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**INVESTIGATING THE PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF STREET ART IN URBAN REGENERATION,
GENTRIFICATION AND ON THE LOCAL COMMUNITY IN CAPE TOWN'S WOODSTOCK AND
SALT RIVER**

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ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of gentrification is a controversial and heated issue globally, but there is nowhere more so than in South Africa. The country's legacy of Apartheid has meant that those most vulnerable to displacement are typically previously disadvantaged citizens and a lack of government intervention in the gentrification process is often compared by the media to the forced removals and neighbourhood segregation seen under Apartheid. Today, governments and municipalities are saddled with the task of trying to regenerate areas and inspire investment, whilst simultaneously protecting previously disadvantaged communities and responding to pressures for low-income housing options in city neighbourhoods. The aim of this thesis is to explore the role of street art in both gentrification and urban regeneration in Cape Town's Woodstock and Salt River areas in order to ascertain how it affects existing community members, business owners and in-movers with the hope that this would assist in more informed decisions around urban regeneration. A mixed-method research methodology was applied, consisting of 161 street surveys with passerbys at four different street art sites, 108 surveys with business owners and property professionals, and 11 semi-structured interviews with informed people such as artists, tour guides, city councillors and organisation leaders. The findings revealed an overall positive sentiment towards street art by various participating groups (including long-standing community members and business owners) and a perception that it plays a powerful positive role in regenerating areas. However, it also revealed that cultural and historical representation in street art holds importance to long-standing communities and that government intervention and strategies should be explored to curb any gentrifying effect it may have.

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DEFINITIONS

Street art: The definition of public or street art, for the purpose of this research, is professional, skilled and one-of-a-kind art in a public space in an urban environment, which is accessible to the public and meant to engage the public (whether it is liked or not). It could be paid for or produced for free but there should be some kind of public inclusion in the process (such as permission from property owners, City of Cape Town, neighbours, developers or community groups/organisations) (Mathews, 2010:662). This art can be in the form of street murals, sculptures, statues, installations or performances

Gentrification: A phenomenon associated with social, economic and physical changes to an area due to the defining factor of the involuntary displacement of lower-income households by more affluent households owing to rising rents and property values, which typically stimulates property developments and upgrades that cater to wealthier in-movers (LeGates & Hartman, 1982:31; Smith, 1987:463; Hamnett, 1991:176). It can also threaten the preservation of an area's culture and heritage due to changes in the social, physical and economic environment (Miles, 2015 in Simpson, 2017:194).

Urban regeneration / revitalisation and renewal: These terms all mean an improved transformation of an area that has displayed symptoms of environmental, social and economic decline. Although these transformations share many of the characteristics of gentrification, the involuntary displacement of lower-income households is not a defining factor.

ABBREVIATIONS

UDZ – Urban Development Zone

IPAF – International Public Art Festival

CBD – Central Business District

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1.1. A South African perspective

The concept of 'gentrification' has been the focus of interest and research in a variety of different fields of study since the term was first coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 (Lees, 2018:1). This is due to its knock-on effect – which has economic, social and political consequences.

The phenomenon is generally associated with the involuntary displacement of lower-income households from urban areas due to rising rents as more affluent households compete with them for housing stock (LeGates & Hartman, 1982:31). This typically results in changes in the social composition of the neighbourhood, as well as physical and economic changes as properties are developed or upgraded to better capture returns from a wealthier in-mover to the area (Hamnett, 1991:176). However, more recently scholars have explored the effects of gentrification on an area's historical culture and heritage, which is seen as coming under threat (Miles, 2015 in Simpson, 2017:194). It is a combination of social, economic and physical changes that distinguish gentrification from other forms of urban regeneration (Smith, 1987:463).

Opposing arguments for and against gentrification range from it being a natural evolution of city neighbourhoods (Hamnett, 1984 in Lees, 2003:2491) which inspires investment and economic growth, to being the result of predatory capitalist behaviour that further disadvantages poorer communities with substantial social costs (Atkinson, 2002:6; Wylie & Hammel, 2004).

These opposing views were highlighted by journalist, Oli Wainwright, in a 2016 article for *The Guardian*:

Gentrification is a slippery and divisive word, vilified by many for the displacement of the poor, the influx of speculative investors, the proliferation of chain stores, the destruction of neighbourhood authenticity; praised by others for the improvement in school standards and public safety, the fall in crime rates, and the arrival of bike lanes, street markets and better parks (Wainwright, 2016 in Lees, 2018:4)

In South Africa the controversy is heightened further by a history of forced removals where entire communities of people were ordered to relocate under the Apartheid government's

Group Areas Acts, introduced in the 1950s (Dougan, 2018:1). Today governments and municipalities are saddled with the task of trying to regenerate areas and inspire investment in a slow-growth economy, whilst simultaneously protecting previously disadvantaged communities and responding to pressures for low-income housing options in city neighbourhoods (Gunter, 2013:278; Jason, 2019:1).

This challenge is well illustrated in Woodstock and Salt River area, which is on the fringe of Cape Town's CBD. The area had been undergoing a period of decline until the early 2000s when parts of it were demarcated as a priority Urban Development Zone (UDZ) to incentivise investment in the area and take pressure off the bulging CBD (City of Cape Town, 2013). UDZs were first introduced in South Africa in 2003 and provide appealing tax incentives to investors that purchase directly from a developer who has erected, extended or improved a building within the zone (Gregory, 2016:164). Parts of Woodstock and Salt River were among the first to be demarcated as UDZs in Cape Town.

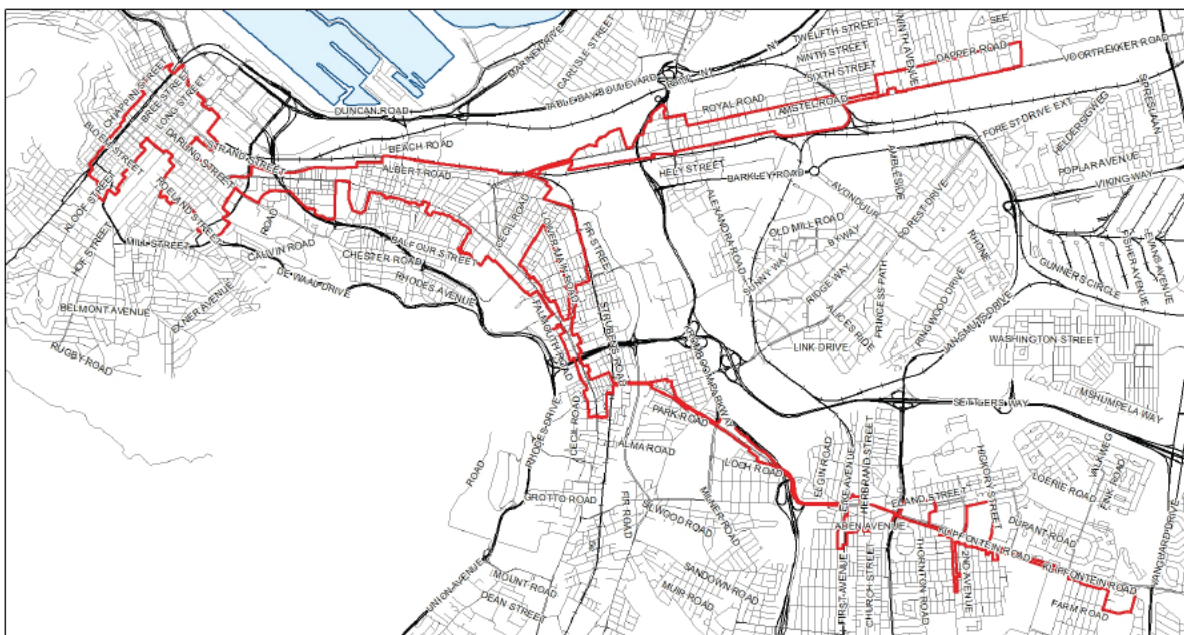


Figure 1: Cape Town UDZ (Source: City of Cape Town, 2013)

1.2. Gentrification and urban regeneration in Woodstock and Salt River

Terms such as urban regeneration, revitalisation and renewal all similarly mean a transformation of an area that has displayed symptoms of environmental, social and economic decline (Palermo, 2014:522). However, while gentrification is typically a result of

urban regeneration and therefore might share similar characteristics, it is specifically identified by the involuntary displacement of long-standing communities.

Both Woodstock and Salt River – which are situated on the eastern edge of Cape Town’s city centre, about 3kms from the CBD – have shown signs of urban regeneration and gentrification in recent years. The area has always had a reputation for being a diverse population, with a long history in Cape Town’s development and strong community bonds (City of Cape Town Transport and Urban Development Authority, 2017:6). In the 1800s, some of Cape Town’s first industrial sites were established in the area, including the new railway workshops in 1859, followed by manufacturing (particularly within the garment industry (City of Cape Town Transport and Urban Development Authority, 2017:7).

Years later, the area managed to avoid segregation under the Apartheid government, despite some areas being declared ‘white areas’, and it remained a diverse community even when neighbouring suburbs, such as District Six, saw forced removals in the 1970s under the Group Areas Act (City of Cape Town Transport and Urban Development Authority, 2017:6).

In the 90s and early 2000s, these areas were characterised by dilapidated industrial buildings and crime due to the area’s period of decline (Joseph, 2014:1). Since then, many of these buildings have now been purchased and repurposed into mixed-use developments by developers looking to benefit from the UDZ tax incentives.

One of the first redevelopments was The Old Biscuit Mill, which now hosts trendy shops and offices, as well as some of Cape Town’s world-renowned restaurants. Other developments include Buchanan Square, Old Castle Brewery, Woodstock Exchange and Mason’s Press. There have also been a number of greenfield developments, including WEX1 (a residential and retail building completed in 2018), the Iron Works (office, retail and residential) and The District – which was one of the first greenfield projects and has 4,000m² of A-grade office space, currently tenanted by advertising giant, Ogilvy (Architect & Builder, 2007:1).

This flurry of investment had a knock-on effect on property prices, which quickly soared with demand. The average house price in Woodstock increased by 82.5% from R391,723 to R715,022 between 2004 and 2010 (Affordable Land and Housing Data Centre, 2011 in Fleming, 2011:25). Between 2011 and 2014, property prices overall grew between 40-60% (Development Action Group, 2018:2). With this increase of property values, came an

increase in rates and taxes and rentals – followed by evictions of those who could no longer afford to pay rent (Development Action Group, 2018:2).

The result was that a notable amount of small businesses and residents, many of which had been there for decades, could no longer afford to stay in the area, and were forced to relocate (Joseph, 2014:1). A 2011 census estimated that 28% and 38% of households in Woodstock and Salt River, respectively, earned a monthly income of R3,200 or less, making them especially vulnerable to increases in rates and rentals (Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 2013a:2; 2013b). Furthermore, the vast majority of the population – 75% in Woodstock and 85% in Salt River – consist of coloured and black community members who were previously disadvantaged under the Apartheid regime (Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, 2013a:2; 2013b)

Today, a number of organisations have formed to fight back against this gentrification, such as the Reclaim the City Campaign (Clark, 2016:1).

1.3. Street art and Woodstock’s creative culture

Woodstock and Salt River have gained a reputation for being a hub for creative, tech and new media companies, with a noticeable number of advertising and PR agencies having moved to the area over the last decade. Ogilvy was among the first, but has since been followed by TWO.AM Agency, Zoom Advertising, Mad World, Atmosphere Communications, MullenLowe and FCB. Decision makers of these firms cite the “creative environment” and proximity to service providers (such as photographers and graphic designers) as being a leading attraction of the area (founder of King James, personal interview 2018, February 22).

It’s an area that has this talent. Innovation and talent sort of evolve around popular culture. So for us what was much more attractive about Woodstock, apart from the beauty of [our] building... was the resurgence of the area in the sense that we were seeing artists, and graffiti, and food markets and that artisan take-up of the space (King James founder, personal interview 2018, February 22).

There are pockets of Woodstock and Salt River that are characterised by vibrant colours, trendy designs and street art (mostly murals) which have inspired walking tours of the areas for visitors. According to the founder of Baz-Art – the organisation behind the annual International Public Art Festival (IPAF) that takes place in Salt River every year, and provides

a platform for local artists who produce work in the area – there are around 100 street murals in Woodstock, and 150 in Salt River. Baz-Art helped produce around 100 of these (IN02, personal interview 2020, December 13).

This has also been linked to the growing desirability of these areas, which has increased competition for properties, and therefore property prices, rates and rentals (Gunter, 2013:167; Douglas, 2015:1).

The link between street art and gentrification and urban regeneration has been identified and explored by academics and researchers (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Szöke, 2015; Seresinhe *et al.*, 2016). In some instances, developers have even used street murals as an affordable tool to increase the desirability of their developments, and therefore property values (Douglas, 2015:1). For example, street artist Ricky Lee Gordon, was commissioned to do some of the first murals in Woodstock.

Governments, corporations, property developers and private patrons have adopted muralism street art as a very cost-effective way of enhancing the physical environment (Douglas, 2015:1).

However, there is little research on how communities perceive street art in their areas, especially from a South African perspective.

1.4. Research problem

The controversial effects of gentrification mean that a clear understanding of the causes is necessary to policy makers, municipalities and city planners, to make informed decisions.

The link between street art and gentrification has been established in academic literature, which will be expanded on in this thesis in the literature review. However, not enough research has been conducted into understanding whether communities perceive street art to have a positive or negative impact on these areas, and whether there is some street art that works better than others. The problem statement can therefore be summarised as follows:

There is little understanding of the extent to which street art drives urban regeneration and whether it can be used as a positive force by decision-makers to benefit the existing community, rather than simply lead to gentrification (with the displacement of lower-income residents).

1.5. Research proposition

While there are opposing views on gentrification being either a positive or negative phenomenon, it is generally agreed that for the local communities who are involuntarily displaced, the phenomenon has a negative impact on them (Cybriwsky and Levy, 1979 in Hodge, 1981:189). As already highlighted, in South Africa the controversy surrounding gentrification is heightened because those that are displaced tend to be previously disadvantaged communities under the past Apartheid regime. Municipalities are therefore tasked with trying to regenerate areas without making them unaffordable for existing members to live in.

The research proposition can therefore be summarised as follows:

A better understanding of the perceived role street art plays within both urban regeneration and gentrification in the South African context will allow decision makers to make more informed decisions surrounding urban regeneration that will be more beneficial for existing communities.

1.6. Research question and objectives

Based on the research problem, the research question is summarised as:

What role does street art play in both urban regeneration and gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River?

This research aims to focus on Woodstock and Salt River in Cape Town in addressing the research proposition, with the focus being mostly on street murals (as these are the predominate form of street art). The purpose is to explore the part played by street art in the phenomena of both urban regeneration and gentrification, where the former is mostly concerned with the perceived positive aspects of urban regeneration, such as reduced crime and cleaner streets, and the latter is more concerned with the perceived negative aspects of gentrification, such as the displacement of lower-income citizens. To fully answer the research question, three sub-questions have been identified and will need to be explored.

1) What are the perceived economic, social and cultural impacts of street art on the suburbs of Woodstock and Salt River?

2) *How has the establishment of street art in Woodstock and Salt River been beneficial to the local community?*

3) *How has the establishment of street art in Woodstock and Salt River been detrimental to the local community?*

Gentrification is a highly controversial topic and in areas of Woodstock and Salt River lives are being impacted by it – resulting in some organisations being formed to fight against it such as the Reclaim the City Campaign (Clark, 2016:1).

For those that have been displaced, the phenomenon has arguably negatively affected their quality of life and there is, therefore, a strong ethical consideration that needs to go into the purpose of this research, and what the findings might mean for residents and communities in these areas. The overall aim is to better understand the role street art plays in the South African landscape, and how it effects existing community members, business owners and in-movers to the area with the hope that this would better inform decisions around urban regeneration, without causing the displacement of economically vulnerable communities (i.e. gentrification).

The research's objectives are as follows:

1. Explore the link between street art, urban regeneration and gentrification in the academic literature.
2. Identify evidence of both urban regeneration and gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River and explore the extent to which street art played a role in this.
3. Explore the various perceptions surrounding the area's street art by both newcomers in an area and long-standing community members (Do they feel represented by it? Do they like it? Do they feel it benefits them?)
4. Determine whether street art in the area is a benefit or detriment to long-standing residents and businesses in Woodstock and Salt River, and whether some art is more, or less, beneficial or detrimental than others.

It should be noted that art is subjective, and as a result it is difficult to define what is art. For example, graffiti might be seen by some as art, and vandalism by others, depending on the context that it is perceived. This research will not try to define what art is. For the purpose of this research, street art will simply refer to any art in a public space which has been

commissioned and legally permitted by the landowner and local authority. This includes street murals, sculptures, street performances and installations. However, in the case of Woodstock and Salt River, street murals will be the focus of this research as they are the predominate form of street art in the area.

1.7. Methodology

The philosophical approach most closely aligned with this research is that of realism, which attempts to understand the complexity around a phenomenon, rather than simply search for causal explanations and fundamental laws (Easterby-Smith, 1991 & Remenyi, 1998 in Amaratunga & Baldry, 2001:96).

An exploratory study is needed to achieve the research objectives and answer the research question, and the below research methodology was utilised.

- 1) A systematic review of the literature that looks at the link between gentrification, urban regeneration and the role of street art. A literature review is essential in identifying and understanding the various theories and work of previous researchers in the field being studied – and may assist in identifying gaps in the research or unsolved problems (Amaratunga & Baldry, 2001:97).
- 2) A mixed-method triangulation approach was adopted. Mixed-method research combines quantitative and qualitative research, benefitting from the strengths of both approaches to assist a more unified understanding of the research problem (Creswell & Garrett, 2008:322). Triangulation seeks to find a convergence and correlation between quantitative and qualitative data (Greene *et al.*, 1989:256). The data collection techniques utilised include:
 - Quantitative: Various documents and reports around the rise of property values in Woodstock and Salt River, as well as surveys with members of the public at four street art sites, and a separate survey for business owners/property professionals – all of which uses closed-ended questions, Likert and continuous rating scales.
 - Qualitative: Researcher observations from site visits, semi-structured interviews with street artists and informed individuals (leaders of various organisations, street art tour guides and city councillors), and open-ended

survey questions with members of the public and business owners/property professionals.

- 3) An analysis of both the qualitative and quantitative data was conducted concurrently, or as close to concurrently as possible, and comprised of the following:
 - The quantitative data from surveys was analysed using descriptive statistics
 - The qualitative data from the interviews, surveys and observations was analysed using thematic analysis
- 4) Finally, conclusions were drawn and recommendations made in terms of the findings of the research, and further research.

The mix of open-ended and closed-ended questions in the surveys means that quantitative results can be expanded on by qualitative answers, in a triangulation design, for a more in-depth understanding (Creswell, 2006:62; Morgan, 2014:54).

An example would be to expand on a quantitative “yes or no” question, which asks whether participants would like to live near a particular piece of art, with a qualitative question asking participants to explain why they do, or why they do not, like a piece of art.

1.8. Limitations

The most pressing limitation facing this research at date of writing is the COVID-19 global pandemic which has brought about much uncertainty about how research can be conducted. The country went into Level 5 nationwide lockdown on 27 March 2020, which imposed strict stay-at-home regulations on the public. While restrictions were gradually relaxed for various businesses over the following months, what was legally permissible for the academic researcher was never clearly understood. Ethically, however, it was clear that there was a need to support ‘social distancing’ and ‘stay-at-home’ practices.

When this research thesis was initially envisioned, and the proposal drawn up, there were no legal restrictions that might restrict gathering data via street surveys and face-to-face interviews, which formed the bulk of research. But with attempts to combat the pandemic with ‘social distancing’ guidelines, this became a problem and adaptations had to be made. Focus groups were originally intended as part of the research due to their potential to explore key themes, inspire informative discussions and provide further clarification – but this became both legally and ethically impossible to conduct. Furthermore, access to

libraries and data centres, such as the historical records of municipal roles in this area, were impossible for many months, and the choice was to either delay or limit the research process, or heavily rely on resources available online.

As much as possible, online platforms have been utilised to collect data – such as with the use of email, web applications and social media. The strengths and limitations of each method has been fully highlighted in Chapter 3, but it should also be noted that these services are particularly limiting when it comes to surveying some low-income and older residents, as well as small ‘mom-and-pop’ business owners in the area, considering the cost of data and perhaps a lack of access to, or knowledge of, online technology. For example, data collected through emailed surveys might only reach businesses in the area who have an online presence (such as a searchable email address or website). By solely relying on online communication, many members of the community could be under-represented in the data. It became clear that street surveying would still have to be conducted, utilising strict social distancing measures – and this was started, somewhat cautiously, towards the end of August 2020 under Level 2 Lockdown restrictions and with best possible measures to avoid any spread of the virus.

There are also a number of other limitations facing this research – which exist regardless of the current COVID-19 health crisis. One major limitation would be a lack of complete data around property sales, rentals and evictions in the area. The property market is inefficient by its very nature and there is not one platform where all available and relevant data has been collected and published (Harvey & Jowsey, 2004:25-26). For instance, data around achieved rentals and evictions might be limited due to the somewhat private, and often informal, nature of these negotiations between tenant and landlord. Data will have to be collected through a number of different organisations and sources, and considered together – whilst simultaneously acknowledging that it does not paint a full picture.

Another limitation of this research is that gentrification has already been taking place in Woodstock and Salt River, with many who have been displaced. There are therefore limitations in using the area as a case study to explore whether street art can be deployed as a tool for urban regeneration with positive effects for the local community – since displacement has already taken place and continues to do so. However, it is recognised that there is a wide variety of catalysts of gentrification that have also played their part in this

process – such as the area being designated as an UDZ. It is necessary to consider this research alongside other causes of gentrification and urban regeneration.

Furthermore, art is highly subjective. It is therefore difficult to generalise findings of this report and apply them to other areas and communities. For example, some areas with a strongly united political history (such as Bo-Kaap in Cape Town) might respond to politicalised art differently to other communities. At best, findings might only help to determine common themes which might suggest a guideline to decisions that result in the best potential outcome.

It should also be noted that community members in these areas are likely well informed when it comes to the gentrification process, and strongly contesting it. Outsiders, such as myself, could be viewed with suspicion – which might mean they are less willing to freely open up on topics like this – and responses could therefore be geared more towards fighting a cause than reflecting their true perceptions.

And finally, as academics like Loretta Lees (2000) have pointed out before, it is important that gentrification researchers are aware of their sociology and how this might impact their sympathies, research methods and overall conclusions. For instance, aspects of gentrification might be positive for the overall economy, but negative for the long-standing community. What is perceived as “good” and “bad” might depend on the economic, social and political position of the perceiver. Some sociologists have argued that it is impossible for research to be completely objective or “value free” (Vogt & Weber, 2020) and the researcher’s values are likely to enter into each stage of research – from the type of topic selected to the type of research conducted (Yeom & Mikelbank, 2013:86). As far as possible, this research will aim to be representative of the views of those socially and economically invested in Woodstock and Salt River.

1.9. Structure

Chapter 1 introduces the study area, topic and its relevance in today’s social, economic and political environment. Simply put, it aims to explain what the purpose is of this research, and why it is worth conducting, and outlines the research proposition, question and research objectives.

Chapter 2 documents a critical literature review of gentrification theory and its relationship to street art. It highlights the definitions and explanations around gentrification via both production and consumption sides of the debate. It further explores the gentrification theories in connection to culture and the “creative class” before focusing on the literature around art and artists and the role they play. Finally, it focuses on the research around whether street art is a catalyst for gentrification or urban regeneration without necessarily displacement, and possible benefits to the local community – whilst considering the role of public policy. The chapter concludes with a summary of some of the gaps in the literature.

Chapter 3 provides an in depth overview of the research methodology employed in this thesis, as well as the ethical considerations, limitations and the reliability of data. The findings of this research are presented and analysed in Chapter 4, along with a critical reflection of the findings in terms of the literature.

Finally, the conclusions of the study are documented in Chapter 5, together with a discussion on the extent to which the research objectives were achieved and whether any further research is needed to better answer the research question.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

When Ruth Glass first coined the term “gentrification” nearly 60 years ago, she was observing the displacement of working-class residents by the middle class in London. In her introductory chapter of her ground-breaking essay, *London: aspects of change* (1964:445), she described how modest working-class homes had been “invaded” by the middle class and converted into elegant and expensive dwellings, with larger homes being subdivided into flats at inflated prices. Glass observed that the social status and value of these new residences often had an inverse relation with their size – and were rebranded as “houselets” (a term she dubbed “real estate snob jargon”).

One by one, many of these working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower... Once this process of ‘gentrification’ starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed... And this is an inevitable development in view of the demographic, economic and political pressures to which London, and especially Central London, has been subjected (Glass, 1964:23)

Today, the phenomenon has been studied globally and inspired a number of debates around its causes and effects (Hamnett, 1991). While Glass’s initial use of the term was in the context of residential renovations, the term has now also been used to describe the process of industrial buildings being converted to residential, office and retail properties, and even new buildings being developed. The phenomenon has also been identified beyond city districts and in rural areas.

... gentrification has come to be understood as something much more comprehensive: a generalised middle-class restructuring of place, encompassing the entire transformation from low-status neighbourhoods to upper-middle-class playgrounds. Gentrifiers’ residences are no longer just renovated houses but newly built townhouses and high-rise apartments. Their workplaces are as likely to be new downtown or docklands office developments as warehouse studios. Gentrification extends to retail and commercial precincts, and can be seen in rural and coastal townships as well as cities (Shaw, 2008:1698).

However, there are key themes around the term ‘gentrification’ that are in line with Glass’ observations in her 1964 essay. These include a rise in property values and rentals, a displacement of lower income residents by higher socio-economic status in-movers, and a change in culture and consumption. She also acknowledges increases in consumption, which

was epitomised in her statement that “the luxuries of yesterday, or the imitations of yesterday’s luxuries, have become the necessities of today” (Glass, 1964:20).

Gentrification has also become a highly politicised term due to being closely connected to urban class struggles and inequalities – so much so that some scholars argue that there has been an attempt to envelope it as “urban regeneration”, “revitalisation” and “renewal” to try recast it in a positive light (Smith, 2002:445).

This literature review aims to shed light on the role of the street art and artists in the gentrification literature. It will begin by briefly outlining the theories behind what causes the phenomenon, before honing in on Pierre Bourdieu theory of ‘cultural capital’ and Richard Florida’s ‘creative class’ which are closely connected to the topic. This will be followed by a review of the literature around the relationship between art and gentrification – specifically looking at the work of David Ley (2003). The final section will explore street art advantages and disadvantages in terms of economic benefits versus displacement.

2.2. Causes of gentrification: the production vs consumption debate

A key debate around gentrification that developed in the 1970s and 1980s is related to its cause. There are roughly two explanations which emerged in gentrification theory, which are loosely defined as production-side or consumption-side based explanations of the phenomenon (Yeom & Mikelbank, 2013:84). They are essentially split by views on whether gentrification is driven by demand or supply (Sandikci, 2004:474).

Production-based explanations emphasise the movement of capital, rather than people, as the leading cause of gentrification (Bridge, 2001:205). A pioneer of this explanation is geographer Neil Smith who argued that gentrification is a structural product (as opposed to an agency product) in the market and due to a “rent gap” (1979:545). The rent gap is defined as the disparity between an area’s potential rental income and its actual rental income, and is attributed to capital depreciation in an area (which reduces achieved rentals) along with urban expansion and demand (Smith, 1979:545). Investors and developers then seek a higher rate of return through renovating or redeveloping this area (Smith, 1979:545).

Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough that developers can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builders’ costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer. The entire ground rent, or a large portion of it,

is now capitalized; the neighbourhood has been “recycled” and begins a new cycle of use (Smith, 1979:545).

Gentrification is therefore attributed to the flows of capital by those who favour a production-based explanation, and it is considered through an economic and structural lens.

On the other hand, those who favour a consumption-based explanation will look at the process through a culture and agency lens, and focus on the driving force of demand. A key contributor to this school of thought is the geographer David Ley who argued the role of the new middle class as the leading cause of gentrification (Ley, 1980; 1986:525). He looked at the cultural, lifestyle and aesthetic values of this new middle class, who appear to value historical preservation and consumption of non-standardised products, as the cause of gentrification (Bridge, 2001:206; Cameron & Coaffee, 2005:40). He proposed that key economic, political and cultural shifts influenced the emergence of the new middle class, including the declining role of unskilled labour and the growing importance of technology in the production process, a more active role by government, and a cultural emphasis on consumption and status to achieve self-actualisation (Ley, 1980:243; Hamnett, 1991:176). In a study of post-industrial Vancouver, Ley (1980:256) described a “new elite” as being “tastemakers” with a liberal ideology that influenced policies with an “unintended elitism” that favoured a more privileged income group over a vulnerable one:

The transition to a post-industrial society in Vancouver was accompanied by a shift from blue collar to white collar employment and from an economy based on manufacturing to one based on services. This transition, though not complete, has been accelerating since 1960 and the emergence of a new professional, technical and administrative elite has given expression to a heightened lifestyle of consumption, and a concern with the aesthetic and the realms of human sensibility (Ley, 1980:247).

Other research that focuses on demographic changes that impact demand in a gentrifying population includes studies into the changing roles of women in the workplace (Warde, 1991 in Doan & Higgins, 2011:7), the growth of single working moms (Rose, 1984; Bondi, 1999) and the possible link between the participation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered (LGBT) populations in the service economy (Fitzgerald, 1986 in Sakızlıoğlu, 2018:206). For instance, a rise in single-mom households may drive demand for residences in gentrification areas as single mothers with moderate incomes try to balance their needs to be located near urban support services, with the affordability of low-cost, inner city residences in gentrifying areas (Zukin, 1987:138). The clustering of LGBT populations in

gentrifying neighbourhoods has been accredited to them creating safe spaces for them to reside in a generally patriarchal society (Doan & Higgins, 2011:7):

Households of gay people, singles, and professional couples with central business district jobs increasingly find central locations attractive. Particularly important has been the success of both gays and women in the professional and managerial classes in gaining access to decent-paying jobs (Markusen, 1980:S35).

Similar clustering has also been seen with informally employed workers and freelancers in the “creative” industry, such as artists, photographers and actors, who may seek affordable inner-city residences to maintain access to work and support services (Zukin, 1987:137). Ley’s thesis on the role of the creative class and artist in gentrification is among the body of research that has explored the link between this creative clustering and gentrification – and will be considered later in this literature review.

While the causes of gentrification have generally been split along the lines of production versus consumption, structure versus agency, capital versus culture, or demand versus supply, explanations, it is more widely accepted that gentrification is a multifaceted phenomenon, driven by a combination of causes along both production and consumption-side explanations (Bondi, 1999:282; Mathews, 2010:661).

For example, it is possible that in Smith’s ‘rent-gap’ thesis, the potential ground rentals that make gentrification possible, are at least in part, driven by a demand from potential gentrifiers (Moore, 1982 in Hamnett, 1991:181).

Urban geographer, Damaris Rose, agrees that structural and economic causes play a role in gentrification, but disagrees that the production of gentrified dwellings as commodities is a single causal factor (Rose, 1984 in Zukin, 1987:140). Instead of a simple production approach, she argues that gentrification in a “chaotic concept” and proposes “social reproduction” as being important, whereby gentrification is catalysed by the interaction of changes in production and reproduction (Rose, 1984:47):

Thus, [Rose] accords a central role in gentrification processes to marginally employed but highly educated individuals who seek a central-city and low-cost residence for social or ecological reasons. Moreover, by considering social reproduction as a separate factor, Rose avoids conflating reproduction and consumption, as both positivists and Marxists tend to do (Zukin, 1987:140).

However, for the purpose of this dissertation, the literature concerning the role of human agency – particularly that of the creative class – requires further focus.

2.3. Cultural capital and the rise of the creative class

A number of the explanations that focus on the agency of the gentrifier has drawn from the research by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. He made a distinction between different types of “capital” which an individual might have, and their ability to deploy them to gain social advantages (Bourdieu, 1984 in Rérat, 2018:104). The different types of capital were defined as economic capital (financial assets and monetary income), cultural capital (aesthetic principles in the form of dispositions embodied by individuals) and social capital (social networks and relationships) (Daenekindt, 2017:43; Rérat, 2018:104). According to Bourdieu, there are two kinds of cultural capital: the first of which is incorporated through education and knowledge, and the second being symbolic and based on moral and aesthetic values (Rérat, 2018:104).

Scholars of gentrification have noted this high cultural capital (and typically low economic capital) in early gentrifiers of urban areas (Bridge, 2001:205; Ley, 2003:2530). They have explained the actions of these early gentrifiers as a means to distinguish themselves from the conventional middle class which live in the suburbs, by deploying their cultural capital (through their education and set of values) in lieu of economic capital (Bridge, 2001:205). Their set of values may favour historical preservation and uniqueness, rather than new and mass-produced consumption, and this is displayed in a distinctive lifestyle with the renovation of older homes or buildings, and supporting smaller local shops, rather than large supermarket chains. A modern term that has come to describe these early gentrifiers is “hipster”.

The irony is that this distinctive lifestyle becomes “trendy” and captures the attention of those possessing more economic capital than culture capital, and who are associated with a more commodified form of gentrification (Bridge, 2001:205):

It’s defining feature is conspicuous cultural consumption. Designer shops, art galleries, bars and restaurants form the background to a landscape of people in semi-public space (tables on the footpath they must pay to occupy) watching the passing parade and sipping chardonnay from a boutique winery, beer from a microbrewery, coffee from organic beans grown in the developing country *du jour* (Shaw, 2008:1698).

When applying Bourdieu's approach of class analysis to the field of gentrification study, it would seem that the process is mostly an unconscious response to the possibilities formed by the relationship between cultural and economic capital within a particular social space (Bridge, 2001:205):

These are opened up by the changing economic conditions (including the revalorisation of inner urban land and the investment opportunities that affords along with the growth in the service class of professional workers). Gentrification is an outcome of the repertoire of responses to these new economic and social opportunities that arise from prior dispositions of the class habitus (Bridge, 2001:205).

More recent theory on culture-led explanations to gentrification have been popularised through the work by urban studies theorist, Richard Florida. He theorised that a key to economic growth was the ability to attract the "creative class", which could thus spur on the creative economy with outcomes such as new ideas and high-tech companies (Florida, 2002:16). To gauge a region's economic capabilities, he proposed 'The Creative Index', made up of four equally-weighted factors (Florida, 2002:16). These factors measure the number of creatives in the work force, high-tech industries, innovation (measured through patents) and diversity (measured by the number of gay people which Florida considered a "reasonable proxy for an area's openness to different kinds of people and ideas") (Florida, 2002:16). He also claims to have found correlations between the locational choices of high-tech companies and gay people, where the same areas that attracted high-tech companies, also had the highest concentration of gay people – and similarly with artists, writers, and performers (Florida, 2002:20).

According to Florida, members of the creative class may have a variety of professions in a variety of industries, but they share a common ethos – that which values "creativity, individuality, difference and merit" (Florida, 2002:17). Most fundamentally, "diversity" seems to be a core value – and the creative class is said to enjoy a mix of influences – from food, to music, to meeting and trading views with people from different cultures and backgrounds:

They prefer indigenous street-level culture – a teeming blend of cafes, sidewalk musicians, and small galleries and bistros, where it is hard to draw the line between performers and spectators (Florida, 2002:21)

Furthermore, this creative class also values diversity, authenticity, and uniqueness in places and communities – such as historic buildings or special cultural attributes (Florida, 2002:22):

It comes from the mix – from urban grit alongside renovated buildings, from the commingling of young and old, long-time neighbourhood characters and yuppies, fashion models and “bag ladies”. An authentic place also offers unique and original experiences. Thus a place full of chain stores, chain restaurants and nightclubs is not authentic. You could have the same experience anywhere (Florida, 2002:22).

At the turn of the millennium, Florida noted that companies were making necessary adaptations to the workplace to better attract creative class employees (such as with flexible working hours and relaxed dress code), as they had come to realise that their prosperity depended on it – and he advised municipalities and urban planners to take a similar approach (Florida, 2002:17).

Florida’s creative city theory has garnered numerous awards, accolades and caught the attention of urban policy makers across the globe – but it is not without its critics. Some scholars have referred to it as a reproduction of oversimplified cultural-led regeneration strategies – repackaged using buzz words – that do not address deep-seated socio-economic problems (Peck, 2007; McGuigan, 2009). For example, Jamie Peck, a long-term researcher in the field of geographical political economy, argues that Florida’s theory motivates for gentrification-friendly strategies by putting the needs of the middle class first while doing little to solve existing social inequalities (Peck, 2005:764):

Entrenched problems like structural unemployment, residential inequality, working poverty, and racialised exclusion are barely even addressed by this form of cappuccino urban politics... Creativity strategies have been crafted to *co-exist* with these problems, not to solve them. It should come as no surprise, then, that the creative capitals exhibit higher rates of socioeconomic inequality than other cities, as has been belatedly acknowledged by Florida himself. This awkward correlation is quite consistent, of course, with the argument that creativity strategies are predicated upon, and constitutively realized in the context of, uneven modes of urban growth and neoliberal politics (Peck, 2007:10-11).

However, there are academics who take a more multi-dimensional and socially-rooted perspective to culture-led regeneration theory. Frank Moulaert, Hilde Demuyne and Jacques Nussbaumer (2004) argue that it is necessary to understand the different roles of culture in social and economic urban life, so as to decide which strategies will break through social exclusion and help deprived groups and their neighbourhoods. They highlighted a number of dimensions of arts and culture which can be relevant in this respect, including

providing a “voice” for deprived populations and a medium for expression that can assist as a planning tool; opening up employment opportunities and spurring economic activity, and assisting neighbourhood revitalisation and artistic expression of identity (Moulaert *et al.*, 2004:231-232).

2.4. The artist and aesthetics in gentrification

The relationship between the artist (as an agent of change) and gentrification is well-established in the literature and been acknowledged by Florida, Bourdieu and many other scholars who follow consumption-based explanations of gentrification. One of the most influential is Ley, who explored the role of the artist in transforming a product and a place from “junk to art and then on to commodity” in his thesis *Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification* (2003:2528).

Ley extends on Bourdieu’s thesis concerning the ‘aesthetic disposition’ and the relationship between economic and cultural capital in understanding how the aestheticisation of place can bring about gentrification (Bourdieu, 1984 and 1993 in Ley, 2003:2530). Bourdieu proposed the concept of ‘aesthetic disposition’ as the capacity to appreciate form, rather than function, of cultural products (Bourdieu, 1984 in Daenekindt, 2017:43). Importantly, the ability is a class-privileged temperament established through middle-class origins and/or high levels of education, where value is socially produced in a historical space (Ley, 2003:2531-2532):

In other words, art should be understood not only as a material product with a creator, not only as a symbolic product with an audience and set of facilitators who bring it to the attention of the audience, but also as a manifestation of positions within the artistic field as a whole, the positions of predecessors and contemporaries, of valued and devalued, of dominants and dominated. Bourdieu regards the artwork as a joint creation. It is not just the creation of the artist, other than in a crude material sense, for its value has to be received and confirmed in an intersubjective art world (Ley, 2003:2532).

Ley noted how artwork, unlike mass-produced products of chain stores, establishes symbolic value through a claim of difference and authenticity – such as handcrafted as opposed to modern production – and it is this aesthetic disposition that adds value to an object (Ley, 2003:2530).

Despite limited economic capital, artists typically have an abundance of cultural capital which solidifies their position as part of the dominant class, albeit the dominated segment of the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1993 in Ley, 2003:2533):

Not only the appropriation of high levels of cultural capital, but also the discipline and achievement of learning an aesthetic disposition, identify artists as members of the middle class. Correlations of the location of artists in Canadian cities in the 1970s identified them as overlapping with the residential areas of higher socioeconomic status, if sometimes on their margins in districts whose gentility has become frayed at the edges (Ley, 1996 in Ley, 2003:2533).

Artists are also typically attracted to inner-city areas (seen as socially diverse) as opposed to suburbs (seen as commodified locations) – which Ley highlighted with an interview with a sculptor:

You know, artists hate the suburbs. They're too confining. Every artist is an anthropologist, unveiling culture. It helps to get some distance on that culture in an environment that does not share all of its presuppositions, an old area, socially diverse, including poverty groups (sculptor quoted in Ley, 2003:2534).

As sociologist Sharon Zukin noted in her influential thesis, *Loft Living* (1982), artists are also attracted to buildings which offer appropriate conditions for their lifestyle, such as generous space to work/perform and low rent. The large number of underused industrial space in inner cities (due to the decline in industrial manufacturing) met these needs, and as artists took up residence in these buildings, they popularised the industrial chic aesthetic (Zukin, 1982 in Mathews, 2010:663):

The mass-market popularity of industrial chic allowed a transference of the image value from industrial spaces to contemporary apartments and condominiums which advertise 'loft living' for middle class tastes. Consequently, the mass-market appeal of 'loft living' is rarely affordable or popular amongst artists from whom this aesthetic was originally derived (Mathews, 2010:663-664).

As Ley and others have pointed out, the presence of artists in an urban area can be an early indicator of gentrification, and is one of the strongest statistical predictors (Cole, 1990 & Gale, 1984 & Ley, 1996 in Ley, 2003:2540). This is due to the economic valorisation of the aesthetic disposition of the artist which often leads to the increase in property prices (Ley, 2003:2540):

The population that follows artists does not enter the field haphazardly, but in a succession that is shaped by their proximity to the aesthetic disposition and cultural competency of the artist. The aesthetic appropriation of place, with its valuation of the commonplace and off-

centre, appeals to other professionals, particularly those who are also higher in cultural capital than in economic capital and who share something of the artist's antipathy towards commerce and convention (Ley, 2003:2540).

Intellectuals, students, journalists and educators are often successors to artists in an area, followed by professionals with higher levels of economic capital (such as lawyers) and then businesspeople and capitalists – leading to a rise of disposable incomes, property prices and reinvestment in the area (Ley, 2003:2540).

While there has been debate as to whether artists are complicit in, or victims of, gentrification, it is well documented that many are ultimately displaced by gentrification – although by this stage the real estate and tourism industries are able to capitalise off “the memory of artists and the commodity of the artist milieu” (Mathews, 2010:665-666). Ley (2003:2541) argues that while agency matters as drivers of gentrification, artists are seldom to blame for gentrification as their agency is structured by the rules of that field:

...it is the societal valorisation of the cultural competencies of the artist that brings followers richer in economic capital (Ley, 2003:2541).

2.5. Street art: a catalyst of gentrification or a tool for urban regeneration?

Glass's language and tone in her 1964 ground-breaking essay appears to indicate that her sympathies were with those displaced in London due to gentrification. The change in an area's class composition due to displacement is a defining characteristic of gentrification (Sakızlıoğlu, 2018:205) and the term has become closely associated with negative social impacts such as class struggles and inequality. Some scholars have suggested that there have been deliberate attempts to rebrand it more positively as “urban regeneration”, “revitalisation” and “renewal” (Smith, 2002:445):

The language of regeneration sugarcoats gentrification. Precisely because the language of gentrification tells the truth about the class shift involved in “regeneration” of the city, it has become a dirty word to developers, politicians, and financiers (Smith, 2002:445).

Over the past 20 years, there has also been a trend towards the state playing a greater role in the gentrification process, and funding business improvement associations to rebrand or repackage an area's image – often through the inclusion of the arts community (Slater, 2004 in Mathews, 2010:661):

The term gentrification itself has received a makeover of sorts, removed from a great number of policy and planning discourses, alongside the class relations and displacement issues that typically accompany the process. Instead, the preference for terms such as 'renaissance,' 'regeneration,' and 'revitalisation' directs attention away from the contested nature of urban revival (Mathews, 2010:661-662).

Furthermore, academics, developers and policymakers have questioned whether the rise in property values is necessarily a catalyst for displacement, or whether the economic opportunities or positive effects of gentrification (such as less crime, historic preservation of decaying buildings or business activity) outweigh the negative effects, such as displacement (Mathews, 2010:662). As Zukin (1987) has pointed out, the perception of gentrification is typically based on how it affects the different interests of those in gentrifying neighbourhoods:

Pre-gentrification residents, as already partly noted, are likely to have consumption patterns of a lower social class, constitute a different ethnic and racial community, and an older age group. When they mobilise to defend a neighbourhood "as it is", they exclude the "improvements" identified with gentrification. Chief among these improvements, in the gentrifiers' view, is the restoration of historic architectural detail. Yet if existing residents join gentrifiers in associations that support the "historic" community, they may be aiding a process that causes property values to rise and leads to their own displacement. Existing homeowners, however, may have reason to do so. In economic terms, they forsake sentiment, or attachment to the community, for exchange values (Zukin, 1987:133).

Florida's 'Creative Cities' thesis (2002) has been a key contributor to the narrative surrounding the economic benefits around gentrification – and has provided a framework for policymakers and city planners to develop urban strategies (Peck, 2007; McGuigan, 2009:291; Mathews, 2010:662). Among these strategies is the inclusion of the use of the arts, a strategy that is in no way new in the built environment. In 1982, Zukin introduced the concept of the 'artistic mode of production' where investors use art and culture to attract capital to real estate (Mathews, 2010:661).

Public or street art, especially, has been advocated for its contributions to 'urban regeneration' and been used by both developers and policymakers for this purpose (Hall & Robertson, 2001:5). A broad definition of public art is "street art and art in public spaces within the urban environment" (Mathews, 2010:662). Its contributions to urban regeneration include improving the aesthetics and design of buildings; providing a sense of quality and uniqueness; assisting in the promotion of buildings and areas with 'cover shots' in media; contributing to 'cultural tourism'; attracting companies and investment and

contributing to local distinctiveness and sense of community (Selwood, 1992:21 & Goodey, 1994 & Policy Studies Institute, 1994:38 in Hall & Robertson, 2001:7). From an urban regeneration perspective, Colantonio and Dixon (2011 in Forte & De Paola, 2019:2) note that the inclusion of street art in an area can result in the occurrence of 'softer' social themes such as a sense of place for the community, social mixing, happiness and social participation.

From a gentrification perspective, other studies also link street art's contribution to a rise in property values and the displacement of lower-income residents. For example, in New York's Chelsea, one building recorded a market value increase by 136% due to two murals by Brazilian artist Eduardo Kobra (Forte & De Paola, 2019:3-4), while a UK property report in 2017 showed that stakeholders would be willing to pay between 5% and 30% more for a property if the building contained artwork by British street artist, Banksy (Warner, 2017 in Forte & De Paola, 2019:3)

Research suggests that large budgets are typically allocated to flagship developments, with the commission of nationally or internationally renowned artists (Selwood, 1995b in Hall & Robertson, 2001:8). Their work not only attracts investment and raises property values, but can also inspire local tourism opportunities, such as those seen with street art walking tours or through art festivals:

Armed with a list of these potential contributions, art constitutes a major component in a multifaceted strategy to alleviate the social ills characterising contemporary urban spaces, including declining population rates, high unemployment, derelict and underused lands and buildings, and a waning sense of place (Mathews, 2010:667).

However, researchers have also noted that public art can support dominant values and interests – especially those of the commissioning agent or gentrifier – and result in a sense of exclusion for the existing community (Mathews, 2010:668). This is often due to the selection process behind the art content, for example through municipal or corporate applications (Bailey et al 2004; Sharp et al 2005 in Mathews, 2010:668):

The form of public art which is promoted in official policies at the local and national scale is qualitatively different than the politicized messages inscribed during earlier gentrification cycles. The oft cited slogan 'Die Yuppie Scum' expressed in graffiti, voiced in chants and posted on signs during anti-gentrification protests in the Lower East Side in the 1980s falls outside of these strategies (Mathews, 2010:667-668).

As highlighted by Vanessa Mathews (2010:669), the meaning behind art is framed by its setting and context, and it is therefore relevant for researchers to consider why work was created and for whose interest. It is also suggested to involve the existing communities in the selection process to avoid their exclusion and better incorporate their interests (Mathews, 2010:669).

2.6. Gaps in the literature

As shown above, there has been considerable research around the relationship between street art, gentrification and urban regeneration. Recent similar research studies include a paper that used metadata of geotagged photographs of street art on the online image-sharing platform, Flickr, in an attempt to quantify the presence of art in London neighbourhoods, and then comparing this to the relevant change in mean residential property prices in the area (Seresinhe *et al.*, 2016). In addition, research in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside in Canada looked at the intended impacts of community-based public art by artists, and how this was perceived by the public (Szöke, 2015).

A study by Grodach *et al.* (2014) explored the conflict between the use of public art for positive neighbourhood development (urban regeneration) and its resulting contribution to negative effects (gentrification) such as the displacement of lower-income residents. The study looked at two different types of public art industries – the fine arts and commercial art – in 100 metropolitan areas in the United States, and found that commercial art showed the strongest association with gentrification and rapid growth and change, while the fine arts were associated more with stable, slow growth (Grodach *et al.*, 2014 in Forte & De Paola, 2019:3).

However, research exploring street art and gentrification in the South African context remains extremely limited. Whilst gentrification might be a challenging, complex and controversial topic globally, it is undoubtedly even more so when considering it in the South African context – making research imperative. For instance, South Africa has a very recent history of forced removals and spatial and social segregation, and those that remain most vulnerable to displacement through gentrification today, are previously disadvantaged citizens under the previous Apartheid regime. Governments and municipalities, with much smaller budgets than their American and UK counterparts, are therefore saddled with the

task of trying to improve the living environment of rundown areas occupied by previously disadvantaged citizens, whilst simultaneously protecting these communities from displacement, and responding to pressures for low-income housing in urban areas (Gunter, 2013:278; Jason, 2019:1).

There is therefore a need for more in-depth understanding into how stakeholders (consisting of long-standing residents, in-movers, visitors, business owners, artists and investors) relate to, and perceive, street art in the South African context.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter begins by identifying and reflecting on the researcher's identity and positionality, as well as the epistemological assumptions and theoretical frameworks that have inspired, structured, and defined the research methodology, and therefore the data. It reflects on how the researcher's background and experiences have also led to a philosophical approach most closely aligned with realism in answering the research question.

It then motivates why a mixed-method triangulation approach has been selected as the most appropriate method in answering the research question. The research method and design for data collection is then outlined, with careful consideration of the strengths, weaknesses and challenges in terms of how this might impact the reliability of the data. It concludes with thorough consideration of the ethical issues and limitations of the research.

3.2. Philosophical position of the research

3.2.1. Researcher identity and positionality

Axiology, or value theory, rejects the notion that value-free and ethically-neutral research can exist, and argues that a lack of recognition of the value judgements behind all inquiry could lead to a potentially serious flaw in the research (Given, 2008:53).

The generation of a research hypothesis, the refining of the research question, the judgment of what might be important additions to knowledge in any field of inquiry, and the choices and decisions made in research design, the selection of participants, and the interpretation of data—all of these involve value claims one way or another (Given, 2008:53).

The identity and positioning of a researcher can influence research, and researchers are therefore urged to practice 'reflexivity' to address some areas that could lead to partiality in their research (Thomson & Gunter, 2011:17).

Reflexivity is the examination of the researcher's multiple and changing identities, emotions and position of privilege so as to understand how the researcher might influence the research, particularly within qualitative studies (Trussell, 2014:344):

Reflexivity is also important for researchers to understand their social positioning and status characteristics (such as social class, sexual identity, gender, etc.); it may be particularly

important for researchers who are interested in generating knowledge related to issues of social justice and action for change. (Trussell, 2014:344)

This thesis has been researched by a white, middle-class, heterosexual female – who comes from a background of privilege when compared to many of the long-standing members of the Woodstock and Salt River community. This privilege positions the researcher as an “outsider” to many of those surveyed for the purpose of this study, which can pose challenges when understanding the feelings and meanings behind the qualitative data collected via interviews and surveys of individuals.

One example of this was the researcher’s assumption that the more frequent police and security patrols in Woodstock and Salt River would be considered a positive and welcomed effect of gentrification for the long-standing community. However, during a walking tour in Salt River with a street art tour guide, who grew up in the area, the guide pointed out a security patrol vehicle driving in the area, and said it really angered her that they are patrolling the area now that it has gentrified. The guide accredited this emotion to memories of her childhood when there was no protection from the gangs and crime for the community. She explained that it hurt her that “they” only seem to care about the safety of the public when wealthier people started living in the area:

What makes me angry, though, is how they clean up the area when it starts becoming valuable. When I was a child, they used to shoot people in the road. I watched them pull out guns and shoot people in the road. Those were how the gangs were... No one did anything. The police didn’t do anything. But I have been living in Salt River for the last couple of years and they have this organisation called the Woodstock Improvement District – they are like private security. And they cleaned up Woodstock and now they cleaned up Salt River... We are quite happy that they have made the area safer but it is so sad that they are only making it safe for that future market that the development is aimed at. When it was public safety for people who don’t have that kind of spending power, then it wasn’t important. And that for me was the shocking bit (IN01, personal interview 2020, August 18).

There were emotions based on a history of distrust, resentment and hurt that needed to be explained to the researcher. The positionality of the researcher can mean that assumptions are incorrectly made, which can result in a misinterpretation of feelings and responses to questions.

There has been a significant amount of literature produced in recent years discussing the challenges and opportunities that exist between interviewers and interviewees coming from different social backgrounds, classes and experiences (Mellor *et al.*, 2014:137). On the one

side, 'outsider' researchers may miss important details or misinterpret meanings (Rhodes, 1994 in Mellor *et al.*, 2014:137), while researchers with a shared experience with interviewees could be better equipped to conduct more in-depth interviews (Thomson & Gunter, 2011:18). However, 'insider' researchers can also suffer from lack of distance and perspective. The assumption that both interviewer and interviewee know each other's lives means questions might be shaped by what the researcher expects as answers, and answers might be less in-depth because the interviewee assumes the researcher knows everything already (Beedell, 2009 in Mellor *et al.*, 2014:138).

This insider/outsider duality has also been criticised, with arguments that identities are multiple and fluid, and that therefore researchers often have both outsider and insider perspectives which results in unique standpoints (Thomson & Gunter, 2011:18; Archer, 2002 in Mellor *et al.*, 2014:138).

3.2.2. Philosophical approach, epistemological assumptions and theoretical framework

It is also necessary to reflect on the theoretical framework and epistemological assumptions that a researcher brings into the research, as these influence every step of the process – from the choice of topic, to the methodology and how data is understood and interpreted (Travers, 2001:9).

An example of this could be seen in the choice between a focus on qualitative or quantitative data. A researcher's decision to specialise or favour one over the other can simply be based on practical reasons, such as a prior knowledge or specialisation (Travers, 2001:6). However, it is also argued that choosing one over the other is based on different epistemological assumptions and commits the researcher to a specific way of understanding social sciences and people (Travers, 2001:6). Reflection of this is necessary so as to create awareness of how this might influence the research process, and therefore results.

