemians" already worked.

Many informal residents have changed the social composition of the area; prices for housing and rent have risen. Emigrants had to sell their business and leave this place. It is difficult to say whether it is good or bad what happened. Perhaps if the security aspect of this district is concerned, the situation has improved, the streets have become cleaner, and safer. Many residents are satisfied with what happened in their district. However, who are these residents? Perhaps they are those free-lance and bohemians that have now moved in this area.

Conclusions. Gentrification is a complex socio-economic process with many aspects to consider, which depend both on the country and the city, and on the social, economic and political structure of the district or city.

Now this phenomenon is much broader in its context than it was even 10 years ago and the task of the researcher is to study all sorts of newly emerging aspects of this process, to regard the social space of the city and conceptualize these new branches of gentrification depending on the subjective as well as objective factors affecting this process.

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