While the author of this research does not have much academic background in scholarly research, statistics and data analysis, she has spent many years working in the field of journalism, which could lead to a stronger preference to, and emphasis on, qualitative data in this research – especially those sourced through interviewing. However, a background in journalism and media studies has also instilled a strong understanding that there are multiple individual studies and interpretations of reality that paint any picture of truth, and

that the more information gathered (both qualitative and quantitative), the closer one gets to depicting reality. It is also understood that pure objectivity is perhaps impossible to achieve, and that it is therefore sometimes more powerful to accurately depict many individuals' 'truths' subjectively (by telling many versions or parts of a story) in order to better understand the story as a whole. This, perhaps, is most closely aligned with realism.

The realism approach, also known as the interpretative or phenomenological approach, understands reality as holistic, and socially constructed, rather than objectively determined (Amaratunga & Baldry, 2001:96).

The theoretical frameworks that inspired this research topic and design are rooted in Critical Theory, and should also be reflected on.

Critical social theory, unlike social theory, aims not just to understand the social world, but also looks to solve the social problems within it (Collins, 2019:5). The controversial nature of this topic in the South African context has already been highlighted in the introductory chapter. The displacement of economically and socially vulnerable citizens has been compared to the forced removals seen during the Apartheid era by the media, as well as political and community groups who campaign to protect existing and historical communities and buildings from the effects of gentrification. However, there is also a social and economic argument for revitalising poorer areas which typically suffer from high crime rates, poorer service delivery, greater unemployment and less investment.

The notion of revitalising areas, but protecting historical buildings and communities, seems almost contradictory in nature and poses a challenge to decision-makers. The decision to explore whether street art can be used as a tool to revitalise an area to the benefit of the existing community (and not result in displacement) arose from a need to solve visible social injustices in Cape Town:

For Critical Theory, critique needs to be more than criticism. It must be immanent to, or grounded in, particular historical circumstances and the potential they have to generate a better life. (How, 2003:9)

There are a number of related theories within critical theory that have assisted this research, including postcolonial theory, where the legacy of past regimes and imperialism has resulted in the power structures and inequalities of today (Jazeel, 2019:1). It is well understood that those being displaced in Woodstock and Salt River are previously

disadvantaged households as a result of Apartheid, and lack many of the resources needed to benefit from the gentrification process in their neighbourhoods (i.e. develop property for economic gain), let alone survive displacement (i.e. afford the higher rentals).

3.3. Mixed-method methodology

3.3.1. Overview

A mixed-method triangulation methodology, using a combination of qualitative and quantitative data, has been used in this research due to the complimentary and synergetic nature of the two methods in answering the research question and sub-questions. The methodology is similar to that used in a thesis by Teréz Szöke for the University of Guelph in Ontario, Canada, on a related topic which looked at the geographies of community-based public art in Vancouver and the intended impacts by artists (Szöke, 2015).

3.3.2. Mixed methods vs qualitative and quantitative research

There has been considerable divide in the academic community over the various strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research approaches (Travers, 2001:6; Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002:19). Quantitative data is typically easier to measure, interpret and validate due to it being in numerical form, while qualitative data provides much more detail and meaning for complex issues, particularly when it comes to understanding human behaviour (Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002:20; Creswell & Garrett, 2008:322; Morgan, 2014:48).

A key difference is that qualitative research generally follows inductive processes beginning with observations to create theory, while quantitative research uses a deductive process which begins with theory, and is then tested through observations (Morgan, 2014:47-48). Most significantly, they are each underpinned by completely different epistemological assumptions; with positivism tending towards quantitative data for its objectivity and search for fundamental laws, and realism favouring qualitative research for its search to understand and explain reality more holistically (Amaratunga & Baldry, 2001:96).

Mixed-method research combines quantitative and qualitative research, theoretically benefitting from the strengths of both approaches to assist in a more unified understanding of the research problem (Creswell & Garrett, 2008:322). The theory is that both approaches

combined can lead to a better understanding of complex research topics than either one approach could do alone (Creswell & Garrett, 2008:322).

In the case of this research, a mixed-method design is the best approach in answering the research question – especially when considering the complex nature of urban regeneration and gentrification. While quantitative data could (and should) be used to outline statistics of gentrification, such as the rise of property prices and rentals, there is also a human story behind these phenomena, especially when relating it to the highly subjective nature of street art. To simply provide quantitative data that attempts to link a rise in street art with a rise in property prices and rentals, would oversimplify a complex topic and result in meaningless research. It could also potentially result in a distorted conclusion that categorises street art as either “good” or “bad”, depending on its link to gentrification or urban regeneration. The reality is that the issue is subjective, complex and needs to consider multiple viewpoints of those impacted by it. This can only be collected through qualitative data – through interviews and surveys with various players, such as street artists, business people, property professionals, residents, community leaders and city councillors.

It is not enough to just link a prevalence of street art with urban regeneration and gentrification – and the research question is far more multifaceted than this. Rather, the aim is to understand the complexity of the issues around street art and its role in both urban regeneration and gentrification. To do this, the research will need to explore the three sub-questions:

- 1) *What economic, social and cultural impacts did the establishment of street art have on the suburbs of Woodstock and Salt River?*
- 2) *How has the establishment of street art in Woodstock and Salt River been beneficial to the local community?*
- 3) *How has the establishment of street art in Woodstock and Salt River been detrimental to the local community?*

None of these questions can be adequately answered solely via quantitative data and qualitative data – hence the need for a combination of the two.

The use of qualitative data in the mixed-method approach means that it has followed a mostly inductive process, with goals such as discovery and exploration of the issues involved

(Morgan, 2014:48). This process aims to generate theory from observations and its research design is, therefore, flexible and emergent, which is unlike the predetermined design of deductive research, associated with quantitative research (Morgan, 2014:49).

A methodological triangulation model has been deployed so that the weaknesses in either quantitative or qualitative research will be compensated for in the other (Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002:23). This will be further expanded on under ‘Research design’.

3.3.3. Quantitative and qualitative methods in this research

This research has used a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods in collecting data which is aimed at answering the research question, and are highlighted in the below table.

Table 1: Summary of quantitative methods and qualitative data collection techniques

Quantitative methods	Qualitative methods
a) Documents and statistics	d) Site visits and observations
b) Sales reports	e) Semi-structured interviews
c) Closed-ended survey questions	f) Open-ended survey questions

One major challenge for researchers following a mixed method approach, is the lack of a set of established traditions which can make it difficult for researchers to convince of the appropriateness of their research procedures, and they therefore need to provide explicit arguments about why their procedures and methods were selected to accomplish a particular set of purposes (Morgan, 2014:58). An attempt to do this is seen below.

a) Documents and statistics (quantitative)

This quantitative method of data collection has been used to provide a contextual background of gentrification and urban regeneration in Woodstock and Salt River, with evidence of a rise in property values and rentals in the market.

The inefficient nature of the property market means there is no single depository of all relevant sales, rentals and evictions data which could clearly illustrate gentrification and/or urban regeneration in Woodstock and Salt River (Harvey & Jowsey, 2004:25-26). There are a number of sources that initially were thought to be useful, but have unfortunately proven of little help. For example, *Rode’s Report* – which publishes average flat rentals and residential

values in various suburbs – has only recently started publishing this data for Woodstock and Salt River, which were seen as industrial areas, despite being home to residents for many years. A historical search through these reports – going back to 2002 – has therefore proven futile in this regard.

A mix-match of information and statistics has therefore been gathered from a variety of different sources and organisations that have looked at collecting similar data in these areas. These include the City of Cape Town Municipality, which will have historical municipal valuations of residential properties which can be collected by streets, and the average growth rate can be compared to other city fringe areas, such as Green Point, Observatory and Maitland.

Furthermore, the average rentals of office space in Woodstock and Salt River has been published over the last 10 years in the *Rode's Report*. This data can give good insight into the gentrification process, as a rise in value of residential property generally has a knock-on effect on the value of other properties in the area, as the land becomes more valuable when there is a shift in its 'highest and best use'. This has been seen in Woodstock and Salt River where old industrial properties have been bought by investors to be sold for redevelopment purposes as good-grade mixed-use office and residential blocks.

b) Sales reports (quantitative)

Another way to provide a contextual background of gentrification is through CMA Info's (an online property information portal) historical sales reports in the area, in comparison to other areas. These reports include all residential properties sold in the area for a given year – providing an overall average for residential property values each year, as well as a value rate/m². The average growth can then be calculated and compared to that of other areas.

This quantitative data is far from perfect, as there is no way of identifying the types and quality of property sold historically. For example, one year might see a larger percentage of smaller dwellings sell, which will have a higher selling rate/m² than larger properties due to the laws of economies of scale – which will affect the escalation rate derived. However, a consistent study of this sales data, over 20 years, will assist in painting a picture of the rise in the values of residential property in Woodstock and Salt River, which is necessary in providing a contextual background to the research topic.

c) *Closed-ended survey questions (quantitative)*

Two types of surveys will be conducted with individuals deemed relevant in this study. The first is aimed at business owners, developers and property professionals operating in Woodstock and Salt River. The second is with members of the public passing by a selection of street art sites. Both qualitative and quantitative questions will be asked in these surveys. These questions are designed to answer “who, why, what and how”.

In the survey with business professionals, the closed-ended questions are aimed at deducing whether there is a link between the type of business professional and how they feel street art impacts their business. The categories for the types of business professionals include long standing business owners, new business owners and property professionals. One goal is to test whether property professionals (who might benefit in a rise in property prices) and newer business owners (who started a business in a gentrifying/regenerating area) feel differently about how street art effects their operations compared to long-standing business owners (who started their businesses prior to gentrification/urban regeneration) in the area. The second goal is to determine which professionals have commissioned or granted permission for street art for business purposes. Quantitative data in this survey is aimed at answering the first sub-question, around the economic impact of street art in Woodstock and Salt River.

In the survey with members of the public, collected at various sites of street art, the closed-ended questions are aimed at determining how individuals perceive the street art, and if this is linked to whether they live (rent or own), work or are just visiting the area. The data here can most assist in answering the second sub-question, as well as the first sub-question which questions the social and cultural impact of street art.

d) *Site visits and observations (qualitative)*

In terms of the qualitative approach in the research methodology, the first came from site visits and observations.

Prior to the onset of COVID-19 in South Africa and the resulting national lockdown towards the end of March 2020, preliminary research of the area was conducted in the form of various site visits and extensive reading of news articles concerning the gentrification in the area. This provided a better understanding of the research problem, so as to inform the

research proposal – and set the stage for the inductive process of this research and the direction required.

Furthermore, a researcher journal was kept, recording observations during site visits, interviews and surveying. A street art tour was also taken, once COVID-19 lockdown restrictions were relaxed, which provided insight into both the different works of art, history and the community.

e) Semi-structured interview (qualitative)

A number of semi-structured interviews were conducted by various groups and individuals who were selected either due to their involvement in the community or street art in Woodstock and Salt River. This included a council member, street artists, a tour guide, and key informants from community organisations.

Semi-structured interviews use a question guide to assist in ensuring the research aims of interviews are met, but allow the freedom for follow-up questions or tangents for further clarification.

An ideal qualitative interview will feel like an extended conversation for the participant—yet will yield data on each topic area outlined in the interview guide (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1104).

The qualitative data collected during semi-structured interviews brings to light key themes which can help in exploring answers to the first and second sub-questions in this research.

f) Open-ended survey questions (qualitative)

As mentioned, there are two surveys: one conducted with business professionals and the other with members of the public passing by four sites of street art. Both use quantitative and qualitative data, with the latter providing further insight from the former. Both surveys are aimed at bringing to light themes which can assist in answering both research sub-questions.

3.4. Research design

The inductive process of this research, and its exploratory nature within the mixed-method approach, supports a flexible research design (Morgan, 2014:49).

A triangulation design model has been deployed to make sense of the different quantitative and qualitative methodologies, and the assumption is that the weaknesses in one method will be compensated for in another (Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002:23). This typically involves concurrent collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data – and the separate data set results are brought together for interpretation (Creswell, 2006:64).

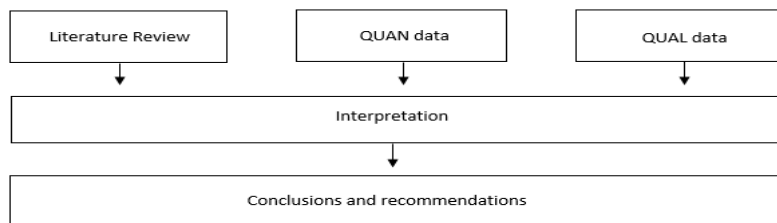


Figure 2: Triangulation design (Sources: Amaratunga *et al.*, 2002:24; Creswell, 2006:63)

The above research design works when looking at the data collected around property prices and rentals as the quantitative data, and the interviews as the qualitative data, but a large bulk of the research has also deployed surveys with both qualitative and quantitative questions. Furthermore, in certain interviews, some of the quantitative data was shared with the interviewee, so as to source qualitative responses that can enrich the data. In this sense, the one set of data informs the other.

Triangulation yields completeness because quantitative methods can further develop findings derived from qualitative research and vice versa. The methods complement each other, providing richness or detail that would be unavailable from one method alone (Risjord *et al.*, 2002:269).

3.4.1. Design of surveys

A triangulation design model for validating one set of data has been deployed to understand the different quantitative and qualitative data in surveys. This design allows quantitative results to be expanded on by qualitative answers for a more in-depth understanding (Creswell, 2006:62; Morgan, 2014:54).

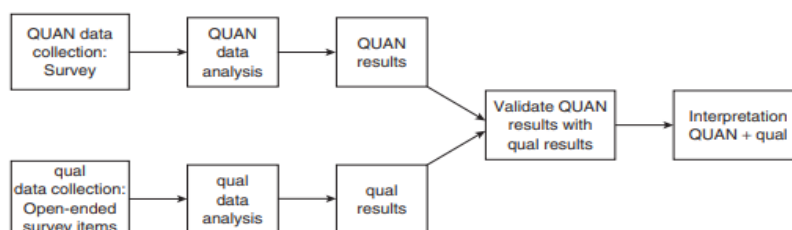


Figure 3: Triangulation design for validating quantitative data (Source: Creswell, 2006:63)

a) *Survey with business owners and property professionals*

This survey was designed with six questions, four of which are closed-ended, and two of which are open-ended and may be found in Appendix A. It aims to assist in answering both research sub-questions, with the below goals.

- Identify the timeline of respondents' commercial activity (i.e. were operations established before, during or after the gentrification process had gained momentum in the area?).
- Determine the perceived level of impact of street art in the area on the respondent's operations.
- Determine whether respondents have participated in the establishment of street art in the area.
- Identify sentiment around street art.
- Establish whether sentiment and level of impact differed between those within the property sector.

The first question is designed to determine the nature of the business operations. The categories include long-term, medium-term or short-term business owners as well as property developers and professionals who have operated or developed in the area. There is also a sixth option for "other" which allows for the participation of closely linked respondents, such as owners of businesses that might have closed down, or managers of a business branch or subsidiary.

The aim of these category options is to explore whether there is a difference in thinking around street art between new (operating less than 10 years), medium-term (operating 10-20 years), or long-term (operating over 20 years) business owners, as well as those who have developed property, or are involved in the property profession in the area.

The second question is a continuous scale (from 1-5), aimed at gauging how participants feel street art has impacted their commercial or business operations. The range is from "1", which is most unfavourably, to "5" which is most favourably – with "3" indicating a neutral response. This question ties in with the first question in determining a link between new, medium-term, or long-term business owners, property developers and property professionals, and how they perceive street art to have impacted business.

The third question is designed to determine whether respondents have ever commissioned street art, or granted permission for street art for business purposes. This aims to determine if, and which, respondents are using street art as a business strategy or tool. Considering the literature and preliminary research, of particular interest in this question is whether this is a common strategy by property developers.

The fourth closed-ended question looks to determine whether respondents feel their businesses or operations benefit from street art tours in the area, for similar deductive purposes as the second and third question.

The fifth question is qualitative and asks respondents to share why they think there is so much street art in Woodstock and Salt River, with the aim in identifying key themes. The sixth question was constructed to allow respondents to expand on the quantitative questions above by explaining what role they think street art plays in the area.

b) Street survey at selected street art sites

The second survey was conducted at four street art sites with passer-bys. The four mural sites were selected for the differences they have in terms of location, subject matter and whether the artist was foreign or local. The survey had the following aims:

- Determine whether factors such as subject matter and location impact public opinion over street art
- Determine if there is a difference between how residents of the area feel about the art, and visitors.
- Identify the reasoning behind whether the art is liked or disliked.

Seven questions were asked, five of which are closed-ended, and two of which are open-ended and may be found in Appendix B.

The first three questions are aimed at categorising who the respondent is, and why they are in the area (i.e. whether they live, work or are visiting the area). For those who live in the area, there is a sub-question to determine whether they rent or own property. For those who are visiting, there is a sub question aimed at determining the reason for visiting, with options that include “shopping”, “business”, “leisure”, “tourism” or “other”. The aim of

these questions is to determine the type of ties respondents have to the area, so as to then determine whether this relates to their views on particular pieces of street art.

The fourth question is open-ended, and asks respondents whether they like this piece of art. This qualitative question aims at validating and adding depth to the answers to Questions 6 and 7, where Question 6 looks to determine whether respondents would like to live near the piece of art, and Question 7 is a Likert scale which asks whether respondents would like to see “more”, “same amount” or “less” of the particular art. The fourth question is also aimed at identifying themes around how respondents feel about particular pieces of art, so as to compare this with responses at other street art sites,

The fifth question, asks respondents to share whether they feel the art affects the area in any way. This question is also aimed at identifying key themes, which can then be compared and analysed in relation to responses to surveys at other street art sites, as well as the survey with business and property professionals, and other interviews.

3.4.2. Design of semi-structured interviews

A number of one-on-one semi-structured interviews were conducted, mostly over the digital platforms in light of the COVID-19 outbreak. Verbal interviews were recorded, with permission from all participants, and generally followed an inductive or funnelling process, which began with broad discussions, before getting to more probing questions (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1110).

There were two groups of participants that this kind of research targeted, being street artists and key informants (such as city councillors and members of related organisations and protest groups).

a) Artist interviews

The aim of these interviews was to gain an understanding around the intentions and processes of street art, from both a legal and cultural perspective. It also aims to explore themes around “why” this art exists.

Questions were semi-structured, and there were usually follow-up questions. A copy of the interview outline with artists may be found in Appendix C.

b) *Key informant interviews*

A handful of 'people in the know' were interviewed, including a city councillor, a street art tour guide, the head of Baz-Art, and the Woodstock Chapter leader from Reclaim the City. All gave permission to reveal their identities in the research.

The councillor was interviewed with the aim of assisting in the understanding of the approval process, and involvement by the municipality in street art in the area. For this reason, this interview had its own specific questions relating to the council's approval process and involvement, along with the last two general questions that were asked in all interviews. This interview outline may be found in Appendix D.

The other interviews were with people who have specialised knowledge of gentrification and street art in Salt River and Woodstock, and posed specific questions aimed at understanding perceptions around street art and its role in gentrification in the area. The interview outline may be found in Appendix E.

3.4.3. Site visits and preliminary research

Prior to the onset of COVID-19 in South Africa and the resulting national lockdown towards the end of March 2020, preliminary research of the area was conducted in the form of various site visits and extensive reading of news articles concerning the gentrification in the area. This provided a better understanding of the research problem, so as to inform the research proposal.

A street art tour was also taken, once COVID-19 lockdown restrictions were relaxed, which provided insight into not only the different works of art, but also their history and the community.

3.5. Sampling

Sampling relates to the methods used in selecting members of a given population for research and its design in the mixed-method approach can be one of the most important features distinguishing a qualitative from a quantitative inquiry (Sandelowski, 2000:248).

In this research, there are multiple different sampling decisions that have come into play. When considering the street survey at street art sites, for example, decisions around which

street art sites to use, what day of the week or time of the day to survey, can all impact the data sample collected.

Broadly-speaking, sampling methods can be divided into two categories: probability sampling and purposeful, non-probability sampling. Probability sampling uses the theory of probability to select samples from a larger population, and a major strength of this is that it eliminates selection bias, as all members of the population have a fair chance of being included in the sample (Kalton, 1983:7). On the other hand, purposeful or non-probability sampling makes use of volunteers or a choice of sample believed to be representative, and is therefore subjective in nature and subject to selection bias (Kalton, 1983:7). Despite the limitations surrounding its subjectivity and representativeness, purposeful sampling has been used throughout this research. The major reasons for this have been highlighted below.

- *Nature of study.* The research relies on the thought leadership and experiences from relevant individuals, and their purposeful selection is therefore aimed at the development of idiographic knowledge (Sandelowski, 2000:248). Furthermore, a key part of this study also relies on surveying opinions around particular pieces of street art, and it is therefore most effective to survey respondents at the site, where they have the art directly in front of them. In addition, visitors to the site (as opposed to residents) are surveyed, and it would be difficult to survey this sample other than through site street surveys.
- *Feasibility:* There is simply no single, complete and accessible directory containing a list of all residents, business owners or property professionals in the area, from which a sample can be collected. The same goes for street artists who have worked in Woodstock and Salt River. Furthermore, there is no single platform to access everyone equally, especially considering that many lower-income residents and businesses do not have access to online surveying platforms. There are also time and cost constraints involved in data collection, along with other-restrictions brought on by the onset of COVID-19 in South Africa.
- *Goal of research.* This research is exploratory and its goal is to develop the groundwork for further study and conclusive research, which can then deploy time consuming and costly sampling strategies. Furthermore, this research has been conducted at a Master's

level, for the purpose of meeting the requirements of a 60-credit dissertation, and has received no external funding. It is therefore bounded by both time and cost constraints, which have restricted its data collection processes.

The mixed-method triangulation approach does assist with some of the major concerns of purposeful sampling, especially considering that multiple data sources and surveys can assist in identifying common themes which can assist in validating the data (Sandelowski, 2000:248). Conscious attempts have also been made to reduce bias and improve representation, which has been further discussed in this section, as well as the sub-section 'Data collection and analysis methodology' below (see section 3.6).

3.5.1. Sample size

The qualitative aspect of this research means that smaller samples are favoured with transferability of data being the goal, as opposed to generalisability. The sample is considered large enough when data saturation is reached, and new themes and explanations stop emerging in the data (Marshall, 1996:523). The researcher also considered aspects related to representation in deciding on sample size.

The sample sizes for each research method is illustrated in the following table:

Table 2: Sample size for each research method

Research method	Sample size
Survey with business owners and property professionals	108
Street survey at street art sites	161
Semi-structured interviews	11

3.5.2. Exclusion criteria

While the different research methods and sampling had different inclusion criteria, they all shared the same exclusion criteria, namely:

- Age: Participants must be 18 years or older.
- Language: Participants must have the ability to communicate, at least verbally, in English.
- Adherence to COVID-19 social distancing guidelines: All participants in street or door-to-door surveying, as well as face-to-face interviews must be correctly wearing

a mask, and must be willing to sanitise before and after filling out the survey, either with their own hand sanitiser, or the researcher's (which was made available).

In instances where there were challenges with literacy, or fears over the spread of COVID-19 through the surveying process, respondents had the option to have their verbal answers transcribed by the researcher.

The population inclusion criteria and sampling for each research method is discussed below.

3.5.3. Sampling for the business owners and property professionals survey

Business owners, managers and property professionals operating in the area were targeted for a survey, which took place mostly over August and September 2020. This survey was conducted via both door-to-door and online surveying, in order to improve representativeness and address other challenges, such as the risks posed by the spread of COVID-19 in South Africa.

The population for this survey includes business owners operating in Salt River and Woodstock, as well as property professionals (such as property developers and estate agents). The category options for respondents are long-term (over 20 years), medium-term (10-20 years) or short-term (less than five years) business owners, as well as property developers and other property professionals who have developed property or operated in the research area. An 'other' category was also included for participants that might be relevant to the study, but not fall into the above categories. For example, a respondent whose business had recently closed down, and a branch manager who headed a Woodstock or Salt River branch for a large firm, were included in the sample.

Convenience sampling was used in the online survey, whereby the survey link was emailed to potential respondents using Google searches of a broad range of professions and businesses in the area. A variety of professions and services were searched on Google for the area (i.e. "hair salon in Woodstock") and all listed companies with an email address were then sent a survey, addressed to the business owner or manager. Examples of professions that were searched include: "restaurant", "property agency", "software", "wholesaler", "broker", "consulting", "chiropractor", "architect", "dentist", "doctor", "accountant", "lawyer", "public relations", "repairs", "developer".

Estate agents advertising residential and commercial properties in the area on websites such as Private Property and Property24 were also emailed a link to the survey and invited to participate. The research participation consent form was attached to all emails for further information on the research process.

Snowball sampling was also used as respondents were invited to share the survey with other relevant people they know of. Roughly 450 emails were sent, which resulted in 62 survey responses (a response rate of around 14%).

The survey was also shared on dedicated Facebook groups for businesses and community members in Woodstock and Salt River. These Facebook groups were identified, and then voluntary response sampling was used by inviting members who meet the inclusion criteria to participate in the online survey.

Table 3: Timeline and approval process for survey sharing on Facebook groups

Facebook Group Name	Members	Dates survey was shared	Post Approval Process
Woodstock Business Group Cape Town	±33,200	27 August 2020 3 September 2020 7 September 2020 14 September 2020 23 September 2020	
Woodstock (Cape Town)	±8,100	22 November 2020	Took three months to be granted access to group
Woodstock Community	±1,400	10 September 2020 14 September 2020 23 September 2020 22 November 2020	Took a couple of weeks before access was granted.
Friends of Walmer Estate / Woodstock	±2,500	3 September 2020 14 September 2020 23 September 2020	
Cape Town, Woodstock, Saltriver, Observatory, Mowbray Trading	±2,100	27 August 2020 6 September 2020 23 September 2020	Posts had to be approved by admin.
Church Square, Woodstock	±215	3 September 2020 23 September 2020	
Woodstock Salt River Community Upliftment Project	±597	27 August 2020 3 September 2020 14 September 2020 23 September 2020	
Walmer Estate, Woodstock, Observatory, Mowbray & Surrounding BUY & SELL	±15,300	14 September 2020 23 September 2020	
Woodstock Small Business	±9,300		Request to join group not accepted by admin
Salt River Neighbourhood Watch SRNW	±1,600	3 September 2020 23 September 2020	

A concern with using this approach on social media is that there is no way of knowing who responds (or whether they are in fact business owners or property professionals). Furthermore, those who decide to participate might be those with strong opinions or an agenda. For this reason, a different link to the online survey was used when sharing on these groups, as a means to separate responses from those of targeted emails, should there be so many that they dominate the data. However, despite the survey being shared 26 times with a pool of close to 65,000 people, this method of data collection only resulted in a disappointing eight respondents.

Another clear limitation of surveying through Google searches and social media is that it only targets businesses with an online presence. More informal or lower-income businesses could potentially be fully excluded as a result, and it is therefore necessary to conduct door-to-door surveying.

Four leading commercial streets in Salt River and Woodstock were identified – Victoria Road, Roodebloem Road, Albert Road and Durham Road – and businesses along these were approached. The bulk of surveying took place over three full afternoons, and a total of 38 business owners and managers agreed, and were available, to participate.

The process of selecting which streets to conduct door-to-door surveying can be subject to selection bias by the researcher. For example, some businesses, such as an adult shop or a dingy bar, might be excluded due to avoidance by the researcher. To reduce this selection bias, all businesses on the one side of the street were approached one by one, followed by those on the other side.

3.5.4. Sampling for street surveys at art sites

Convenience sampling was again utilised in surveying passer-bys outside four street art sites. The sites were purposively selected based on the researcher's initial research and site visits for their difference: namely in terms of location, subject matter and whether the artist was foreign or local. More details about why these four street art sites were selected can be found under the sub-section 'Data collection and analysis methodology' (see section 3.6.2).

As with the business survey, those under the age of 18 were not targeted, but two teenagers asked to participate at one of the sites. Their mother, who was with them, was informed of the research process and handed a copy of the research participation consent

form, and she gladly provided verbal consent for her children to participate. As with all respondents of these surveys, their identities are unknown by the researcher.

The population inclusion criteria included residents, those who work in the area, as well as those who are just visiting.

In total, 161 participants were surveyed across all four sites over a total of roughly 25 hours (three or four hours a day, over seven days). With the street surveys, between 31-and 58 surveys were collected at each of the four street art sites, depending on whether the researcher felt representativeness was reached at each site (within the categories of visitors, residents and those working in the area), as well as data saturation.

It is understood that sampling can be swayed depending on the time of day, day of the week, and even the month in which surveys are conducted. For example, a survey conducted at the Old Biscuit Mill on a Saturday might have a high proportion of visitors to the area due to the attraction of the Neighbourhood Goods Market and other leisure activities over the weekend. In each instance, the researcher aimed to try maximise representation by surveying on different days and at different times.

3.5.5. Sampling for semi-structured interviews

Eleven semi-structured interviews were conducted with the aim of tapping into specialised knowledge, different viewpoints and enriching the data.

a) Interviews with street artists

The inclusion criteria for this was any artist who has produced work in a public space in the streets of Woodstock or Salt River. Preliminary research and site visits helped identify a list of street artists – both local and foreign – which had produced murals in this area. Their contact details were then sourced via numerous online channels (including their own websites and social media pages). The researcher was able to then contact close to 20 street artists, but only seven responded and agreed to participate. While there was no predetermined sample size for this study, the researcher aimed to get the views of at least one foreign artist in order to improve representativeness. Mostly, the sample was considered adequate when it became clear that data richness had been achieved, not just with the interviews with artists, but in consideration of other interviews too.

b) *Interviews with key informants*

This research aimed to interview a handful of people 'in the know' with different perspectives and opinions. Those included were a representative from City Council, a street art tour guide, the founder of Baz-Art (which is responsible for much of the street art in Salt River, as well as the IPAF), and a local representative of the protest organisation, Reclaim the City.

The sample size was believed sufficient once the researcher believed there was informational redundancy (no new information coming to light) in respect of the key players, processes and views on the topic, as well as data saturation (no new themes or codes emerging in the data) (Vasileiou *et al.*, 2018:149).

3.6. Data collection and analysis methodology

This section will highlight the specifics around how the different quantitative and qualitative data was collected. It will then look at how data collection and analysis of both data sets happened concurrently, with quantitative data from closed-ended survey questions being analysed using descriptive statistics, while the qualitative data from the interviews and open-ended survey questions were analysed using thematic analysis and interpretation. Data results for each research method were presented separately, and then the overarching findings of the research were analysed and presented.

3.6.1. Survey with business owners/property professionals

Business owners, managers and property professionals operating in the area were targeted for a survey, which took place mostly over August and September 2020. Data collection for the survey was conducted via an online platform, and door-to-door surveying in order to address a number of challenges, including the risks posed by the spread of COVID-19 in South Africa.

SurveyMonkey was the online platform used, which allowed for a short explanation of the research, as well as the definition of street art (see Appendix F). To ensure responses were anonymous, IP addresses were hidden for survey responses. A setting was enabled to allow only one survey response per device, such as a mobile phone or PC. The survey was then distributed through "cold call emailing" and via Facebook groups for businesses in the area.

Door-to-door surveying was also conducted, and aimed to reach business owners and professionals not easily found online, or without an online presence.

Masks were worn throughout the surveying process, hand sanitiser was provided to all respondents and pens were sanitised after each uses, in order to adhere to COVID-19 regulations.

To keep the anonymity of respondents, all surveys were filled out and placed directly in a collection box, so as to ensure that even the surveyor did not know which response belonged to which respondent. A copy of the definition of street art was provided to all respondents to answer any questions (some wanted to know if gang tagging was considered street art) as well as a copy of the research participation consent form for any further information on the research process.

A clear challenge was that many business owners, who were at the business at the time of surveying, were not comfortable with participating in the survey due to the COVID-19 climate. Furthermore, five business owners asked that the survey be read to them and that the researcher writes down their answers for them, either because of challenges with English literacy, a concern of the spread of COVID-19, or being too busy. The problem that this posed was one concerning the anonymity of those surveyed. While the researcher agreed to fill out these surveys, no identifying characteristics (including names of participants or businesses) were recorded.

In total, 108 business owners, managers and property professionals participated in the survey via both the digital platform and door-to-door surveying.

Table 4: Survey channels for business owners and property professionals

Survey source	Number of surveys	Percentage response rate
Online survey – targeted via email	62	14%
Online survey – targeted via Facebook groups	8	0.01%
Door-to-door surveys	38	25%
TOTAL	108	

3.6.2. Street survey at public art sites

The second survey was conducted opposite four street art murals. A table was set up, with the survey submission box (to ensure anonymity), bottles of hand sanitisers and pens. Only

participants wearing masks were asked to participate, and had to use the sanitiser before participating. After use, all pens were sprayed with sanitizer before being used by the next participant.

The four mural sites were selected for the difference they had in terms of location, subject matter and whether the artist was foreign or local.

a) Site 1: Pangolin

The first mural site selected for surveying is located on Victoria Street. The mural is of a large pangolin, painted on a factory wall by the world renowned Belgian street artist, ROA, who predominately paints endangered species.

It was created as part of the 2018 IPAF, run by Baz-Art. An afternoon was spent surveying on 23 September 2020, of which 36 people were surveyed.



Figure 4: Pangolin mural, Victoria Street, with collection box and sanitiser (23/09/2020)

b) Site 2: Xxxtentacion

The second mural is located on the boundary wall of the popular Old Biscuit Mill, on Albert Street. It was painted by South African artist, Skumbuzo Vabaza, at the request of a foreign organisation and with permission of the owners of the building.

Xxxtentacion was an American rapper who was outspoken on issues of depression and was murdered at age 20. It was commissioned as part of a series of global tributes to him.



Figure 5: Xxxtenacion mural at the Old Biscuit Mill (21/12/2020)

The survey at this site was started on Friday, 25 September 2020, but after three respondents, it had to be postponed to the following morning – Saturday, 26th September 2020 – due to rain. The Old Biscuit Mill draws a lot of visitors on Saturdays due to the Neighbourhood Goods Market – and 47 participants were surveyed. However, it was later decided that an additional survey was needed, due to concerns that a large portion of participants had been visitors to the Old Biscuit Mill (with the high volume of visitors seen on a Saturday), and this might sway results.

A third survey at this site took place on Thursday, 21 December 2020, of which eight responses were collected.

c) Site 3: Kaapse Klopse

The third mural is across a long, run-down wall on Swift Street in a quieter residential area. It is a collaboration by two South African artists, page33 and Zesta, and two Belgium artists, Linus and Spear. Its imagery is inspired by the Cape Minstrel Festival, Kaapse Klopse, as well as the recent drought in Cape Town.

The wall is faced by a row of houses occupied by long-standing residents. One of the residents has his face painted on the mural he lives opposite.

Surveying took place on 25 and 29 September 2020, and 14 December 2020. Despite the most amount of time having been spent surveying at this site, only 31 responses were collected – partly due to it being a much quieter area.



Figure 6: Kaapse Klopse collaborative mural on Swift Street (12/09/2021)

d) Site 4: Frog Prince

The third mural is located on the corner of Cecil Road and Swift Street in Salt River, also in a quieter residential area, on the same street as the Kaapse Klopse mural. It was painted by SethOne, a South African artist. According to street art tour guide, IN01, it was painted to inspire school children at the opposite school.

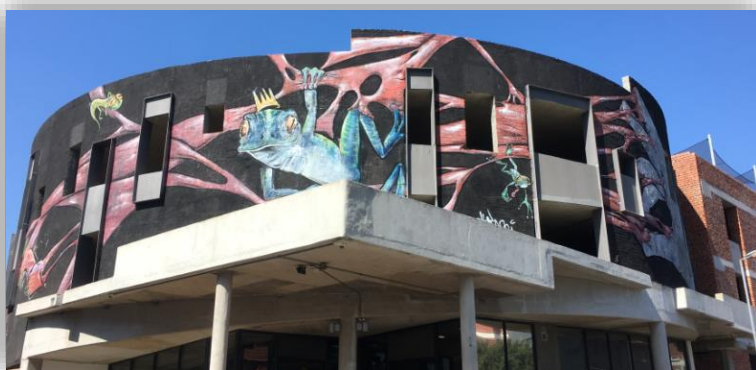


Figure 7: The Frog Prince on the corner of Cecil Road and Swift Street (12/09/2021)

Surveying took place on 23 and 29 September, as well as on 14 and 21 December – with a total of 36 participants taking part.

In total, 161 individuals were surveyed across all four street mural sites. As with the surveys with business owners, some participants asked that the researcher write down their answers for them, either because of challenges with English literacy, a concern over the spread of COVID-19, or being too busy (some had shopping bags in their hands). However, there was a much higher number of participants that requested this in the quieter residential sites. While the researcher agreed to fill out these surveys, no identifying characteristics (including names of participants or businesses) were recorded.

Table 5: Total number surveyed and number of surveys transcribed by researcher

Site	Number of participants	Number of surveys transcribed by researcher
Site 1: Pangolin	36	5
Site 2: Xxxtentacion	58	9
Site 3: Kaapse Klopse	31	18
Site 4: Frog Prince	36	29
TOTAL	161	61

3.6.3. Semi-structured interviews

A number of semi-structured interviews were conducted, mostly over the phone, email or online platforms like Zoom in light of the COVID-19 outbreak. The majority of interviews were conducted between June and September 2020, with two later interviews in early December 2020, and one in early January 2021.

There were two groups of participants that this research targeted for data collection, being street artists and key informants (city councillors, members of related organisations and protest groups). Participants were found through news articles, online searches, social media and from other interviews. Four identities are easily identifiable, as they hold public leadership positions that are relevant to this research. Prior to all interviews, these participants gave permission to have their identities revealed in the research, but anonymity codes were nevertheless used throughout the research.

A major limitation faced with all of these one-on-one interviews was getting a signed copy of the research participation consent form. Only three participants signed and returned it. The rest gave consent via email. With interviews not being conducted face-to-face due to the COVID-19 climate, participants seemed put off by the effort of having to print out the form, sign it, scan it, and then emailing it back.

3.6.4. Data analysis

The quantitative data, such as historic sales reports and property prices, have been analysed and presented using Excel tools. NVivo 12 has been used for analysing and triangulating data in mixed-method surveys, and coding and categorising all qualitative survey answers, interview transcripts and observations. Quantitative data from closed-ended survey questions was analysed using descriptive statistics, while the qualitative data from the interviews was analysed using thematic analysis and interpretation. The qualitative and/or quantitative data of each research method – being the street art site surveys, surveys with business people, and the semi-structured interviews – was analysed and presented individually, and then the overarching findings from the research were presented.

All verbal interviews were transcribed by the researcher, which assisted in coding decisions (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1108). Codes are the labels used to categorise qualitative data and identify themes during data analysis (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1108).

An inductive coding approach was used in coding and analysing data, which allows for codes, themes, and ideas to arise from data collection, as well as the preliminary research and literature review (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1108). During the transcription process, researchers will begin by identifying and listing common threads that are emerging, which will then form the basis of the coding structure. This codebook is continuously developed during the research process (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1109).

Inductive analytic approaches are generally more difficult and time-consuming than deductive approaches, but are extremely valuable to the field (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1108).

Once the qualitative data has been coded, these codes are categorised and compared in order to identify themes, which are also driven by inductive processes (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1109). These different themes, triangulated with the quantitative data, are presented

in the data results. The presentation of these findings is supported with quotations, charts, graphs and word clouds.

3.7. Ethical considerations

There are a number of ethical considerations that need to be outlined when considering this research topic specifically, as well as academic research in general.

3.7.1. Potential impact

Since this research topic explores an issue which effects economically vulnerable and previously disadvantaged groups under the previous Apartheid regime, it needs to be approached with sensitivity and consideration of what the findings might mean for the most vulnerable residents and communities in these areas. The challenge here is the broad spectrum of research participants (street artists, business owners, residents, property investors and protest groups) all of whom might view gentrification differently, depending on how it impacts them. It became clear whilst surveying and interviewing that some participants were interested in the findings for different reasons. For example, a property developer might be more interested in determining whether street art could be an affordable tool for raising the value of his development, than whether it could improve the living environment for a long standing resident.

While the overall aim of this research is to better understand the role street art plays in this area, so as to better inform decisions around urban regeneration for the benefit of existing communities, it would be naïve to assume that the findings might be of interest to others for this reason.

3.7.2. Ethical data collection under COVID-19

An important ethical consideration, which did not exist a year prior to this research, was how to safely and legally proceed with data collection during the current COVID-19 health crisis. Researchers, who survey and interview multiple people, could potentially aid the spread of the virus and pose a risk to research participants. As much as possible, online platforms were used to collect data – such as email, web applications and social media. Most interviews made use of either email responses or Zoom/Skype calls. However, in order to reach a diverse group of participants (such as small businesses without an online

presence, older residents, and visitors of art sites), street surveys remained necessary and were conducted later in 2020 under a more relaxed Lockdown Level 2. In these instances, strict social distancing guidelines were followed, such as the use of face masks, maintaining a 1.5m distance, requiring the use of a 70% alcohol-based hand sanitizer during surveying, and disinfecting any surfaces and objects (like pens) immediately after use and before sharing with others.

3.7.3. Steps to improve ethics of research

This research was approved by the Ethics in Research Committee in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town, provided a number of criteria are met. A copy of the signed Ethics in Research Approval Form is included as Appendix G. The following steps were taken in order to tackle some of the ethical consideration of undertaking this research:

- Communicating the intentions and procedures of the research to participants, as well as any risks they might face in participating.
- Sharing the Research Participation Consent Form (see Appendix H) with all interview participants and making sure it is available to surveyed participants.
- Ensuring that the identities of all participants surveyed online and in street surveys remain anonymous.
- Obtaining consent from a participant before proceeding with interviews.
- Obtaining consent from participants to record any interviews, either through a signed Research Participation Consent Form or with written consent via email or Whatsapp. In addition, participants were informed when the recording started, and when it stopped. Interviewees were also told they could request transcripts at any time.
- Securely storing all interview recordings and transcripts in a password-protected computer, in a locked room. Each interviewee was assigned a four-character code, consisting of two letters and two numbers e.g. IN08. These codes were randomly assigned and have no relation to the participant's personal information or the company that they work for. The information gathered through the interview process has been used solely for this research purpose. The raw data of the interview is only known to the researcher.

- Allowing participants to choose the extent to which they want their identities revealed in the research, if at all. Prior to interviews, the researcher and participant discussed the extent to which participants wish to be anonymised in the research and which identifying characteristics they wish to keep concealed (i.e. organisations they work for/are involved in; specific artwork they are responsible for producing/approving; etc.). For example, a participant may wish to have their name excluded, but agree to have their profession included (i.e. “a property developer” or “long-standing business owner”). Some might opt to exclude their name, but will be happy to be recorded as being part of a particular group or responsible for particular works of art (i.e. “a member of Cape Town City Council” or “the artist behind the wall mural at the Old Biscuit Mill”).
- Ensuring participants are aware of their rights to withdraw participation in the study at any time leading up to final submission, or change the extent to which they are anonymised in the research.
- Maximising the protection of participants from exposure to virus contamination which included the use of face masks, keeping a 1.5m distance from participants, requiring the use of a 70% alcohol-based hand sanitizer during surveying, and sanitising all communal pens after use.

3.8. Reliability and validity of the data

Whilst the research question is best answered via a mixed-method approach, the use of qualitative data does mean that the research is exposed to subjective decisions by the researcher – from how data is collected, to the conclusions drawn (Morgan, 2014:5). These subjective decisions can bring into question the reliability and validity of the data, and the researcher needs to consider taking steps which can assist in improving the data’s credibility so as not to end up with meaningless research.

At the research design phase, an overly-focused and structured interview guide could mean that researchers limit discussions to support expectations, rather than allow new ideas or data to emerge (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1110). Researchers also might ask leading questions, or insert their own opinions, which can impact the credibility of findings (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1110). As much as possible, verbal interviews followed a funnelling process (which began with broad discussions) so as to allow a natural flow of information.

At the data analysis level, subjective decisions can lead to anecdotalism – where researchers attribute too much importance to interesting, but unrepresentative statements (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1110). Here, the triangulation design of this research with other theories represented in the literature review, can assist with verifying finding (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1110).

Data overload is another risk to validity – when the amount of data can be so time-consuming and rigorous that it negatively impacts analysis (Ranney *et al.*, 2015:1110). To prevent a superficial analysis, the researcher must allocate sufficient time towards data analysis, and be involved in every part of the collection and analysis process – from transcribing and coding all interviews, to identifying key themes.

3.9. Limitations

There are four research objectives in this study:

1. Explore the link between street art, urban regeneration and gentrification in the academic literature.
2. Identify evidence of both urban regeneration and gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River and explore the extent to which street art played a role in this.
3. Explore the various perceptions surrounding the area's street art by both newcomers in an area and long-standing community members. (Do they feel represented by it? Do they like it? Do they feel it benefits them?)
4. Determine whether street art in the area is a benefit or detriment to long-standing residents and businesses in Woodstock and Salt River, and whether some art is more, or less, beneficial or detrimental than others.

The above methodology is well suited for meeting all except the second objective. While the review of the literature has been able to explore the link between street art, gentrification and urban regeneration, there has been little evidence supplied for this link for the case of Woodstock and Salt River. Evidence of gentrification can be provided, along with evidence of the area becoming a street art 'hub', but there has been no empirical evidence linking the relationship between the two in Woodstock and Salt River. One reason for this is that any study attempting to link this would be extremely costly and time consuming, and would need to consider and measure other causes of gentrification, such as the area being

designated as an UDZ and the tax incentives provided to developers. The best that can be supplied in this research is the thought leadership of street artists and informed individuals on the topic, the perceptions of the public, and relating this to the relevant literature on the topic.

The other major limitations to this research are due to a shortage of time and funding, as well as the current economic and health climate under COVID-19. Research such as this is highly time consuming, especially when considering the qualitative data involved. Under normal circumstances, this sort of research can leave researchers concerned over meeting deadlines. On top of this, the current COVID-19 health crisis, which resulted in a national lockdown that caused protracted delays in much of the data collection, also interrupted typical business and employment hours, and it was difficult to effectively plan and set deadlines with so much uncertainty. Furthermore, lockdown-related library closures also meant many resources, not available online, could not be accessed for long periods during this process.

This research is therefore limited with a reliance on resources that could be found online, although every attempt was made to ensure these references were legitimate and reliable.

3.10. Chapter summary

This chapter has outlined the methodology of this research. In summary, a mixed-method triangulation approach has been selected as the most appropriate method to answer the research question. It has made use of a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to collect data, and used triangulation design to assist in both the richness and validity of the data.

Table 6: Summary of research design

Researcher positionality, philosophical approach and epistemological assumptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Outsider - Inductive processes - Realism - Practiced reflexivity - Interpretive
Research methodology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mixed method triangulation - Exploratory
Quantitative methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Various documents and statistics - Sales reports - Closed-ended survey questions
Qualitative methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Site visits and observations - Semi-structured interviews - Open-ended survey questions

Sampling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Purposeful, non-probability sampling - Prone to researcher bias - Convenience sampling - Sample size based on data saturation
Data analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Thematic analysis - Inductive process of coding - Nvivo and Excel - Presentation of themes
Ethical issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Impact of research - COVID-19 and data collection
Reliability and validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anecdotalism a threat
Limitations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inadequate data collected to link gentrification and street art - COVID-19 and delays to data collection and closures of library

4. DATA RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter begins with a look at the evidence of gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River, as identified from various available quantitative data (such as data from CMA Info, *Rhode's Report* and municipal valuations). It then presents the data collected via the street surveys at the four street art sites, beginning with the use of descriptive statistics to present the quantitative data sourced from closed-ended survey questions, and then identifying key themes from the qualitative, open-ended survey questions.

The same is then done for the surveys with business and property professionals, which is then followed by the key themes that emerged from the semi-structured interviews with street artists and informed people.

Once all data has been presented, the overall findings in this research are presented and analysed.

Below is a breakdown of how this chapter is structured.

Table 7: Structure of Data Results and Analysis chapter

4.1.	Data evidence of gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River - Descriptive statistics of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ CMA Info data ○ <i>Rode's Report</i> data ○ Municipal valuations data 	- Presentation and analysis of the different quantitative data available using descriptive statistics
4.2.	Street art survey results - Descriptive statistics - Identification of key themes	- Presentation and analysis of the closed-ended quantitative survey data using descriptive statistics - Thematic analysis and the identification of themes for the open-ended qualitative survey data using descriptive statistics
4.3.	Business survey results - Descriptive statistics - Identification of key themes	- Presentation and analysis of the closed-ended quantitative survey data using descriptive statistics - Thematic analysis and the identification of themes for the open-ended qualitative survey data using descriptive statistics
4.4.	Semi-structured interview results - Identification of key themes	- Thematic analysis and the identification of themes of qualitative interviews
4.5.	Data findings - Three key findings identified	- Based on each data collection method above, as well as a look at the literature.
4.6.	Chapter summary	

4.1. Evidence of gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River

The inefficient nature of the property market (Harvey & Jowsey, 2004:25) means that it can be difficult, and costly, to get reliable and perfect evidence of gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River. This is because there is no single platform that monitors rentals, property valuations and sales, and evictions – and the heterogeneity of properties can make it difficult to compare, perfectly, to other areas. Furthermore, data is generally limited, often outdated, and can be costly to access. The best our research can do is paint a picture, based on the available data on hand, that can help in understanding how gentrification is affecting the property market in these peripheral suburbs of Cape Town’s CBD.

Some of the data available include CMA Info reports of property sales in these areas for each year, rentals as stated in past *Rode’s Reports*, and municipal valuations rolls for three-year valuation periods.

4.1.1. CMA Info reports

CMA Info is an online property database that allows for searches of sales (once registered at the Deeds Office) for each year within a suburb. This data is informative, as it can give an indication of how the average selling price in the area has grown, compared to other neighbouring and nearby suburbs. It is far from a perfect method of determining gentrification, as it does not take into account whether one year had larger or smaller properties sell, but taken over a 20-year period, and compared to other areas, it can shed some light on whether property values in Woodstock and Salt River are increasing faster than elsewhere.

Below are the residential sales recorded for the years 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2020 for Woodstock and Salt River.

Table 8: Average sale price and sale rate/m² for Salt River

Salt River	Average Price	Average price growth	Average R/m ²	Average growth R/m ²
2000	R156 550		R671	
2004	R316 792	102%	R1 490	122%
2008	R549 583	73%	R3 192	114%
2012	R611 344	11%	R3 400	7%
2016	R1 142 567	87%	R6 776	99%
2020	R1 881 583	65%	R7 486	10%
Total increase from 2000 to 2020		1102%		1016%

Table 9: Average sale price and sale rate/m² for Salt River and Woodstock

Woodstock	Average Price	Average price growth	Average R/m ²	Average growth R/m ²
2000	R169 167		R1 027	
2004	R343 678	103%	R1 735	69%
2008	R573 545	67%	R3 326	92%
2012	R849 971	48%	R4 380	32%
2016	R1 953 161	130%	R10 540	141%
2020	R1 938 413	-1%	R11 496	9%
Total increase from 2000 to 2020		1046%		1019%

Both show a growth in average values of over 1000% over the 20-year period, with slower growth between the 2008-2012 period (set off by the global financial crisis) and the 2016-2017 period (where the Cape Town property market in general was hit with slow growth from early 2018 relating to the declining national economy).

If we compare this data to the sales, over the same periods, for neighbouring Maitland, Observatory and Green Point (three suburbs also on the fringe of the CBD), we can see a considerably lower growth in property sales.

Table 10: Average sale price and sale rate/m² for Maitland

Maitland	Average Price	Average price growth	Average R/m ²	Average growth R/m ²
2000	R149 386		R465	
2004	R266 227	78%	R720	55%
2008	R270 682	2%	R720	0%
2012	R572 692	112%	R1 930	168%
2016	R881 333	54%	R2 471	28%
2020	R1 226 087	39%	R3 705	50%
Total increase from 2000 to 2020		721%		697%

Table 11: Average sale price and sale rate/m² for Observatory

Observatory	Average Price	Average price growth	Average R/m ²	Average growth R/m ²
2000	R244 983		R1 049	
2004	R543 956	122%	R2 242	114%
2008	R951 751	75%	R3 865	72%
2012	R1 156 284	21%	R5 078	31%
2016	R2 133 957	85%	R9 611	89%
2020	R2 270 609	6%	R9 688	1%
Total increase from 2000 to 2020		827%		824%

Table 12: Average sale price and sale rate/m² for Green Point

Green Point	Average Price	Average price growth	Average R/m ²	Average growth R/m ²
2000	R850 417		R2 159	
2004	R2 436 091	186%	R5 894	173%
2008	R3 431 667	41%	R14 207	141%
2012	R4 111 923	20%	R11 606	-18%
2016	R7 792 714	90%	R22 725	96%
2020	R6 626 591	-15%	R18 652	-18%
Total increase from 2000 to 2020		679%		764%

The sales for neighbouring Observatory, Maitland and even Green Point (which underwent a period of development with the construction of the Green Point Stadium) have all seen considerably less growth over the same period, and this data would suggest that property prices have grown considerably faster in Woodstock and Salt River than other peripheral suburbs.

4.1.2. Rode's Reports

The quarterly *Rode's Report*, a publication produced by the well-known property economist Erwin Rode, reports on property trends, rentals and capitalisation rates by property type, grade and areas in major cities in South Africa.

While access to historical reports could hold a wealth of information in terms of identifying how the Woodstock and Salt River market has changed over the years, unfortunately *Rode's Report* has only very recently started publishing rentals of flats in Woodstock and Salt River.

Nevertheless, they have been publishing the average office rentals for these areas since 2010 and, while this information is also in no way perfect in determining gentrification, it does provide another piece of the puzzle in terms of demand in the area and the knock-on effect on the property market.

Table 13: Average monthly rentals/m² for Salt River

Salt River	Grade A+ mean	Grade A mean	Grade B mean	Grade C mean
2010.1	75	70	60	50
2011.1	80	75	60	50
2012.1	100	90	56	40
2013.1	95	80	65	55
2015.1	120	105	97,5	85
2018.2	-	124	91,67	73,33
2019.1	145	135	110	80
2020.1	142	119	92	78,6

Grade A+ mean growth	89%
Grade A mean growth	70%
Grade B mean growth	53%
Grade C mean growth	57%
Average growth	67%

(Rode's Report 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2015; 2018; 2019; 2020)

Table 14: Average monthly rentals/m² for Woodstock

Woodstock	Grade A+ mean	Grade A mean	Grade B mean	Grade C mean
2010.1	97,5	80	62,5	52,5
2011.1	95	80	60	50
2012.1	102,5	88,75	75	60
2013.1	105	88,33	67,5	58,33
2015.1	123,33	87,5	75	65
2018.2	153,33	141	103	81,25
2019.1	155	138,75	111,67	83,33
2020.1	163,75	140,83	111,67	91

Grade A+ mean growth	68%
Grade A mean growth	76%
Grade B mean growth	79%
Grade C mean growth	73%
Average growth	74%

(Rode's Report 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2015; 2018; 2019; 2020)

The above tables indicate that over a 10-year period, the average growth in office space stood at 67% for Salt River and 74% for Woodstock. In comparison, growth for the same period in the Cape Town CBD stood at around 60% (see Table 14).

Table 15: Average monthly rentals/m² for Cape Town CBD

Cape Town CBD	Grade A+ mean	Grade A mean	Grade B mean	Grade C mean
2010.1	120	92,5	75	60
2011.1	120	90	72,5	62,5
2012.1	127,5	98,75	78	60
2013.1	112,5	96,25	66	56,67
2015.1	156,67	111,67	93,75	70
2018.2	176,25	147,14	123,57	92
2019.1	180	147,5	110	95
2020.1	189	155	116	95

Grade A+ mean growth	58%
Grade A mean growth	68%
Grade B mean growth	55%
Grade C mean growth	58%
Average growth	60%

(Rode's Report 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2015; 2018; 2019; 2020)

It could be argued that growth was coming off a lower base in Woodstock and Salt River, when compared to the Cape Town CBD, and therefor subject to the low base effect. A look at the growth in neighbouring Observatory and Maitland would indicate some truth to this.

Table 16: Average monthly rentals/m² for Observatory

Observatory	Grade A+ mean	Grade A mean	Grade B mean	Grade C mean
2010.1	80	72,5	57,5	50
2011.1	80	72,5	57,5	50
2012.1	87,5	80	67,5	61,67
2013.1	93,33	80	60	53,33
2015.1	122,5	95	90	77,5
2018.2	147,5	141,25	93,75	86,67
2019.1	145	132,5	106,67	78,33
2020.1	142,5	130	105	93,75

Grade A+ mean growth	78%
Grade A mean growth	79%
Grade B mean growth	83%
Grade C mean growth	88%
Average growth	82%

(Rode's Report 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2015; 2018; 2019; 2020)

Table 17: Average monthly rentals/m² for Maitland

Maitland	Grade A+ mean	Grade A mean	Grade B mean	Grade C mean
2010.1	75	65	55	42,5
2011.1	85	75	60	40
2012.1	90	67,5	60	40
2013.1	85	80	62,5	45
2015.1	100	95	82,5	55
2018.2	137,5	118,33	88,33	75
2019.1	-	95	65	-
2020.1	145	115	97,5	90

Grade A+ mean growth	93%
Grade A mean growth	77%
Grade B mean growth	77%
Grade C mean growth	112%
Average growth	90%

(Rode's Report 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2015; 2018; 2019; 2020)

Maitland, which is more recently believed to be going through a process of gentrification with the City of Cape Town targeting Voortrekker Road for socio-spatial transformation and investment (Brown-Luthango, 2019), saw growth of 90% in office rentals over the last 10 years, while Observatory saw growth of 82%.

It would have been most interesting to look at the growth in Woodstock and Salt River over a 20-year period, as gentrification in these areas was well underway by 2010. However, this data just does not exist in available or accessible publications. The data above therefore provides no clear indication of gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River.

4.1.3. Municipal valuations

Every three years the City of Cape Town produces municipal valuations for all properties within the district, which goes to determining each property's rates and taxes. While these are generally "desktop valuations" (site visits are not typically conducted unless under special circumstances and municipal valuations are therefore not always inaccurate), they do consider sales in the area, and can provide a basis for understanding how values are growing over the years.

At the moment, only the 2015 and 2018 municipal valuations are available to the public, but there is no public report containing the entire roll for areas or suburbs and those wanting to look up municipal valuations have to search each property individually.

The municipality has been approached and asked to share some of their historical valuation rolls, as well as provide the overall increases in residential values for Woodstock and Salt River for each valuation period. A lengthy application process is underway to access this data, and at time of writing, is still under review.

Notwithstanding the above, this research has made use of the available municipal values for 2015 and 2018, and has chosen certain streets in Woodstock and Salt River, searched each property's 2015 and 2018 municipal valuations, and then calculated how the average value for the properties in the street has increased over the period. Those properties which have a municipal value missing for one of the years, or have an objection in place indicating an error by the municipality for one of the years, have been excluded from the calculation.

The streets selected contain predominately residential properties. In Woodstock, Gympie Street – which runs perpendicular between Albert and Victoria Road was selected. In Salt River, Swift Street was chosen as all the properties now face the Kaapse Klopse mural, which was completed in 2018.

Table 18: Average increase in municipal values from 2015-2018 in Gympie Street, Woodstock

Erf	Township	Street address	Suburb	Usage	Zoning	Mun. Value 2018	Mun. Value 2015
149695	Cape Town	44 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 170 000	R790 000
149694	Cape Town	42 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 170 000	R790 000
149693	Cape Town	40 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 170 000	R790 000
149692	Cape Town	38 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 190 000	R810 000
149691	Cape Town	36 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 170 000	R790 000
149690	Cape Town	34 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 170 000	R790 000
149689	Cape Town	32 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 170 000	R790 000
149688	Cape Town	30 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 170 000	R790 000
11035	Cape Town	41 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 060 000	R570 000
11036	Cape Town	39 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 070 000	R480 000
11037	Cape Town	37 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 050 000	R560 000
114896	Cape Town	35 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 010 000	R430 000
114895	Cape Town	33 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 000 000	R420 000
114894	Cape Town	31 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 010 000	R430 000
114893	Cape Town	29 Cornwall Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 010 000	R430 000
11001	Cape Town	27 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 070 000	R480 000
141443	Cape Town	18 Gympie Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R1 040 000	R550 000
141444	Cape Town	27 Cornwall Street	Woodstock	Residential	MU2	R940 000	R610 000
Average						R1 091 111	R627 778
Average increase from 2015 to 2018							74%

Table 19: Average increase in municipal values from 2015-2018 in Swift Street, Salt River

Erf	Township	Street address	Suburb	Usage	Zoning	Mun. Value 2018	Mun. Value 2015
16180	Cape Town	28 Swift Street	Salt River	Multi (3+) res	MU2	R7 780 000	R1 950 000
16183	Cape Town	22 Swift Street	Salt River	Residential	MU2	R1 390 000	R630 000
16184	Cape Town	20 Swift Street	Salt River	Residential	MU2	R1 390 000	R620 000
16185	Cape Town	18 Swift Street	Salt River	Residential	MU2	R1 380 000	R620 000
16186	Cape Town	16 Swift Street	Salt River	Residential	MU2	R1 400 000	R640 000
16187	Cape Town	10 Swift Street	Salt River	Residential	MU2	R1 470 000	R740 000
16188	Cape Town	8 Swift Street	Salt River	Residential	MU2	R1 380 000	R620 000
16189	Cape Town	6 Swift Street	Salt River	Residential	MU2	R1 400 000	R640 000
Average						R2 198 750	R807 500
Average increase from 2015 to 2018							172%

Both the municipal values of Woodstock’s Gympie Street and Salt River’s Swift Street have seen considerable increases in their municipal values in the 2015-2018 period, which have undoubtedly resulted in similar increases in property rates and taxes, and had a knock-down effect on rentals paid by tenants. Swift Street’s increase of 172% is particularly interesting since all properties overlook the Kaapse Klopse mural (which was not present when the 2015 municipal valuation was conducted).

The properties, particularly those in Salt River’s Swift Street, are generally older residences, occupied by lower-income members of the community.

Table 20: Average increase in municipal values from 2015-2018 in Park Villa Road, Observatory

Erf	Township	Street address	Suburb	Usage	Zoning	Mun. Value 2018	Mun. Value 2015
27240	Cape Town	2 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 700 000	R2 300 000
27234	Cape Town	1 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 460 000	R1 700 000
27242	Cape Town	4 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 600 000	R2 300 000
27761	Cape Town	6 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 700 000	R2 400 000
27763	Cape Town	10 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 700 000	R2 300 000
27244	Cape Town	12 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 650 000	R2 400 000
27245	Cape Town	14 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R3 130 000	R3 130 000
156112	Cape Town	16 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 550 000	R2 000 000
27228	Cape Town	13 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 410 000	R1 700 000
27229	Cape Town	11 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 450 000	R1 700 000
27230	Cape Town	9 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 400 000	R1 650 000
27231	Cape Town	7 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 260 000	R1 700 000
27232	Cape Town	5 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 450 000	R1 850 000
27233	Cape Town	3 Park Villa Road	Observatory	Residential	GR2	R2 450 000	R1 700 000
Average						R2 565 000	R2 059 286
Average increase from 2015 to 2018							25%

In comparison, the average increase in municipal values for the same periods for similar streets in the nearby suburbs of Observatory and Brooklyn show considerably lower growth.

Table 21: Average increase in municipal values from 2015-2018 in Amsterdam Crescent, Brooklyn

Erf	Township	Street address	Suburb	Usage	Zoning	Mun. Value 2018	Mun. Value 2015
155905	Cape Town	8 Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	GR2	R850 000	R790 000
160649	Cape Town	6B Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	SR1	R740 000	R690 000
160648	Cape Town	6A Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	SR1	R740 000	R690 000
160647	Cape Town	6 Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	SR1	R740 000	R690 000
160646	Cape Town	4B Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	SR1	R740 000	R690 000
160645	Cape Town	4A Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	SR1	R740 000	R690 000
160644	Cape Town	4 Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	SR1	R740 000	R690 000
160643	Cape Town	2B Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	SR1	R740 000	R690 000
160642	Cape Town	2A Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	SR1	R740 000	R690 000
20229	Cape Town	2 Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	SR1	R800 000	R730 000
147937	Cape Town	3 Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	GR2	R790 000	R740 000
147938	Cape Town	3A Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	GR2	R760 000	R710 000
147939	Cape Town	3B Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	GR2	R760 000	R710 000
147940	Cape Town	3C Amsterdam Crescent	Brooklyn	Residential	GR2	R810 000	R710 000
Average						R763 571	R707 857
Average increase from 2015 to 2018							8%

4.2. Street art survey results: overall positive sentiment to street art

There was an undeniable overall positive sentiment towards street art in the surveys conducted with passerbys at the four street art site sites.

Overall, of the 161 people surveyed at the four street art sites, 72% wanted to see more art similar to the murals at these sites, 17% wanted to see the same amount, and only 7% wanted to see less of the surveyed kind of art.

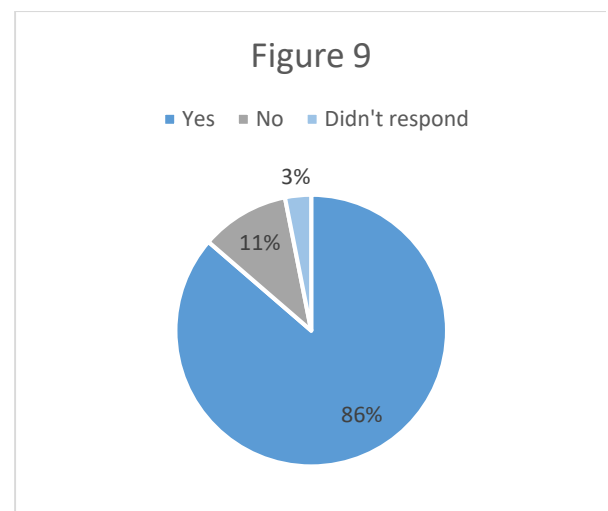
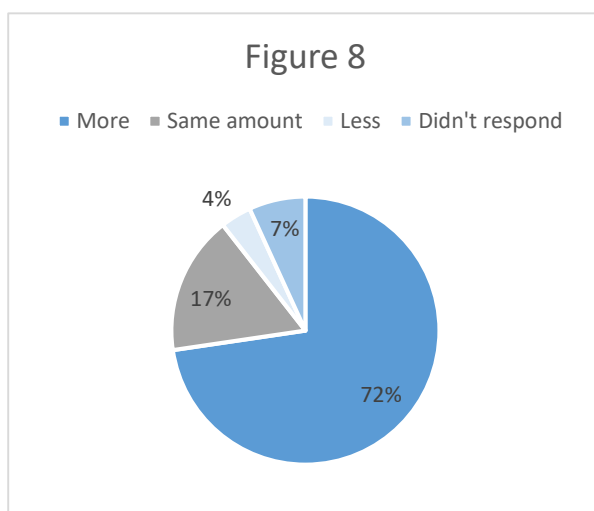


Figure 8: Percentage of respondents who want more, same amount or less street art

Figure 9: Percentage of respondents who want to live near to surveyed art

Furthermore, 86% of overall respondents also indicated that they wanted to live near to the street art, while 11% indicated that they did not.

A thematic analysis of the qualitative data also revealed a strong positive sentiment towards each street art surveyed across the four locations in the area (please see attached Appendix I for tree node breakdown for these surveys). Figure 10 below shows the breakdown of whether respondents liked or disliked each art piece. The results indicated an overwhelming positive sentiment with 86% of respondents liking the Pangolin art, 86% liking the Xxxtentacion art, 94% liking the Kaapse Klopse art and 89% liking the Frog Prince art. The percentage of respondents who disliked the art ranged from 0% for the Kaapse Klopse art to 8% for the Frog Prince art.

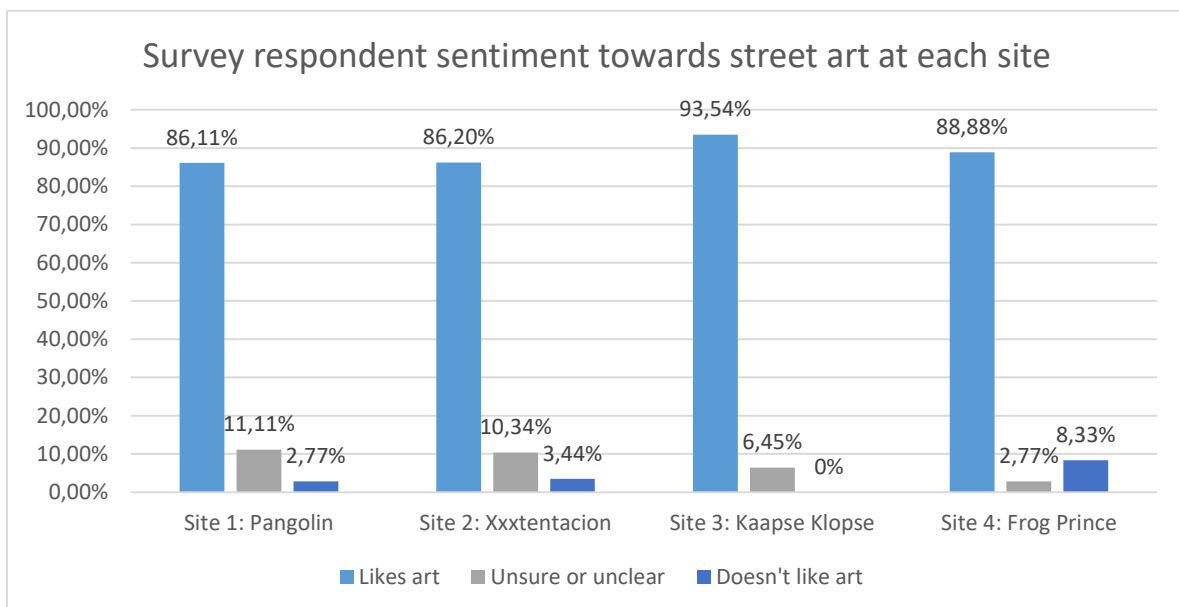


Figure 10: Survey respondent sentiment towards street art at each site

One of the aims of this research was to see whether perceptions around street art were connected to how members of the public related to the art as either an insider or an outsider of the area.

To explore this, the street survey classified respondents into one of three categories: those who live in area, those who are in the area due to work, and those who are just visiting the area. Respondents were linked to just one of these categories, based on their ties to the area. For example, those who indicated that they both live and work in the area were placed into the 'resident of area' category, as they would be more closely tied to the area as a resident, than through their employment.

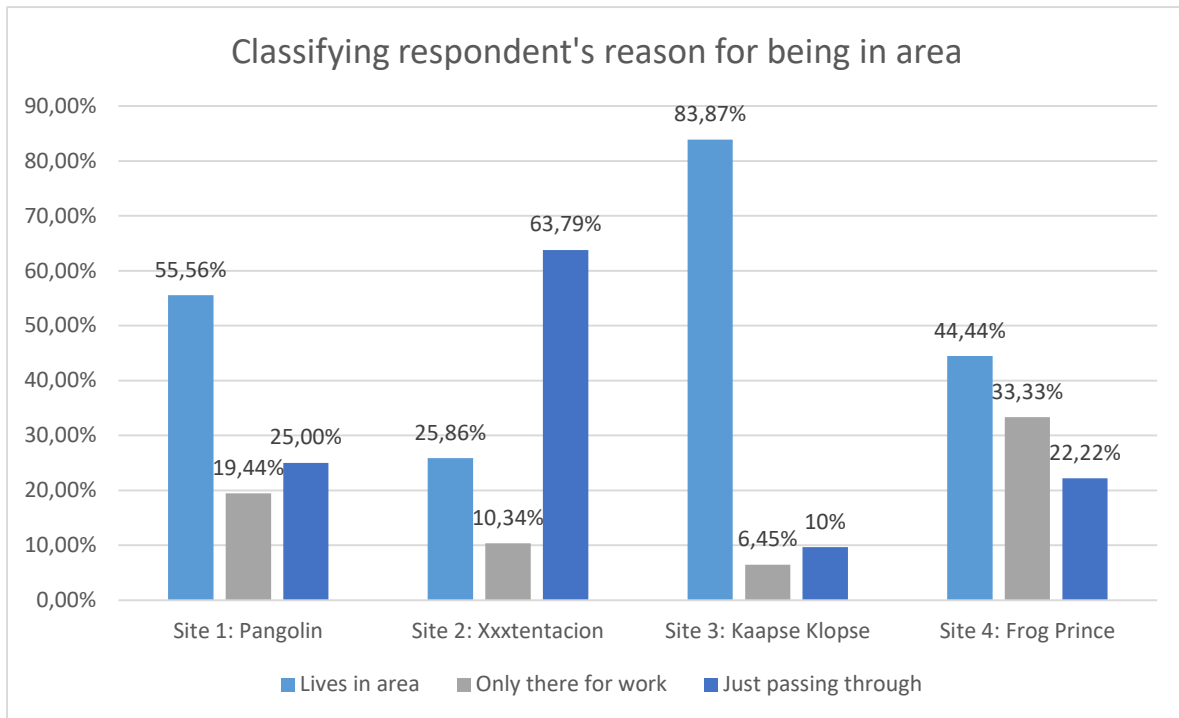


Figure 11: Respondent demographics at each site

There was a much higher portion of respondents at the Kaapse Klopse street art location who were residents, due to it being located in a predominately residential pocket of Salt River. On the other hand, there was a much higher portion of visitors to the area at the Xxxtentacion site at the Old Biscuit Mill, due to it being a leisure and shopping destination.

The resident category was further broken down into whether respondents owned or rented property, with an aim of determining whether the level of investment in the area also had an impact on their sentiment towards the local street art and a perceived link to urban regeneration or gentrification.

Whilst surveying, a handful of respondents explained they neither rented nor owned property as they were homeless and lived on the streets in the research area. They were asked to indicate this on the survey so as not to pick a category they didn't actually belong to, and sway the results. Only four respondents, of 161 participants, indicated they were homeless, and the percentage of these participants at each survey site can be seen in Figure 12 below. Furthermore, seven of the 161 respondents indicated that they would rather not state whether they owned or rented, and these have also been represented in Figure 12 below. Whilst only a small group, these two categories have been included in the data for transparency purposes.

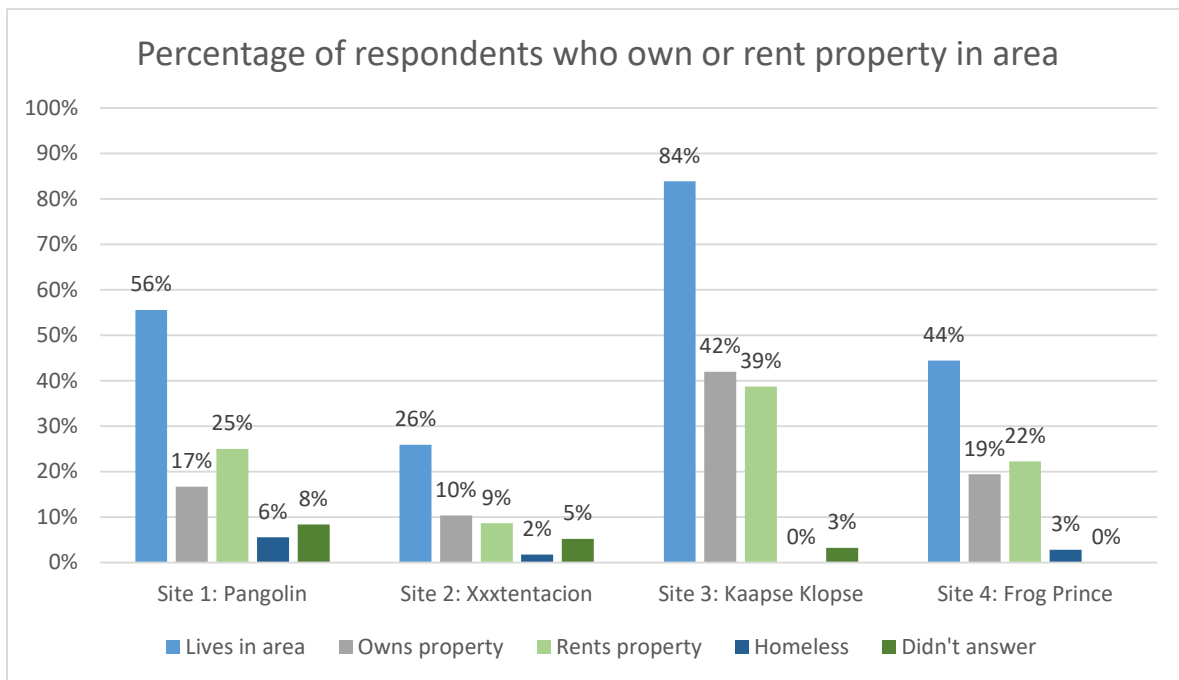


Figure 12: Homeowners vs renters at each site

Based on the qualitative data collected, and a thematic analysis of the qualitative data of whether respondents liked or disliked the art (i.e. a positive or negative sentiment), it is clear that there is a strong overall positive sentiment towards all the street art at the four sites, with no clear difference between the sentiment of residents and non-residents, or property owners and property renters, in light of different art work.

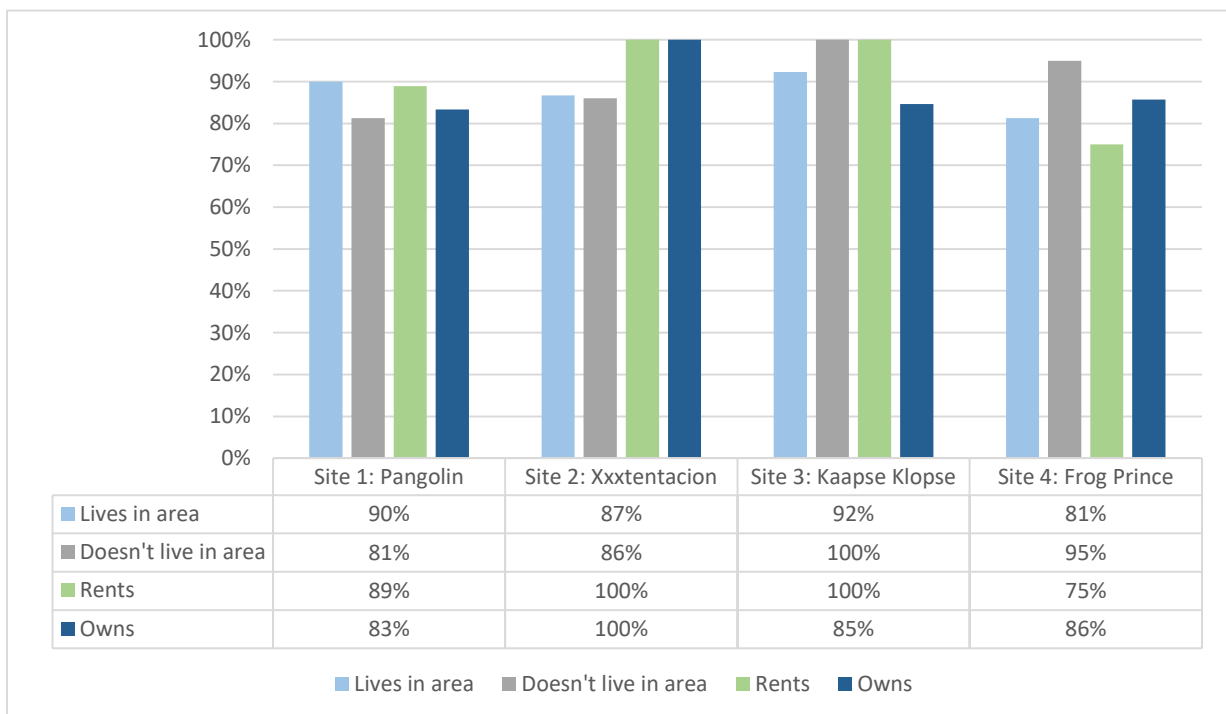


Figure 13: Category breakdown of respondents who like the street art at each site.

The vast majority of respondents also wanted to see more street art, similar to the street art surveyed at each street art site, produced in the area, and similar results were seen within the breakdown of categories that looked at residents and non-residents, as well as home owners and renters. However, there was a slightly higher number of respondents who indicated that they wanted to see less of the street art similar to that of the art at Site 1 and Site 4 (The Pangolin and The Frog Prince).



Figure 14: Residents, compared to non-residents, on whether they want to see more, less, or the same amount of a type of art at each survey site

While there is an overwhelming positive sentiment across all four sites, the reasoning behind this sentiment differs at each of the four sites. Three themes emerged from the street surveys: representation matters, art improves aesthetics and art and creative talent is appreciated.

4.2.1. Street Survey Theme 1: Community representation matters to communities

Some of the strongest positive responses received was for the Kaapse Klopse art at Site 3, where not one respondent indicated that they disliked the artwork – the only site to receive this result.

The artists had spent time with many of the residents prior to, and during, the painting of their murals, and the subject of many of the images reflected community concerns (such as the recent drought) as well as the faces of long standing residents and children. The most common response for why respondents liked the art was that it represented the community, culture and heritage of the area – and these were most notably reflected by residents in the area.

“... it reminds me of old times. My mom used to make the uniforms like the children are wearing” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, local resident, rents property).

“I love it because it reminds me of my background of where I live and the culture” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, local resident).

“The wall in Swift [Street] includes the residents and activities that happen in the area. I would encourage this type of art in other areas as well” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, local resident, owns property).

“I was there when they did it. It is very realistic” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, local resident, rents property).

One passer-by even pointed out that the art was “all about him”, before pointing out his face in the artwork.

Respondents also indicated that the Kaapse Klopse artwork had a predominately positive impact on the area and, similarly, many stated this was due to its representation of the community and history.

“At least children can know the history of where they come from” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, local resident, owns property).

“It attracts a lot of people. They end up learning about culture” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, local resident, owns property).

“It does in a positive way. I say so because there's much that you can learn from cultures. It brightens up everything and the arts are admired by many. Models take their pictures there as well” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, local resident, rents property).

“It has a positive effect. Kids can study about it and see what kind of place it is” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, visitor to area, visiting for business).

In contrast, no respondents indicated they liked the artwork at the other three sites due to it reflecting the local community – although a few highlighted that art in general reflected a creative culture in the area. Furthermore, a couple of respondents did question the relevance of the artwork at the other three sites in terms of its connection to the community, which seems to support the notion that community representation matters.

“It's okay. It is more an advert for Biscuit Mill. I prefer the other art that has more ‘real meaning’” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, local resident).

“I don't know how it is relevant though. We have different cultures and I am not sure how this fits in” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, local resident, rents property).

“It looks more like vandalism; looks like graffiti and doesn't tell a story, unlike the piece on the “long wall” [Kaapse Klopse artwork] which tells story of water struggle and coons” (Respondent, Frog Prince survey, local resident, owns property).

“It is nice but from other part of the world [referring to subject of art], so why is it here?” (Respondent, Pangolin survey, visitor to area, visiting for business).

The main reasons provided by respondents who liked the other art work at the three other sites include: the symbolism of the artwork, appreciation of local artistic talent and how the murals improve the area’s aesthetics.

4.2.2. Street Survey Theme 2: Street art improves aesthetics

One of the most commonly cited reasons for respondents both liking the street art surveyed, and believing the art had a positive effect on the area, was its perceived impact on the area’s aesthetics. This is also supported in the literature, as highlighted in Chapter 2 (Selwood, 1992:21 & Goodey, 1994 & Policy Studies Institute, 1994:38 in Hall & Robertson, 2001:7).

“I think art like this can lift the tone of areas and can help improve the kind of “broken windows” environment in areas. Makes you more proud of the area” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, visitor to area, visiting for leisure).

“It doesn't look so grotty” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, working in area).

“It brings some beauty into the street” (Respondent, Pangolin survey, local resident).

“At least the area gets some attention from artists and walls that haven't been painted in a while get painted” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, local resident, rents property).

“Good effect. Makes old buildings better” (Respondent, Frog Prince survey, local resident, owns property).

*Personally, I feel it beautifies the actual structure of the building and its surroundings.
(Respondent, Frog Prince survey, working in area).*

*“... it uplifts the place because all the buildings were old and now it looks new (Respondent,
Frog Prince survey, local resident, rents property).*

Furthermore, a number of respondents also felt that the art was a deterrent of gang signs and graffiti which had previously marked the walls.

*“Yes, because otherwise if there was nothing, they will mess it up with gangster signs”
(Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, visitor to area, visiting for shopping).*

*“Yes, prevents vile graffiti from being sprayed on the wall” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse
survey, local resident, owns property).*

*“It is good because we don't like graffiti, we like art” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, local
resident, rents property).*

4.2.3. Street Survey Theme 3: General appreciation of art and creative talent

Another common theme that emerged from the street art surveys was that respondents generally had an appreciation for art and creative talent. This theme was generally seen from respondents who were residents, as well as those who were visitors and working in the area.

*“Beautiful work. Just appreciate great art. Love graffiti” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey,
visitor to area, visiting for shopping).*

*“It is beautiful. I see it every morning when I wake up. The way the people took their time
with it – they have talent” (Respondent, Kaapse Klopse survey, local resident, rents property).*

*“Yes, it is eye-catching. Whomever did it is extremely talented. Becomes a street art gallery.
Good for photographers” (Respondent, Frog Prince survey, working in area).*

In the literature, Ley noted that artwork, unlike mass produced products, establishes symbolic value through a claim of difference and authenticity – such as through handcrafted production, rather than mass-produced or impersonal production – and this aesthetic disposition is perceived as valuable (Ley, 2003:2530).

Many respondents said they liked the art for its perceived symbolism, and there were a variety of thoughts expressed about what each art work meant, which many respondents seemed to enjoy considering and wished to discuss further. Interestingly, many especially liked any symbolism or depiction of “nature” and “animals” in the artwork.

“Because it shows the beauty of our lovely creatures as a symbol of an infant or a young born baby” (Respondent, Pangolin survey, visitor to area, lives in neighbouring neighbourhood).

“It somehow speaks a sense of freedom” (Respondent, Pangolin survey, working in area).

“Yes, I like it. It shows the love of human beings and nature (animals i.e. pets)” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, local resident).

“I like the way so many small details have been put into the piece. It makes me feel as if it is part of a bigger picture that makes me curious to find out what. It seems solemn, as if trying to portray something more realistic as opposed to a fairy tale/fantasy” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, visitor to area, visiting for shopping and leisure).

“Art is peaceful. The dove is a symbol of peace. The person is at peace with himself. Dove is peaceful thought. His hands represent that he will handle and touch people, society, in a peaceful way” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, visitor to area, visiting for shopping).

“Yes, it says a lot. I walk past it a lot and not sure if it is about depression. Dove symbolises freedom” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, local resident, owns property).

“When I look at it I always wonder the meaning that the artist wants to transmit to us” (Respondent, Frog Prince survey, local resident, rents property).

“It shows that, while being trapped, you can always get out.” (Respondent, Frog Prince survey, visitor to area, visiting a friend).

While the perceived symbolism or meaning of each artwork was a common reason for respondents liking the art across all four survey sites, it was most pronounced at the Xxxtentacion site, with nearly 50% of respondents stating this as their reason why they liked the art. Some respondents also stated that another positive impact of street art is that it showcases and supports artists.

“It could motivate upcoming artists to use their talent in our areas” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, working in area).

“Good thing, because if someone notices [it], they can see artist's skill and maybe he gets more work” (Respondent, Frog Prince survey, homeless).

4.2.4. Minimal reference to gentrification

Of the 161 passer-by's who were surveyed at the four street art sites, only three made any reference to a connection with gentrification. Two of these respondents were visitors to the area, and one was a local resident who owns property in the area.

“The area has a history of apartheid and with it being gentrified. Its community is being forgotten. They still don't have peace of mind” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, visitor to area, visiting a friend).

“I consider it part of gentrification” (Respondent, Pangolin survey, local resident, owns property).

“I have a very complicated relationship with the Biscuit Mill. It has caused a lot of gentrification with the individuals with Bromwell” (Respondent, Xxxtentacion survey, local resident).

However, of these three respondents, only the local resident surveyed at the Pangolin artwork indicated that they would not like to live near the art and would like to see less similar art in the area.

One elderly passer-by, who must have been over the age of 70, was asked to participate while walking past with bags of shopping. They refused, and said, “I think we have enough of this art here.”

4.3. Business survey results: street art perceived favourable for business operations

Of the 108 business owners and property professionals surveyed via social media, email and door-to-door surveying, 46 were with business owners who have been operating less than 10 years in the area (new or short-term businesses); 17 were with business owners operating 10-20 years (medium-term businesses); 16 were with business owners operating more than 20 years (long-term businesses); 18 were with property professionals and developers; and 11 responded in the ‘other’ category, mostly consisting of business managers and previous owners of recently closed businesses in the area. The higher proportion of new or short-term business owner respondents is likely due to the challenges of growing a business, and surviving for over 10 years.

These categories were defined in order to test whether the views on street art differed between business owners that existed prior to the area’s gentrification, and those that were established during the process, as well as how this compared to professionals in the property industry in the area.

Across all categories, the majority of respondents generally viewed the area’s street art as having a favourable impact on their business. The average rating of between 1 and 5 for all respondents (where 1 indicated a ‘most unfavourable’ impact on operations and 5 a ‘most favourable’ impact) is 4.06. This average rating within specific categories ranged from 3.94 for property professionals to 4.12 for medium-term business owners.

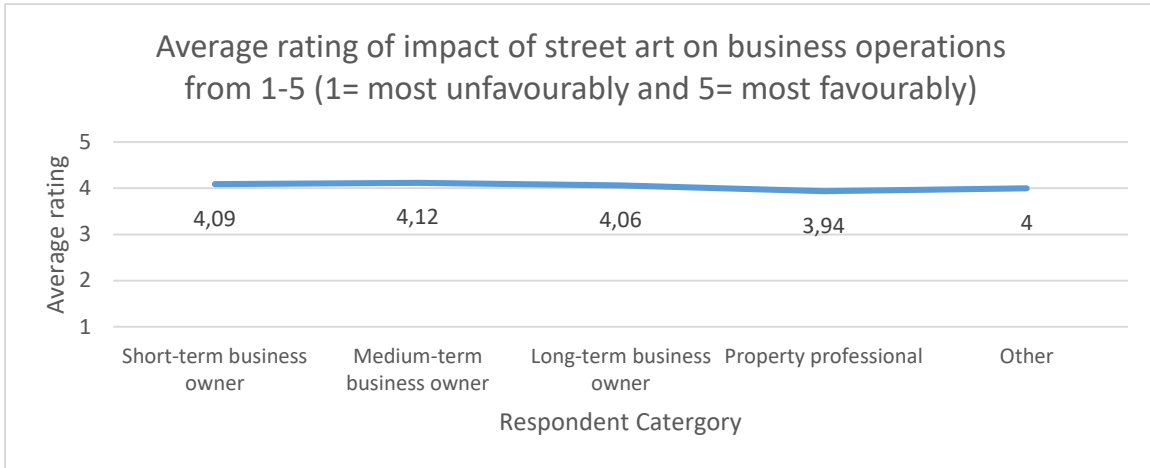


Figure 15: Respondents' average rating of street art's impact on business by category

Approximately 68% of total respondents indicated that street art in the area impacted their operations favourably, while 30% indicated neither a favourable nor unfavourable impact. Only two respondents (both short-term business owners) indicated that street art in the area impacted their businesses unfavourably, both within the short-term business owner category.

The category with the most positive response to street art in relation to business operations, was the medium-term business owner category, where 76% of respondents indicated that street art favourably impacted their businesses. The category with the least positive response was for property professionals, followed by long-term business owners, where 61% and 63% indicated a favourable impact on business, respectively.

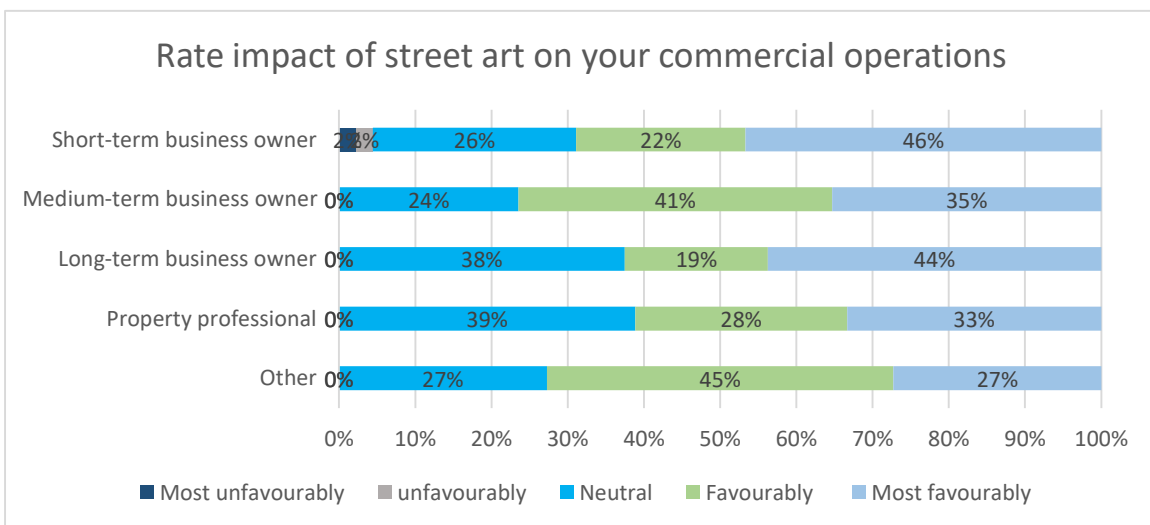


Figure 16: Respondents' rating of street art's impact on business

Around 43% of respondents also indicated that they felt that their business operations did not benefit from street art tours in the area, while 29% were unsure and 28% felt they benefitted. The highest proportions of respondents who felt they did not benefit from street art tours in the area were the more established businesses, consisting of 50% of respondents in the long-term business owner category, and 47% in the medium-term business. The high percentage of respondents indicating ‘yes’ in the ‘other’ category, is really just made up of eight respondents.

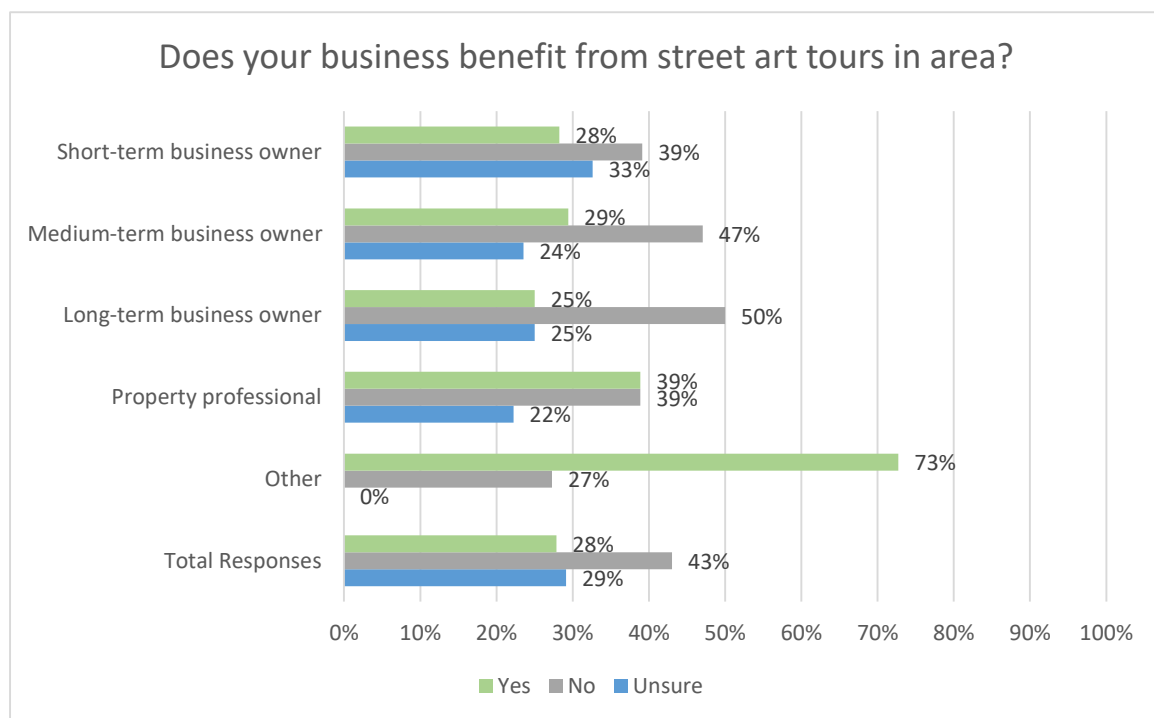


Figure 17: Respondents on whether they feel they benefit from street art tours or not

Around 78% of respondents indicated that they haven’t commissioned or granted permission for street art to be established on their property or business premises, while 12% indicated that they have granted permission, and 10% indicated that they have paid for street art. Just over two-thirds of all respondents that had either granted permission or commissioned street art for business purposes came from the short-term business owner category.

Interestingly, of those who have commissioned/granted permission for street art for business purposes, 71% felt they benefitted from street art tours, while 16.5% were unsure and 12.5% felt they did not benefit from street art tours.

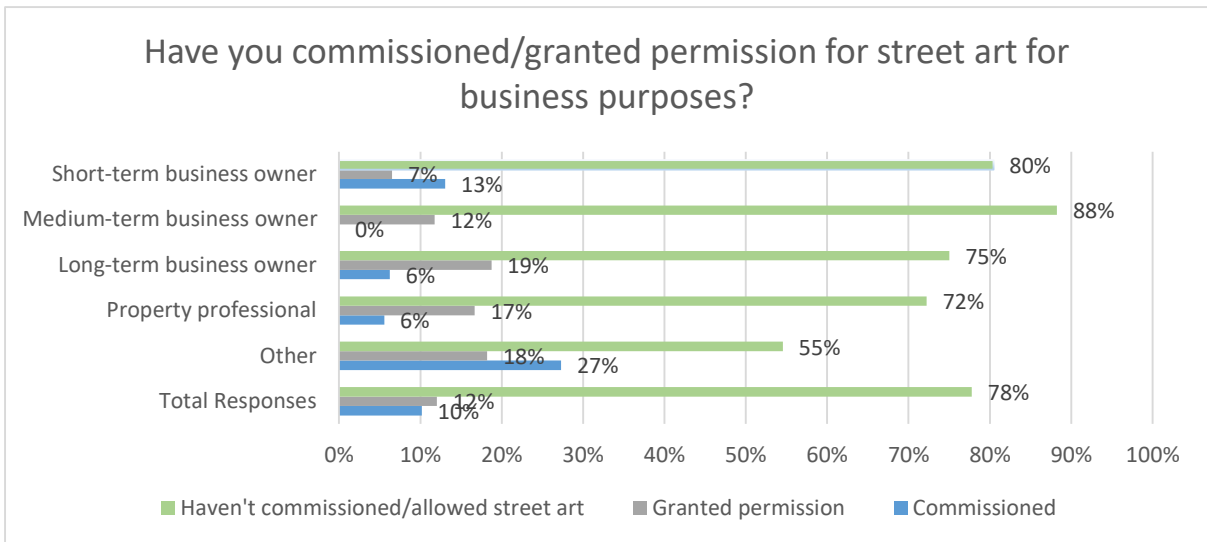


Figure 18: Percentage of respondents who have commissioned or allowed street art

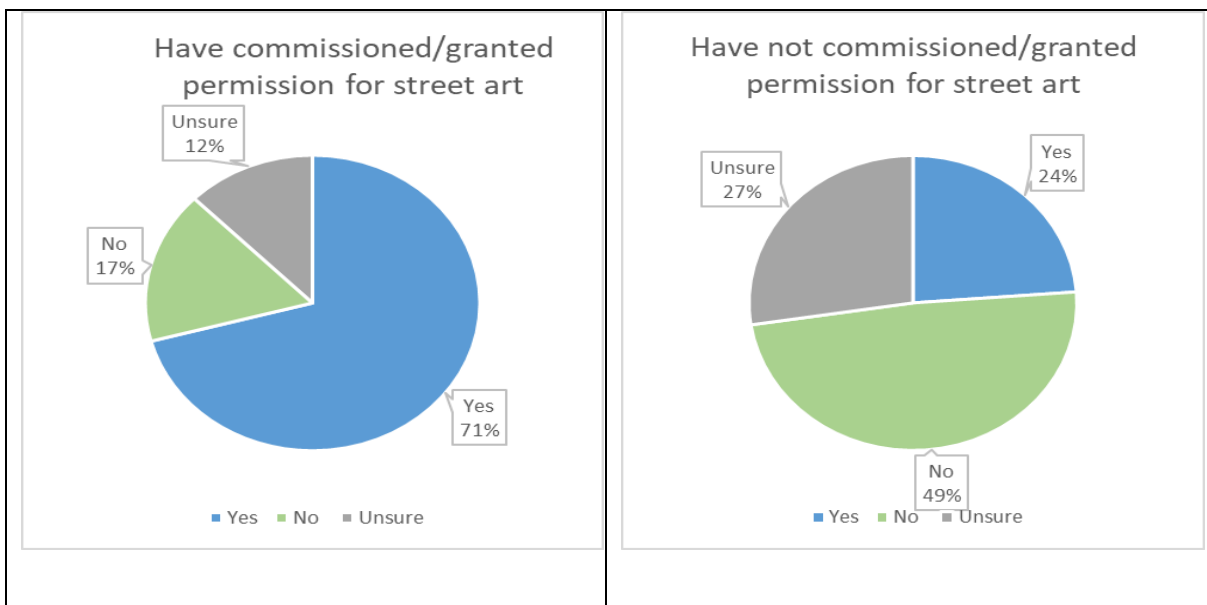


Figure 19: Respondents on whether they feel they benefit from street art tours or not

A thematic analysis of the qualitative answers in the research produced a number of key themes on how business owners and professionals perceive street art in the area (see Appendix J for tree node structure for this survey).

4.3.1. Business Survey Theme 1: Street art a tool for urban regeneration

The most supported theme to emerge in the qualitative survey answers, was that respondents perceive street art as a tool for urban regeneration, by giving the area an economic facelift.

Similar to the street surveys with passerbys, one of the most commonly cited benefits of street art was its impact on the area's aesthetics.

“The buildings need something to brighten them up. They are really run down” (Respondent, business survey, medium-term business owner).

“To beautify the area as it’s very dirty with litter and buildings are in decay” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“It uplifts, brightens and cleans up the area” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

“Easy on the eye, covers up flaws” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

“Makes the place look more lively. People cannot afford to upgrade houses, and street art can help with that” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

“Can only assume that our government is too lazy to do their job and maintain our buildings so private contractors have to come in and create art installations in order to fix up the neglected areas and buildings” (Respondent, business survey, other: previously had an office in area).

Beyond aesthetics, many respondents also commented that it improved or uplifts the general atmosphere or “vibe” of the area.

“Positive. Liven up the streets. Welcoming atmosphere. Not dreary or scary” (Respondent, business survey, long-term business owner).

“Upliftment! Positive vibe” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

In addition, there were a number of respondents that commented on some of the economic benefits of street art. These included its positive impact on job creation, tourism and attracting investment in the area.

“These murals attract tourists and investors which is really good for the economy” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

“The art has been a positive influence generally, it has given some work opportunities to otherwise unemployable residents and motivated others to take the tourism qualification. Through the network some tourists are invited to the studios to meet the artists” (Respondent, business survey, medium-term business owner).

“It creates a tourist attraction for local and international visitors drawing more people and money to the area” (Respondent, business survey, other: previously ran a business between 2012 and 2019).

“It causes interest, gets people who would otherwise never visit certain parts of Woodstock and Salt River to do so and thereby interact with the locals” (Respondent, business survey, long-term business owner).

“It is a great way to attract people to this area and show the vibrant and wonderful people that live and work here” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“The main role is bringing people/tourists/human activity into the area” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“I believe the street art plays a critical role in the identity and economic activity of the area” (Respondent, business survey, other: works for property developers in the area).

A handful of respondents also commented on the impact of street art on the area’s security and crime problem, in particular, the presence of gangs.

“Adds value. Ensures there is security and cameras” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“Street art help transform the area and bring more people into its streets – making it safer for everyone” (Respondent, business survey, other: managers business in the area).

“Another benefit is it has curtailed much of the gang graffiti” (Respondent, business survey, medium-term business owner).

“Where I see street art, I see less graffiti” (Respondent, business survey, long-term business owner).

In the literature, street art’s contributions to urban regeneration has been well documented, with mention of its ability to improve aesthetics, contribute to tourism and attract businesses and investment (Selwood, 1992:21 & Goodey, 1994 & Policy Studies Institute, 1994:38 in Hall & Robertson, 2001:7).

4.3.2. Business Survey Theme 2: Street art provides a competitive advantage

Another major theme that emerged from the thematic analysis of the survey with business people was the view that the area’s street art gave Woodstock and Salt River a competitive advantage that distinguished it from other areas. This is seen in the context of adopting an identity of being a creative hub in Cape Town, which differentiates it from other business hubs like Century City or the Cape Town CBD. Street art is considered the tool that brands and markets the area as a creative hub, and this view seemed to be shared across all the different categories of respondents. Street art’s contribution to local distinctiveness and uniqueness, as well as its promotion of buildings and areas with ‘cover shots’ in the media, have also been supported in the literature (Selwood, 1992:21 & Goodey, 1994 & Policy Studies Institute, 1994:38 in Hall & Robertson, 2001:7).

“I fully support it and feel it brings a creative character to the area unlike many other more controlled areas of Cape Town CBD surrounds” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“It is a creative hub and attracts artists and creatives. It is also on the fringe of the urban centre with a mix of commercial, domestic and retail, some which is well maintained and some which is run down. I suspect it is easier to get permission to do street art projects there than in the city centre for example. The street art has become a part of the culture of those suburbs” (Respondent, business survey, other: previously ran a business between 2012 and 2019).

“Elevates a community from more than cookie cutter houses and drab apartment blocks” (Respondent, business survey, other: previously ran a business in area for seven years).

“Gives it character. Fits the look and feel of the area and branding” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“Brings a different niche to the market” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

The most common reason cited by respondents on why street art was so prevalent in Woodstock and Salt River was the area’s appeal to creatives and artists, followed by the area’s diversity and history, proximity to the CBD, availability of space, and the IPAF. This supports Florida’s ‘Creative class’ thesis which states that creatives are attracted to places and communities with diversity, authenticity, and uniqueness – such as historic building or areas with special cultural attributes (2002:22).

“I believe Salt River/Woodstock is a cultural and artistic hotspot in Cape Town, with a lot of creative individuals (photographers, carpenters, second-hand art dealers, etc.) either living, working or creating in the area. This type of zone creates a dynamic environment where artistic expression can thrive and I think it sometimes spills out onto the street” (Respondent, business survey, long-term business owner).

“Some areas lend themselves to street art and other do not. For example, Century City is not a place you would expect to see street art. It all depends on the demographic of the area and their willingness to want street art in it and whether it fits in with its aesthetic” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

“Woodstock and Salt River has predominately been, in recent times, an area suitable to young professionals, first time buyer and students due to low barrier of entry and location as well as the urbanization and redevelopments that arise while at the same time having a lot of history and culture due to the communities that developed and co-existed over the decades prior. This area is considered a hub as it’s surrounded by education institutions, work centres & business parks, trendy restaurants and social spots, as well as main public transport routes. This blend of new and old is what has been interesting as developers and business owners have to be adaptable to the heritage impact and structural limitations when designing, building and operating their properties especially during the current economic conditions and social climate we find ourselves in. This trend of artistic expression and local creatives have been ingrained in South African culture for generations so it’s not out of the ordinary for public art or street exhibitions to exist” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

4.3.3. Business Survey Theme 3: Street art benefits businesses

A number of respondents also mentioned that street art had direct benefits for businesses, other than elevating the local economy and improving the area's aesthetics. These include converting the business premises into a landmark, and ultimately advertising the business.

One respondent, who has run businesses in the area for over 20 years, said that the mural of a lion on his business premises attracts customers and also serves as a landmark to help customers find his shop.

"I am always telling my customers to look out for the Lion on my wall... Woodstock / Salt River has become the rustic mile of Cape Town. My wall creates much interest and loving it" (Respondent, business survey, long-term business owner).

In addition, increased foot traffic in these areas ultimately benefits retailers and restaurants and companies within the creative sphere see benefits in aligning themselves with the street art aesthetic (which can be seen as youthful, "hip" and creative).

"I've used the Woodstock street art as background settings for our website profile pics. I think the street art conveys a certain vibe that my companies can identify with" (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

"I love it as I have an art gallery. The more art, the better" (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

"Because you need it. Good for business and good for advertising" (Respondent, business survey, long-term business owner).

"My business doesn't benefit directly from street art, but graffiti tours are positive for retail businesses in the area" (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

Street art's benefits for businesses, has also been highlighted in the literature (Selwood, 1992:21 & Goodey, 1994 & Policy Studies Institute, 1994:38 in Hall & Robertson, 2001:7).

4.3.4. Business Survey Theme 4: Desire to support art

As with the street surveys, the notion that art, artists and creative talent should be supported and fostered was also commonly shared by respondents of the business survey.

"Graffiti is a way for young artists who don't have the platform to promote their work to show it off for free... It gives them unsolicited exposure with many having been given an opportunity to do paid displays because of this" (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“Enhance and uplift the area and at the same time empower the artists” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

“It is an avenue for informal artists to express themselves” (Respondent, business survey, long-term business owner).

“It is good to see what artists can do” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“Woodstock is up and coming. Definitely for tourist attraction as well as giving artist free-will to showcase their art. Admiration for art!” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“It supports artists which is good” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

Among the desire to support artists, was also the appreciation of art in general, and the view that street art had the benefit of being accessible to everyone. It was also perceived as being valuable – which supports Ley’s arguments in the literature that art adds symbolic value to objects (Ley, 2003:2530).

“Sometimes [it] gives something to think about and makes art accessible to all. It is something that should be encouraged in a variety of forms – sculpture, paint, different media – in many more areas” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

“I think it brings art closer to the people in the area” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

“Introduces the community and most importantly kids to art” (Respondent, business survey, other: previously ran a business in the area for seven years).

“I think it adds tremendous value from a culture perspective” (Respondent, business survey, property developer).

Furthermore, street art is seen as a form of art that can better represent and tell stories of the communities and the history of areas.

“It’s public art that reflects what matters to people on the ground and not just state mandated memorials, etc.” (Respondent, business survey, other: previously ran a business in the area for seven years).

“It also gives the viewer a sense of the culture and in a predominantly coloured community like Salt River and Woodstock it tells a tale about its history. Many works have been there for decades with [development] being built around it or incorporating it into their design scheme” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“I think it’s a sort of bridge between – or representation of – the underlying cultural tensions that exist in the area. It doesn’t often bubble up as there is definitely a sense of community, but it is there. The street art is a sense that everyone is acknowledged and heard and speaks to an optimistic spirit” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

*“It showcases pop culture, social issues and the mood of the people of the time”
(Respondent, business survey, other: previously ran a business between 2012 and 2019).*

*“You can tell by their content that they are thoughtful, considerate artworks meant to inspire and improve the people of Salt River and that they are produced with care and love”
(Respondent, business survey, long-term business owner).*

4.3.5. Street art linked to gentrification

Only six respondents brought up the subject of gentrification in light of street art. The ties considered were similar to that expressed in the literature review. For example, two respondents (both who have recently closed businesses in the area) noted that artists, who originally lived in the area due to affordable rents, have been pushed out due to gentrification caused by the creative aesthetic that they helped create.

“In the late 2000s early 2010s Woodstock was a cheap place for local artists, designers and creative producers to work from. As they moved in they marked their surroundings – it became common place and more people got involved. Now Woodstock isn't quite the hub for artists and designers it once was thanks to expensive developments in the area, but the tradition of street art in the area remains” (Respondent, business survey, other: previously ran a business in the area for seven years).

“Because all the businesses in the area think adding [street art] gives you a kind of cultural offering, which was originally street art and those artists have actually been pushed out [of] the area by the gentrification” (Respondent, business survey, other: recently closed a restaurant in the area after three years).

These comments are aligned with consumption-based explanations of gentrification in the literature that perceives artists as early gentrifiers who use their high cultural capital (incorporated through their knowledge, moral and aesthetic values) to distinguish themselves from the middle class in lieu of economic capital (Ley, 1980:256; Bridge, 2001:205; Bourdieu, 1984 in Rérat, 2018:104). They typically value historical preservation and uniqueness, rather than mass-produced consumption, and this is displayed in their lifestyle, which becomes “trendy” and captures the attention of those with more economic capital than cultural capital, and who value a lifestyle associated with a more commodified form of gentrification (Bridge, 2001:205).

A number of respondents also commented that street art might be representing an aesthetic that speaks to an outsider and in-mover, rather than long-standing members of the existing community, and noted the problems that this can cause.

“Woodstock is a gentrified and fringe district and it's a socio-economic melting pot. You have R30 flat whites [referring to coffee] next to completely rundown buildings, with families living in them” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

“Business Owners are not the ones who should have a say with regard to street art. It's the residents who have been there for years who should be consulted. Street art, while it may be cool and add flare, may not be in the interest of those who are not part of the gentrification of the area but [who are] rather stalwarts of the area who have been there for generations” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

“Depending on the significance of the public/street art, many of my clients have been in a position [of] needing to overcome the challenges brought forth by the residents and council with regards to redevelopment projects, sale of property, and/or operating their businesses. This does have an impact on feasibility studies and development costs, valuations, sale prices and rental figures” (Respondent, business survey, property professional).

While concern for gentrification didn't seem to be a dominate theme in the survey with business professionals, there did seem to be an underlying tension, on occasion, whilst surveying in the area. For example, whilst explaining the purpose of the study to one business owner, the researcher was warned to be careful about asking these questions as some members of the community might not like this research in the area. When asked to expand on this, it was explained that “the community” is very protective of this area, and might not like the findings of this research. The researcher has a strong impression that this warning was based on the conflict caused by gentrification in the area, and the threat it has posed to the long-standing traditional community.

4.4. Results from semi-structured interviews: a mix of views

Eleven semi-structured interviews were conducted. The aim of these interviews were to understand the procedures and processes behind street art, and discover the different informed views on street art from both relevant organisations and artists. Seven of these were with street artists who had produced street murals in Woodstock and/or Salt River, of which only one granted permission to reveal their identity. However, anonymity codes have been utilised for all street artists throughout this research.

The remaining four semi-structured interviews were with ‘informed people’, and all of them gave permission to reveal their identities in this research, as they hold public leadership positions which are relevant in this research and makes their identities identifiable. However, anonymity codes have been inserted and used throughout this research.

- IN02 – The founder of Baz-Art, the organisation behind the annual IPAF that takes place in Salt River every year, and brings together a number of international and local artists who produce work in the area. The organisation promotes the use of street art as a powerful tool in transforming neighbourhoods and also acts as the ‘middle man’ for commissioned work from private or public parties and Baz-Art’s network of artists.
- IN05 – The Cape Town City Councillor for Ward 57 during the research period, which includes parts of Woodstock (south of Nelson Mandela Boulevard and above Victoria Road) and Salt River (south of Albert Road and Lower Main Road). He has also worked closely with the founders of Baz-Art in establishing street art in the area, introducing IPAF, and is an avid supporter of street art in general.
- IN03 – The Woodstock Chapter Leader for Reclaim The City, an organisation aimed at protesting the displacement of poorer and more vulnerable communities from areas close in proximity to the CBD due to gentrification, and advocates for state-subsidised, affordable housing in these areas. The organisation has been very vocal about the gentrification seen in Woodstock and Salt River, and has protested against a number of developments.
- IN01, a street art tour guide who has conducted tours for years through different organisations, including for Baz-Art. She also grew up in Salt River and Woodstock, before the process of gentrification became apparent.

A thematic analysis of the discussions during these 11 semi-structured interviews has been highlighted below (see Appendix K for tree node breakdown)

4.4.1. Stakeholder Theme 1: Heritage and community representation is key

The importance of community involvement and representation was a powerful theme that came up in almost all of the interviews. The consensus was that art work that involved and represented the community, had a greater benefit to the area than artwork that was less representative and was produced with little community engagement. In the literature, this view has also been supported by academics who argue that street art can support values and interests of the commissioning agent or gentrifier, and ultimately create a sense of

exclusion for the existing community which contributes to gentrification (Mathews, 2010:668).

IN03 argued that street art should reflect the culture, traditions and history of the long-standing communities in the area, and reflect the “living heritage” in these areas, which is already under threat due to gentrification displacing the poor and working class residents.

“Art in its diverse form can also be used to protect the living heritage of the local community (especially those who are longstanding residents/communities) and also in this way it displays the cultural significance of poor and working class communities in our areas. The 5th UNESCO principle on safeguarding intangible heritage states that access of communities and individuals to instruments, art, artefacts, cultural and natural spaces, and places of memory... is necessary for expressing the intangible cultural heritage [and] should be ensured. Developers come and build in our neighbourhood, gentrify our neighbourhood for profit and add to the loss of cultural intangible heritage. Most street art done is not about the people and is done so without the people who have for decades and generations been living in our suburbs of Woodstock and Salt River,” (IN03, Woodstock Chapter Leader, Reclaim The City).

IN01 also felt community involvement was necessary, especially considering the potential street art had to attract attention, and somewhat change the nature of residential areas.

“I think the one thing that I would change about the art work that has gone up is that, just chatting to the people who have lived around, they have got to live with it every day. You know, when they open their front door, that is the first thing that they see. And also they are going to come outside and there is going to be fashion shoots in front of the piece. It is just the reality of what happens. There is going to be community council events – because this is what is quite popular, people like to do that now. These certain things, that are going to follow the installation of this art piece, [is what] they have to live with every day. And I think that also needs to become an important part of putting up the piece. Or at least show them a picture of the art before you put it up, because there has been [times] where no one was told what kind of art work was put up. And once it is up, it is something they are going to have to live with,” (IN01, street art tour guide).

Some of the interviewees noted that the most meaningful murals needed to reflect the local heritage and long-standing community so that viewers might understand the area’s history, and the long-standing community can feel the art belongs to them.

“You have to ask people and you have to speak to people, especially if your work is in a residential area. So for me as soon as you get the owner or the kids and the neighbours involved and everybody starts working on the piece of public art together, appreciates it together, and creates that sense of belonging, then it forms part of that community. And elements of the community are going to be transmitted onto that wall,” (IN02, founder, Baz-Art).

“I want to sort of have my finger on the pulse of whatever community I am painting in. I want my work to leave long-lasting impressions on the whole community and not just my peers but from the kids to the grandfathers and grandmothers. I almost see my work as being a sort of time capsule of that time, that moment, that feeling and when people see it [they] kind of get taken back to that feeling,” (IN04, street artist).

Woodstock’s large Muslim community needs to be especially considered, as pointed out by some interviewees. According to IN05, while Woodstock and Salt River have generally very “liberal interpretations” about what art is allowed in the area, there has been a recent discussion concerning what art and subjects the Muslim community is comfortable with.

The process for applying for a legal permit for street art in Cape Town, entails the completion of the “Public Art Permit Application Form”. This requires the following:

- Statement of the purpose of the proposed art
- Details of the proposed art work (dimensions, location, materials to be used)
- An attached sketch of artwork
- Artist’s or organisation’s details
- Property owner’s details
- Property owner’s signed permission to allow artwork on property, and any conditions to be listed
- Signed permission from four neighbours, and any conditions to be listed
- Applicant’s details and signed declaration

According to IN05, most artwork is generally appreciated by the community, but there have been a few instances where work that has either gone up and later been removed due to community objections, or by vandalism. This includes a mural of “Staggies”, an infamous gangster who was killed in Salt River.

“They put up a mural regarding him, as a kind of hero, and that mural was attacked by the community... and that one they just burnt,” (IN05, Cape Town City Councillor, Ward 57).

In most cases, both IN05 and IN02 said that it’s the building or site of the art that gets objected to, rather than the sketch.

“In our experience we have never really had a sketch that has been rejected. We have had to comment on some sketches, and give a little bit more information, [but] usually it is buildings that are a problem. So ‘Heritage’ [Department] would say you cannot paint that building, either because it is heritage or about to be heritage or maybe considered that it could be heritage. So that is a hurdle,” (IN02, founder, Baz-Art).

“There was one of all the political leaders sitting on a toilet in a kiddies’ park, and that people objected to not because it was political leaders, but they felt a mural of people sitting on the toilet was just like stupid. So that one was opposed not on the grounds that it was political leaders but on the grounds of why do kids want to play in the park with a picture of people on the toilet,” (IN05, Cape Town City Councillor, Ward 57).

When asked whether interviewees felt that the street art in Woodstock and Salt River was representative in Woodstock and Salt River, there was a mix of responses. For IN04, the street art was considered generally unrepresentative due to the lack of artists from Salt River and Woodstock producing the art in this area. He believes that local artists from these areas need to be supported and should be influencing the work that is produced, as this would mean that art would be better equipped to represent the local community, rather than an outsider’s interpretation of the local community.

“So what is happening is that there are a lot of vehicles, creative vehicles that are commissioning artists and using street art and murals as a tool and as a way to get more tourism and make income off tourism... One of the things that has always been an issue for me is that these vehicles aren’t consciously involving Woodstock artists. That is something that I find a lot of people overlook when they trying to do something in the betterment of the community ... they tend to look over the community when it is time to actually do the work,” (IN04, street artist).

“Woodstock locals aren’t in charge. They are not the ones who are dictating what should be painted on the walls... It is normally white males and white females or whomever has resources to bring people together. And they bring artists from all around the world but, as I said, you can count the number of artists from Woodstock on one hand, probably not even. There is probably like one,” (IN04, street artist).

Other interviewees felt that some art was more representative than others. The Pangolin – by the world-renowned Belgium street artist, ROA – was one of the art pieces cited for being unrepresentative.

“Not every piece represents Woodstock’s or Salt River’s cultural heritage. Some pieces have – I’m going to say The Pangolin – have nothing to do with Salt River or Woodstock even though it was put there. But now it has become a landmark and it is appreciated as a landmark,” (IN02, founder, Baz-Art).

“Well, it is representative of South Africa because ROA always paints indigenous, endangered animals. So whatever country he goes to he paints indigenous, endangered animals. But no one knew what this animal was, which kind of raised the issue [of awareness], and which I think made it valuable, but the community had never seen or heard of pangolins,” (IN01, street art tour guide).

IN03, who said she was “undecided” on whether street art was representative of the community, pointed out that many of the murals in the area represented animals more than people.

“Most of the art that I have seen is not about the people who live, work and play in Woodstock. There are very few murals/paintings which depicts the traditions, culture, the norms, the memories of street life and community... There are more murals of animal rights, endangered animals (which is good too) but very little about people who have lived here all their lives and whose diverse culture and way of life is colourful and historical,” (IN03, Woodstock Chapter Leader, Reclaim The City).

According to IN02, Baz-Art is trying to encourage more community involvement by their artists producing work in the area, as well as during the festival. He explained that they are looking to work with the Salt River Heritage Society to help with informing artists about the heritage of the area, and its culture.

“We are always very open to a discussion around this because it is a question we face. I’ll give you an example from this year’s festival, and we have already been discussing it since last year [2019], it is to work hand-in-hand with the Salt River Heritage Society because we believe that if they can present not only the history of Salt River, but also the evolution of Salt River... then the artist could have a better sense of understanding the community and the people... There is appreciation for where you paint,” (IN02, founder, Baz-Art).

4.4.2. Stakeholder Theme 2: Multiple benefits of street art

Both artists and informed personnel were aware of the benefits the application of street art could have in revitalising an area. The benefits that emerged were similar to those that came from the surveys and the literature review, with improvements to the area’s aesthetics and increased tourism being some of the most commonly cited.

“Kwa-Langa is the perfect example of creating work or creating paintings that firstly beautified a certain space. I’ve painted in a lot of dump sites, where as soon as you paint people would say, ‘Okay let’s clean this up,’ and it stops being a dump site. There has been people who started gardens in front of the murals, and now on top of that it is like you have the tourism element and it is something else for people, other than just going to sites of pain and sites of trauma – and you can find something else to integrate and experience while you are on a tour,” (IN04, street artist).

“Street art decorates the grey walls of cities, becomes a strong vector of social cohesion and improvement of urban design and an interesting cultural movement. This brings the majority of the inhabitants together. And of course, the large tourist influx is good for the local economy,” (IN10, street artist).

Along with increased tourism, some interviewees also noted its benefits for businesses in the area, with street art being used for advertising, creating landmarks, and attracting customers or clients.

“A lot of people are actually approaching, offering wall space now. Because it kind of makes the building of their business a landmark as well. So there is a lot of that. A lot of graffiti artists are getting commissioned work, which is quite nice, with a lot of businesses having their wall space done – purely because it is such great advertising because people take so many pictures of the piece. So there is quite a bit of that,” (IN01, street art tour guide).

“I know and have seen street art change a community for the better. Street art now often brings foot traffic, tourists and helps to increase sales among local retailers. It has also, in many places, increased property values,” (IN06, street artist).

Another common benefit was its ability to provoke pride in areas, engage communities and people, and encourage public discussion. The perception that street art can create a “sense of community” was also noted by Colantonio and Dixon (2011 in Forte & De Paola, 2019:2) and a number of other researchers in the literature (Selwood, 1992:21 & Goodey, 1994 & Policy Studies Institute, 1994:38 in Hall & Robertson, 2001:7).

“What I love most is when a community is proud of a piece I have done for an area. I love it when locals take ownership of a piece,” (IN06, street artist).

“Art and street art is therapy. I grew up in an area with grey walls and back in the 90s writing on walls was protesting and completely not allowed. However, I walked to Mitchells Plain daily because I had breakdance practice. There I saw walls and walls with amazing murals, full colour productions with concepts and themes that carry through the different styles of each artist. It made me question everything. What is that, who did that and how can I do that? And once I got in to this game I realised how therapeutic it is to paint something beautiful and just leave it there for the community to enjoy in any way they want, and not claim too much ownership because it was the community’s artwork more than mine. Then also to see the therapeutic effects of colours on walls. Back then the walls we painted was used for meet up points for Park Jams, community-led meetings and just hang out spots for the youth. This is why I feel art/street art is therapy. And we need it a lot more right now,” (IN11, street artist).

“I would not have believed five years ago if anyone told me, but I believe it makes people speak to one another and exchange. I believe that it makes people feel proud of what they have on the wall. All the neighbours can be proud of the neighbour’s wall, and by being proud it also makes them keep the space safe and clean,” (IN02, founder, Baz-Art).

“I think it’s a start in the fostering and development of creative culture in South Africa in a way that is accessible and intuitive to emerging generations,” (IN09, street artist).

The notion that street art can also impact gang tagging and graffiti was also brought forward by IN05.

“Most of my career in council, my biggest problem throughout the ward has been crime and basically drugs... Gangsters are very comfortable marking turf, and those markings in terms of gang graffiti make them feel at home. By removing that, you make them uncomfortable... When they drive through an area and see graffiti, relating to their gang, they relax. And with the absence of it, they are more on edge... The first comment I got was, ‘If you put up a mural [on a] wall, people are just going to arrive and do graffiti [on it] ... Well, I will tell you only two or three were vandalised... But on the whole, the taggers don't tag on it, but tag around it, but even that is less. So I will tell you that it has had a positive effect of removing that stuff... [It is] about respecting someone else's piece of work,” (IN05, Cape Town City Councillor, Ward 57).

4.4.3. Stakeholder Theme 3: Artists and gentrification

“I think the politics behind public art, especially in Cape Town, is pretty intense and what I do has been used to sort of gentrify areas and I have unknowingly played a pretty intense role in that. I think it is important for us to voice our own opinions as artists because people immediately assume that we are not aware of what is actually happening where I think it is kind of the opposite,” (IN04, street artist).

Based on the interviews, it is apparent that artists are cognizant of the role their work can now play in gentrifying areas, and the paradoxical relationship they have with these areas. The majority of artists interviewed stated that areas like Woodstock and Salt River used to catch street artists' interests due to their nature, as there was less security, less council monitoring, more 'untouched' wall space, and many artists lived in the area. One artist referred to these areas as being “underground neighbourhoods”, suggesting these areas are beyond the norms of conventional areas, with an almost anti-establishment sense that might appeal to an artist's nature. This sentiment is in line with Ley's thesis that artists are typically attracted more to the socially diverse urban nodes than typical middle-class suburban areas (Ley, 2003:2534).

Furthermore, some of the artists interviewed acknowledged how their presence can lead to these areas becoming gentrified, which destroys the “underground” appeal of these areas, making them more mainstream. This also supports the literature that states how the lifestyles and aesthetics of artists and those with high cultural capital (who favour uniqueness, rather than mass-produced consumption) becomes “trendy” and attracts those with more economic capital, who in turn follow the artists to these areas, and cause a more commodified form of gentrification – ultimately displacing artists (Ley, 1980:256; Bridge, 2001:205; Bourdieu, 1984 in Rérat, 2018:104). In fact, a number of academics, highlighted in Chapter 2, note that the presence of artists in an area can be an early indicator of

gentrification, and is one of the strongest statistical predictors due to the economic valorisation of artists' aesthetic disposition (Cole, 1990 & Gale, 1984 & Ley, 1996 in Ley, 2003:2540).

IN04, in particular, was very candid on the issue.

"What you find is that by coming in and creating art work there, we also kind of get rid of the stigma of fear and crime because we as artists are living there. I think it is easier for creatives to become part of a community because we create work that represents that community and helps the community get to know us in an easier and more comfortable way. So what tends to happen is that we will live there and are welcomed by the community, but by living there we make the community seem a little more "trendy", you know, or make it [appealing for] people who like to live vicariously through artists, which will probably be like your high income, what's the word, like yuppies, or professionals who work office jobs but idealise a creative lifestyle. So after the artists move in then they follow. And once they follow, that is when a lot of property developers like to get involved. So something like that has happened in Woodstock and in Salt River," (IN04, street artist).

"Because artists live nearby, because at one point the area would have been more affordable. Unfortunately, to my knowledge, the area is now very gentrified and I'm presuming that the mural culture and nice up of art in the neighbourhood will have contributed to this," (IN08, street artist).

The changing nature of these areas not only pushes out artists that are considered responsible for initiating the urban changes, but also changes the nature of the street art. For instance, IN01 said that there are not many street artists from Woodstock and Salt River due to changes in the production of street art, and the costly barriers to entry. For example, artists more often require a portfolio and experience to get considered for work to produce in these areas, and need funds for quality and durable materials. This could mean that potential entrants into the field are limited to those with resources.

"At the moment there isn't many up-and-coming artists in Salt River. Look graffiti art has become very popular with more of the 'art school' kind of vibe... When this whole thing started it was very much a part of the hip-hop community in Cape Town... We had a house quite near the railway line which is behind where the Old Biscuit Mill is now... and [artist names retracted] used to pop in at our house while they were going on these spraying raids and it was a lot of fun. And that element has disappeared, because times are different now. Now it is such an expensive game to get into. I mean, it also has economic factors to it," (IN01, street art tour guide).

Some of the artists noted that street art today is being actively pursued by investors, developers and various organisations to increase property prices and gentrify these areas. This supports Zukin's 'artistic mode of production' (Zukin, 1982 in Mathews, 2010:661)

where investors use art to attract capital to the property market. The literature also noted that flagship developments often allocate large budgets to commission nationally or internationally renowned artists (Selwood, 1995b in Hall & Robertson, 2001:8).

“When Woodstock was granted a ‘blanket permit’ for graffiti art in the 2000s, it was predominantly a marketing strategy of gentrification, universally prevalent in other sister cities – New York, London, Berlin. Myself and a handful of Capetonian artists were commissioned by stakeholders to paint the blank walls as an advertisement to bring popular culture, to attract a younger generation & tourists. As the areas’ popularity grew, we understood the economic impact the developments had on residents and withdrew from painting for the purpose thereof, choosing to heal the community,” (IN07, street artist).

“In Salt River they have consciously used mural art to try and increase the value of property or increase the appeal of the area, which is pretty crazy because I have obviously grown up in Cape Town, and I have painted a lot in Woodstock and I just remember my paintings not lasting. I remember painting, and you would have to get there in the morning, take a picture or else your painting is gone, kind of thing. And now it is just different. Now I am being commissioned by agencies, or advertising agencies. I’ve done projects for the City of Cape Town, and so now it is becoming a way for people to actively increase the value and appeal of an area. So it is definitely a double-edged sword,” (IN04, street artist).

Part of the contradiction for artists is that they are also aware of how beneficial their artwork can be for communities. Often the original murals done in these areas were for free, with the aim of improving the environment. But the irony is that once street art starts becoming more of a trend in these areas, and artists start being able to earn a living off it through commissioned work, that is generally during a process of gentrification. Much of the commissioned work that street artists receive are through private investors, developers and businesses, rather than through community initiatives.

“As an artist it hurts quite a lot to know that while I always try to work to sort of mirror the community and create a dialogue, that work has served as kind of the tip of the spear for gentrification. So now in regards to the projects I am doing in Langa, I am stepping into that space but I am just very conscious of the negative effect my work could have, or the negative effect of what we are trying to do could have,” (IN04, street artist).

4.4.4. Stakeholder Theme 4: City of Cape Town could do more to protect long-standing communities

A number of interviewees brought up the topic of whether the City of Cape Town should be doing more to protect long-standing communities from gentrifications, for example, by introducing more ‘checks’ in place to ensure that street art is representative of these communities, and that new developments in the area also benefit existing communities,

rather than just an outsider.

“I just feel like the City didn’t come to the table with regards to protecting those spaces, like subsidising people’s existence in Woodstock. It just became a free for all... you may own the property but the rates are too high for you to even live on the property and I think that is the City just being irresponsible,” (IN04, street artist).

“A lot of the development is focused on a market that does not currently live there... All the shops, the style of everything, the kind of shops that are opening, are all aimed at attracting a different market, other than the people who currently live there. And that, for me, I find a bit worrying. (IN01, street art tour guide).

IN01 expressed concern that the politicians and city officials are more interested in developing Salt River and Woodstock for a new incomer to the area, than in improving some of the social necessities facing the long-standing community.

“What makes me angry, though, is how they clean up the area when it starts becoming valuable. When I was a child, they used to shoot people in the road. I watched them pull out guns and shoot people in the road. Those were how the gangs were... No one did anything. The police didn’t do anything. But I have been living in Salt River for the last couple of years and they have this organisation called the Woodstock Improvement Districts, they are like private security. And they cleaned up Woodstock and now they cleaned up Salt River... We are quite happy that they have made the area safer but it is so sad that they are only making it safe for that future market that the development is aimed at. When it was public safety for people who don’t have that kind of spending power, then it wasn’t important. And that for me was the shocking bit,” (IN01, street art tour guide).

One of the artists noted that the city of Denver, in the United States, had looked at strategies to protect the local artists in RiNo (the River North Art District in Denver, Colorado) that were being displaced by gentrification in the area, and had issued a tax on all new businesses to specifically fund art. While this strategy might bring in work opportunities that support local artists, it might be less effective in preventing displacement. The key idea behind this strategy is that the existing community benefits from the new developments and growing economy in the area too.

“Gentrification is a huge issue. I think that Denver has done a great job in their RiNo area. The artists went there, made it cool and then... everyone moved in and property prices went up. Denver has issued a tax on all of the new businesses in the area to go directly to pay for art in the area. Their goal is to fund amazing art and to continue to support the artistic people who made the area cool in the first place... So it is possible to help and to avoid displacement of artists – and I think this is one of the ways to do it. It’s a local government initiative. I really think the government needs to be involved and you need someone in a position of power making the decisions to help the local community,” (IN06, street artist).

When asked whether the City of Cape Town would consider using street art as a tool to revitalise areas for local communities, IN05 explained that while some parks had been painted, there simply was not the budget to do much more.

“It is not high on the list. We did a lot of work in Langa... but the budget for the city commissioning [street art]? I wish you luck! I will tell you now you will be lucky to get a budget for 2022. If you aren't health services, you can laugh off a budget,” (IN05, Cape Town City Councillor, Ward 57).

4.5. Data findings

Based on the presentation of the data from each data collection method above, as well as a look at the literature, three key findings have emerged from this research.

Finding 1: Street art is generally appreciated, but representation matters

It was undoubtedly clear that respondents from both the street surveys and the business surveys perceived street art as a positive force.

Of the 161 respondents surveyed at each of the street art survey sites, 92.5% of all respondents liked the art they were being asked about. In one instance, a passer-by at the Pangolin street art site, thought the researcher was petitioning to get the street art removed and rather angrily yelled, “Leave the art alone!”

In the survey with business owners and property professionals, around 68% of 108 respondents indicated that the street art in the area impacted their operations favourably, while only 2% indicated an unfavourable impact (and the remaining 30% indicating a neither favourable or unfavourable response).

Common reasons cited for the positive sentiment towards art include its benefits to revitalising an area (to be discussed in further detail under ‘Finding 2’ below), an appreciation for creative talent, and a desire to support art and artists.

However, a predominant theme that emerged from both the street surveys and the business surveys, as well as from the semi-structured interviews, is that community representation matters. From the qualitative responses, it is clear that street art is especially appreciated for its ability to speak to, and of, communities and culture. Street art’s ability to create a “sense of community” was also noted in the literature (Selwood, 1992:21 & Goodey, 1994 & Policy Studies Institute, 1994:38 in Hall & Robertson, 2001:7). This

sentiment was particularly seen in the survey concerning the Kaapse Klopse art, which contains subjects that reflects the neighbouring community. And while most art is appreciated, respondents seemed to be able to identify which art spoke to, and reflected, a long-standing community, and which art was aimed at achieving other goals, like improving aesthetics or making an area “trendy”.

Even IN03, who was critical of the representation seen in much of the street art in Woodstock and Salt River, noted that street art can be a powerful force for preserving history and culture, when done with community participation and involvement.

“Street art plays an important role in an area because it tells us about the culture, the traditions, the history and the living memories/heritage of the people and the area/neighbourhood. It tells us about the lifestyle and the things that matter most to people. It allows us to reimagine, and to share our living experiences with others. It also allows us to be innovative as well as [be] creative in thinking about our neighbourhood and community. It allows us freedom of expression which is a right that we protested for and struggled for (historically in our history of dispossession/displacement) for more than 300 years,” (IN03, Woodstock Chapter Leader, Reclaim The City).

Finding 2: Street art is a tool for regeneration

The second key finding from the research was that street art is considered a tool for urban regeneration, which seems in line with Florida’s ‘Creative Cities’ thesis (2002) as well as various other research outlined in the literature review (Selwood, 1992:21 & Goodey, 1994 & Policy Studies Institute, 1994:38 in Hall & Robertson, 2001:7).

The most commonly cited benefit of street art, and mentioned across surveys and the semi-structured interviews, was its ability to improve the aesthetics of an area, and present the area as a “creative hub”.

“It definitely serves to liven up the area, in particular where buildings are old or not painted very interestingly or the architecture is bland. For big walls on office blocks it can add a lot of vibrancy to the area and signifies the creative and cultural diversity of the space. I believe it should be encouraged if not actively commissioned. Companies like Dale Glen have done lovely work integrating street artists with their buildings such as Mason’s Press and Salt Circle Arcade and this comes across as really progressive and inclusive” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

This notion of street art turning the area into a “creative hub” was common amongst respondents in the business and property professionals survey. Many noted that street art

gave the area a competitive advantage that could assist it in standing out from other areas, and attracting companies and professionals, particularly those in the creative sector.

“It is uplifting, creative and inspiring to those who live and/or work in the area. It defines Woodstock/Salt River as a creative hub” (Respondent, business survey, short-term business owner).

Other commonly cited benefits of street art in regenerating an area include its ability to:

- Attract tourism and visitors
- Attract investment and businesses
- Create landmarks and marketing the area
- Reduce crime and gang-related graffiti
- Improve the perception of the area
- Stimulate job creation
- Encourage public discussion and debate
- Contribute to a sense of community

Finding 3: But there is a gentrifying effect; and City Council should get involved

The final major finding in this research is that street art has contributed to gentrification in the area. It is clear, having looked at historical sales and municipal values in the area, that residential values have increased at a much faster pace than in neighbouring areas.

It is also apparent that many of the street artists in the semi-structured interviews are aware of how their murals are used to gentrify areas, and some have a complicated relationship with their profession as a result. Many shared how their love of street art came from its ability to bring joy, unify people and stimulate discussion.

“I have witnessed the power of art over the past 30 years of my professional career as an artist. During its formative years, it was as a language and means of expression, whereas the purpose has shifted to communicating uplifting messages to educate the public. Public art is referred to by practitioners as graffiti or aerosol art, because of the origin – a universally-practiced culture called Hip Hop. The practice of Hip Hop created a social, economic and political platform for diverse people to unite. Art is a collective consciousness, a response to the environment, that brings power out in people” (IN07, street artist).

“Art has the power to mobilize people, influence people or just bring some loveliness. It can also gentrify an area...” (IN08, street artist).

According to Ley, it is the economic valorisation of the aesthetic disposition of the artist which often leads to the increase in property prices (Ley, 2003:2540). Zukin's concept of 'artistic mode of production', where investors and developers use art to attract capital to real estate (Zukin, 1982 in Mathews, 2010:661), was also epitomised by a number of artists and some business and property professionals stating that street art was being commissioned for this purpose.

While many artists might ultimately be displaced by the gentrification that they unwillingly created, the property market is still able to capitalise off "the memory of artists and the commodity of the artist milieu" (Mathews, 2010:665-666).

As noted by IN03, this means that street art's ability to unite communities, can ultimately lead to division and displacement.

"Even art has been used to racially and spatially divide communities," (IN03, Woodstock Chapter Leader, Reclaim The City).

Researchers, as highlighted in the literature review, have noted that public art can ultimately support the values and interests of the commissioning agent or gentrifier due to the selection process behind the art content, for example through municipal or corporate applications – and result in a sense of exclusion for the existing community (Bailey et al, 2004; Sharp et al, 2005 in Mathews, 2010:668).

One solution perceived by a handful of respondents is to assist street art in being more of a benefit to long-standing communities, rather than detriment, was for the City of Cape Town to have a more active role in the process. This would mean going beyond just getting permission for the erection of street art from property owners and neighbours in the area.

According to IN01, it has felt like the City of Cape Town was more interested in improving the environment for a wealthier, future resident, than they were for long-standing residents.

"We had a launch [of street artwork] and we had the ambassador for the French consulate there, and then [politician name retracted] was there, and this woman turned around to me and she said, 'You know what, when this community is in need, we don't see these people. They don't come out when our local schools need aid.' And that is also another issue that is also surrounding this," (IN01, street art tour guide).

4.6. Chapter summary

This chapter presented the data collected in this research, which included various documents and reports around the property market, 161 street surveys at four different street art sites, 108 surveys with business and property professionals, and 11 semi-structured interviews with informed people, such as artists, tour guides and relevant leaders. The overall findings revealed that there is a strong appreciation for street art, representation matters when it comes to preserving heritage and long-standing communities, and that street art plays a role in both urban regeneration and gentrification. It is suggested that the City Council should explore strategies to better safeguard community representation in art and to protect the long-standing community from its gentrifying effects.

5. CONCLUSION

This research set out to explore the relationship between street art, urban regeneration and gentrification in the context of Woodstock and Salt River. It used a mixed-method approach, with a variety of different qualitative and quantitative data collection methods – including four street surveys at four different mural sites, a survey with business owners and property professionals, semi-structured interviews with street artists and informed people and site visits, as well as an analysis of the literature and an assortment of different documents and reports pertaining to the property market in this area.

An analysis of the findings of each data collection method was presented – using descriptive statistics to interpret the quantitative data, and thematic analysis for the qualitative data. The overarching findings of all the research were then presented.

The data was analysed and presented using Nvivo 12 and Excel, and it is quite clear from the qualitative data that data saturation was achieved, and the themes became unmistakable.

These assisted in meeting the research objectives. Each of these will be briefly discussed below.

5.1. Assessing the extent of which the research objectives were met

5.1.1. Objective 1

Explore the link between street art, urban regeneration and gentrification in the academic literature.

The literature review in Chapter 2 took a look at the academic research concerning the link between street art, gentrification and urban regeneration. It began by introducing the concept of gentrification and the debate around its various perceived causes, from a production versus consumption point of view. It then looked at the concepts of ‘cultural capital’ and the ‘creative class’ and the literature around its role in gentrification, before focusing on Ley’s research around the impact of the artist and the artistic aesthetic. Finally, it considered literature around whether street art could be used as a tool for urban regeneration to benefit local and vulnerable communities, or if it ultimately leads to their displacement.

5.1.2. Objective 2

Identify evidence of both urban regeneration and gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River and explore the extent to which street art played a role in this.

This report has looked at average historical sales, office rentals and municipal values in Woodstock and Salt River, and compared this to neighbouring areas. This data – while in no way perfect – does suggest that property values in Woodstock and Salt River are growing faster than in neighbouring markets, especially residential areas.

The role that street art played in this was then explored through qualitative survey questions and semi-structured interviews with a broad range of participants. From this, it became increasingly apparent that street art is perceived by business owners, property professionals, long-standing residents, visitors, artists and informed people as playing a significant role in revitalising the area. It's relationship to displacement caused by gentrification was only marginally considered by respondents of the street surveys and business surveys, but was delved into in more depth within the semi-structured interviews, with those who have played a more active role in street art and the community. In particular, street artists seem acutely aware of its effects on gentrifying a market.

5.1.3. Objective 3

Explore the various perceptions surrounding the area's street art by both newcomers in an area and long-standing community members.

Going into this research, it was perhaps an assumption that long-standing community members and newcomers to the area would perceive street art differently. However, the different survey results revealed a major support and appreciation of street art, regardless of whether respondents lived in the area, worked in the area or were visiting; owned or rented property; or had a new or a long-standing business.

5.1.4. Objective 4

Determine whether street art in the area is a benefit or detriment to long-standing residents and businesses in Woodstock and Salt River, and whether some street art is more, or less, beneficial or detrimental than others.

The data results suggests the answer to this question is perhaps more complicated than being able to simply stamp street art as either “good” or “bad”. As mentioned, the survey

and semi-structured interview results revealed a huge appreciation of street art by respondents, with a number of benefits cited. These include its ability to:

- Improve the aesthetics of the area.
- Distinguish an area as a 'creative hub'
- Attract tourism and visitors
- Attract investment and businesses
- Create landmarks and marketing the area
- Reduce crime and gang-related graffiti
- Improve the perception of an area
- Stimulate job creation
- Encourage public discussion and debate
- Contribute to a sense of community
- Support the arts and artists

These perceived benefits matched up with the academic literature, in particular the work by Ley and Florida.

All four street mural sites were generally appreciated by respondents of the street surveys, despite being considerably different based on location, subject matter, visual appearance and whether being done by local or foreign artists. However, it became apparent from the qualitative data collected that they were appreciated for different reasons. While art was generally appreciated for its skills, ability to improve aesthetic and engage the public, it became clear that community representation matters. In this sense, the art can play a larger role in protecting the heritage and culture of local communities, while still revitalising the area.

A handful of respondents felt that the City of Cape Town Municipality should play a more active role in ensuring art represents and speaks to local communities, culture and histories.

5.2. Revisiting the research questions

The overall question that this research aimed to answer is:

What role does street art play in both urban regeneration and gentrification in Woodstock and Salt River?

To answer the overarching research question, this research focused on Woodstock and Salt River, two areas in Cape Town which have experienced both a rise in the number of street art murals, as well as gentrification and urban regeneration. Three sub-questions were identified to assist in answering the research question within this context.

- 1) *What are the perceived economic, social and cultural impacts of street art on the suburbs of Woodstock and Salt River?*
- 2) *How has the establishment of street art in Woodstock and Salt River been beneficial to the local community?*
- 3) *How has the establishment of street art in Woodstock and Salt River been detrimental to the local community?*

Since these questions cannot be adequately answered solely via quantitative data and qualitative data – a mixed method approach was deemed most appropriate in this study.

The street surveys at the four different street mural sites, the survey with business owners and property professionals and the semi-structured interviews with informed people were aimed at addressing both sub-questions.

In terms of the first sub-question, the following perceived economic, social and cultural impacts of street art were uncovered in the research.

Table 22: Perceived economic, social and cultural impacts of street art

<p>Economic impacts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improves the aesthetics of run-down areas - Gentrifies areas, causing displacement - Act as a tool for urban regeneration - Attracts tourists, investors and visitors - Creates jobs - Is good for businesses - Can have a knock-on effect that improves the area’s security - Provides a competitive advantage for the area (i.e. its reputation as a creative hub)
<p>Social and cultural impacts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reflects heritage and culture of long-standing community. - Erodes local culture and community heritage by catering to an outsider or in-mover - Acts as a deterrent for gang graffiti - Tells stories of the community’s history to visitors and later generations - Encourages and nurtures artists and creativity - Encourages public discussion and debate - Contributes to a sense of community

In reference to the second sub-question, it is clear from the data analysis that street art is perceived positively by the local community, and that it is considered as being generally beneficial in terms of its economic, social and cultural impacts. However, the data analysis also revealed street art's contributing role in gentrification, and the harmful effects this can have on long-standing community members.

5.3. Reflection on the proposition

The introductory chapter of this research highlighted the controversy surrounding gentrification, especially within the context of South Africa where those that are displaced tend to be previously disadvantaged communities under the past Apartheid regime. Municipalities are therefore tasked with trying to regenerate areas without causing displacement.

The research proposition is summarised as follows:

A better understanding of the perceived role street art plays within both urban regeneration and gentrification in the South African context will allow decision makers to make more informed decisions surrounding urban regeneration that will be more beneficial for existing communities.

Based on the semi-structured interviews, particularly with IN02 (the co-founder of Baz-Art) and IN05 (the city councillor for part of the study area), it is clear that the City of Cape Town has played a role in the increased number of street murals in Woodstock and Salt River, in particular with supporting the IPAF and Baz-Art's street art drive. The literature review, as well as some data from the surveys and interviews, suggest a link between street art and gentrification. However, it also emerged from the findings that street art can play a role in protecting the heritage and culture of local communities, while still revitalising the area. Furthermore, some respondents felt that the City of Cape Town Municipality should play a more active role in ensuring art represents and speaks to local communities, culture and histories in order to better preserve and protect the heritage of these areas.

5.4. Recommendations for further research

While the link between street art and both urban regeneration and gentrification have been well established in the literature, and explored in this thesis; it would be interesting to consider how its role compared to other catalysts such as tax incentives for developers. For instance, if Woodstock and Salt River had never had parts designated as UDZs, would street

art's role in changing the perception of the area have been so pronounced? Perhaps further studies into this, in a South African landscape, would be beneficial in better understanding cause and effect.

However, based on this research, there is a clear need for future studies to focus on the role of governments and municipalities. One of the findings of this research was that the City of Cape Town should be more involved in ensuring that street art is more representative of the local community, and plays a role in preserving history and culture. However, little is understood about what strategies South African municipalities should deploy to ensure this. Should they be fostering a community of local artists who grew up in the area? Should they set up community committees to decide which art should be allowed, and which art should not? Should they be setting up a similar strategy to that seen in Denver's Rino area, where all new businesses pay a levy that goes towards supporting local artists in the area?

It is clear that further research is needed into this, and with specific understanding of the challenges and requirements of South African municipalities, which have much smaller budgets than those in Europe and the Americas. Furthermore, it would also be interesting for future research in Woodstock and Salt River to explore whether property values in closer proximity to street art saw a faster rise in property values than properties further away, and whether street art had a larger impact on commercial or residential properties.

5.5. Concluding remarks

This research aimed to explore the relationship between street art, gentrification and urban regeneration within the South African context. The study focused specifically on Cape Town's Woodstock and Salt River areas in order to ascertain how the area's high prevalence of street art affects long-standing community members, business owners and in-movers to the area with the hope that this would assist in more informed decisions around urban regeneration for policy makers and local government. A mixed-method research methodology was applied, consisting of 161 street surveys with passerbys at four different street art sites, 108 surveys with business owners and property professionals, and 11 semi-structured interviews with informed people such as artists, tour guides, city councillors and organisation and protest leaders. The findings revealed a strong positive sentiment towards street art by the various participating groups (including long-standing community members

and business owners) and a perception that street art does, and can, play a powerful role in regenerating run-down areas. However, it also revealed that cultural and historical representation in street art is important in preserving long-standing communities and that local government strategies and participation should be further explored to curb its gentrifying effect that may cause vulnerable members of the long-standing community to be displaced.

Appendix B: Street survey at selected street art sites

Street Survey – Site: _____

Please circle one:

1) Do you live in Salt River or Woodstock? **Yes / No**
- If yes, do you rent or own property? **Rent / Own**

2) Do you work in Woodstock or Salt River? **Yes / No**

3) Are you just visiting/passing through the area? **Yes / No**
- If yes, why are you visiting?
 Shopping
 Business
 Leisure (bars/restaurants)
 Tourism
 Other _____ Please specify

4) Do you like this piece of art? Why? What does it mean to you?

5) Do you feel like it affects this area in anyway? If so, how?

Please circle one:

6) Would you like to live near art like this? **Yes / No**

7) Would you like to see [**more / same amount / less**] art like this?

Appendix C: Semi-structured questions for street artists

1. Who commissioned your art in Salt River or Woodstock?
 - a) A community group or organisation
 - b) A property developer or business owner
 - c) The Cape Town City Council or municipality
 - d) No-one, I commissioned it myself.
 - e) Other (please specify)
2. Where did you draw inspiration behind your work? (*What story did you try to tell?*)
3. Was there a process of approval behind your art? (*Did you have to submit a design for approval? To whom did you have to get approval from?*)
4. Did your design change at all from your initial concept? *If so, why?*
5. Why do you think there is a high prevalence of street art in Woodstock and Salt River?
6. What role do you think street/public art plays in an area?

Appendix D: Semi-structured questions for city councillor

- 1) Who decides which street art is allowed in areas like Woodstock and Salt River?
- 2) What are the processes involved in getting street art achieved?
- 3) Why is some art allowed and some art rejected?
- 4) Has the municipality or Cape Town City Council ever commissioned street art in Woodstock or Salt River? (If so, why?)
- 5) Why is there a high prevalence of street art in Woodstock and Salt River?
- 6) What role do you think street/public art plays in an area?

Appendix E: Semi-structured questions for key informants (tour guides and related organisation leaders)

- 1) To what extent do you agree with this statement: street art in Woodstock is representative of the local culture in Woodstock?
 - a) Strongly agree
 - b) Agree
 - c) Undecided
 - d) Disagree
 - e) Strongly disagree
- 2) Please explain your answer for question 1.
- 3) Is there any street art you believe is very representative of the local culture in Woodstock? Why?
- 4) Is there any street art you believe is not representative of the local culture in Woodstock? Why?
- 5) Has your organisation or group ever commissioned street art in Woodstock or Salt River? (If so, why?)
- 6) Why do you think there is a high prevalence of public/street art in Woodstock and Salt River?
- 7) What role do you think street/public art plays in an area?

Appendix F: Introduction to the online survey with business people and property professionals

Street art and the impact on businesses in Woodstock and Salt River

Survey for businesses operating in Woodstock and Salt River in Cape Town

I am a student at the University of Cape Town, currently completing my final year of my Masters in Property Studies. I am doing my research dissertation on the effects of public or street art (particularly street murals) in urban renewal in Woodstock and Salt River.

Part of my research draws from the thought leadership of business owners and property professionals operating in the area and how they feel the existing street or public art impacts their business operations. Should you like to participate in this research, please complete the questionnaire below. **Your participation will remain completely anonymous.** For more information about the intentions and procedures of this research, please email kate.dougie@gmail.com

The definition of public or street art, for the purpose of this research, is professional, skilled and one-of-a-kind art in a public space, which is accessible to the public and meant to engage the public (whether it is liked or not). It could be paid for or produced for free but there should be some kind of public inclusion in the process (such as permission from property owners, City of Cape Town, neighbours, developers or community groups/organisations). This art can be in the form of street murals, sculptures, statues, installations or performances.

Appendix G: Copy of the signed ethics in research approval form

Application for Approval of Ethics in Research (EIR) Projects
Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town

ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

Please Note:

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application **prior** to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the **EBE Ethics in Research Handbook** (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: <http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/ebe/research/ethics1>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	Kathlyn Sarah Douglas	
Department	Department of Construction Economics & Management	
Preferred email address of applicant:	Kate.dougie@gmail.com	
If Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.	MSc in Property Studies
	Credit Value of Research: e.g., 60/120/180/360 etc.	60
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Kathy Michell
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship	N/A	
Project Title	Investigating effects of street art in urban regeneration and the local community in Woodstock & Salt River	

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

APPLICATION BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Kathlyn Sarah Douglas	Signature Removed	19/05/2020
SUPPORTED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	KATHY MICHELL	Signature Removed	22/05/2020
APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (Including Honours).	Louie van Schalkwyk	Signature Removed	11 June 2020
Chair: Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the questions in Section 1.	Louie van Schalkwyk	Signature Removed	11 June 2020

Appendix H: Research Participation Consent Form



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH

Investigating the effects of street art in urban regeneration and the local community in Woodstock and Salt River

Dear potential participant;

You are being invited in a research study conducted by Kathlyn (Kate) Sarah Douglas, a MSc. in Property Studies student at the University of Cape Town. The research is supervised by Prof. Kathy Michell of the University of Cape Town and the results of the study will be presented to the Department of Construction Economics and Management in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MSc. in Property Studies in Construction Economics and Management.

If you have any question or concern about the research, please feel free to contact me, Kate Douglas, at kate.dougie@gmail.com or 083 456 1419. The research supervisor, Kathy Michell may also be contacted at kathy.michell@uct.ac.za.

Purpose of the study

The primary aim of the study is to better understand the role street art played in Woodstock and Salt River's gentrification and renewal, and how it effects existing community members, business owners and in-movers, with the hope that this would better inform decisions around urban regeneration.

Procedures

Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you volunteer to participate in the study, we would consult you to agree a time and method that would be suitable for an interview. While regulations are changing quickly concerning what is, and what is not, allowed under the current COVID-19 health crisis, all interviews will be conducted under social distancing practices. There are a number of interview options available. Interviews can be conducted via email, telephone or online video chat platforms such as Zoom or Skype. Face-to-face interviews can also be conducted should it be legally permissible under the COVID-19 lockdown environment, on the condition that both researcher and participants adhere to social distancing guidelines. This means that all parties are to wear face masks, keep at least 1.5m apart, disinfect any surfaces they touch, and carry a 70% alcohol-based hand sanitizer for regular sanitizing.

All verbal interviews will be recorded and a transcript of the interview will be made available, should you wish to see it, after six months. Prior to all interviews, there will be a discussion on the extent to which you would like to reveal your identity for the research, and which characteristics you wish to keep concealed in the research (i.e. organisations you work for/are involved in; specific artwork you are responsible for producing/approving; etc).

Potential benefits to participants

At your request, the anonymised research findings will be shared to you.

Confidentiality

Every effort shall be made to ensure confidentiality of any identifying information obtained in the connection with this study and safeguard any proprietary information. A discussion on the extent of anonymising the research and which identifying characteristics you wish to keep concealed (i.e. organisations you work for/are involved in; specific artwork you are responsible for producing/approving; etc.) will be had prior to any interviews. For instance, you may wish for your name to be excluded, but your organization mentioned (i.e. be described as “a member of Cape Town City Council”) or have neither your name or organization name mentioned, but just your job role (i.e. “a property developer” or “long-standing business owner” in the area or “member of a community group”). Should your preference change at any time during the course of research, please do not hesitate to contact me and I will make changes.

Confidentiality of all information gathered will be maintained. All interview recordings and transcripts will be stored in a password-protected computer, in a locked room. Each interviewee shall be assigned a four-character code, consisting of two letters and two numbers e.g. IN08. These codes shall be randomly assigned and have no relation to your personal information or the company that you work for. The information gathered through the interview process will be used solely for this research purpose. The raw data of the interview will only be known to the student/researcher.

Potential Risks and Discomforts

While you will not be asked to indulge sensitive information, you will be asked to share your experiences, views and knowledge on this topic. However, since gentrification is a controversial topic and political in nature, there is the potential that your perspectives could cause conflict with other members of the community, interested parties or organisations. You may choose not to answer any questions, and to leave your name and your organisation’s name out of the research should you perceive any risk.

Withdrawal & Rights of Research Participants

You may choose to withdraw from this study at any time of your wish. You may also refuse to answer any question that you do not want to answer. You are not waiving any legal claims or rights because of your participation in this study. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance from the University of Cape Town.

Signature of Research Participant

I have read the information provided for the research as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfactions, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form. I have provided either written or verbal consent for verbal interviews to be recorded.

Name of Participant (please print)

Company of Participant

Signature of Participant

Appendix I: Tree node breakdown – street surveys

Name	Generation	Files	References
Street Survey 1 - Victoria Street, Pangolin			
Q4 RESPONDENT COMMENT Do you like this piece of art? Why? What does it mean to you?	1	1	36
Doesn't like art	2	1	1
Does not like aesthetics	3	1	1
Likes art	2	1	31
Admires talent	3	1	5
Appreciates art	3	1	2
Attracts visitors and tourists	3	1	2
Cool or trendy	3	1	1
Improves aesthetics	3	1	7
Interesting, unique or something different	3	1	3
Landmark	3	1	1
Likes the content	3	1	3
Likes the symbolism behind content	3	1	5
Unsure	2	1	4
Unsure of subject relevance	3	1	1
Q5 RESPONDENT COMMENT Do you feel like it affects this area in anyway? If so, how?	1	1	36
No	2	1	9
Response unknown or unanswered	2	1	3
Unsure	2	1	2
Some art is great, not all	3	1	1
Yes and no	2	1	1
Yes, negative way	2	1	1
Gentrification	3	1	1
Yes, no reason given	2	1	2
Yes, positive way	2	1	17
Adds to vibe	3	1	1
Fits in with creative feel	3	1	1
For upcoming artists	3	1	1
Gives area attention or markets area	3	1	2
Improves aesthetic of area	3	1	4
Inspires people to do art	3	1	1
Interests people	3	1	1
Landmark	3	1	1
Likes painting or art	3	1	1
Makes area interesting	3	1	2
Makes area unique	3	1	1
People see it and admire it	3	1	4
Suits the area	3	1	1
Street Survey 2 - Old Biscuit Mill, Xxxtentacion			
Q4 RESPONDENT COMMENT Do you like this piece of art? Why? What does it mean to you?	1	1	58
Doesn't like Xxxtentacion art	2	1	2
Dark	3	1	1
No reason provided	3	1	1
Likes Xxxtentacion art	2	1	50
Appreciates art	3	1	2
Improves aesthetics	3	1	1
Improves vibe of area	3	1	1
Likes symbolism or subject of art	3	1	25
Likes talent	3	1	4
No reason provided	3	1	14
Showcases talent	3	1	1
Suits the area	3	1	2
Uplifts area	3	1	2
Unsure or impartial or unclear	2	1	6
Doesn't like symbolism or subject	3	1	2
Gentrification	3	1	1
It is different	3	1	1
No real meaning	3	1	1
Not very interesting when compared to other art	3	1	1

Q5 RESPONDENT COMMENT Do you feel like it affects this area in anyway? If so, how?	1	1	58
No - no reason	2	1	10
Unsure	2	1	5
Unsure of relevance to culture of community	3	1	1
Yes - negatively	2	1	2
Gentrification	3	1	1
Yes - no reason	2	1	1
Yes - positively	2	1	39
Artistic	3	1	4
Attracts people to area	3	1	1
Better than graffiti	3	1	1
Brings culture to area	3	1	1
Gives area character	3	1	3
Good for tourism	3	1	1
Improves aesthetics	3	1	9
Improves vibe	3	1	5
Makes area more interesting	3	1	1
No graffiti	3	1	1
Represents people	3	1	2
Showcases artistic talent	3	1	1
Shows hope	3	1	1
Symbolism	3	1	2
Thought provoking	3	1	2
Uplifts	3	1	2
Street Survey 3 - Swift Street, Kaapse Klopse			
Q4 RESPONDENT COMMENT Do you like this piece of art? Why? What does it mean to you?	1	1	31
Likes Kaapse Klopse art	2	1	29
Adds value	3	1	1
Appreciates art	3	1	2
Appreciates talent	3	1	1
Attracts people	3	1	1
Better than graffiti	3	1	1
Deters graffiti	3	1	1
Has meaning	3	1	2
Improves aesthetic	3	1	5
Reflects community and history	3	1	10
Represents culture	3	1	9
Uplifts area	3	1	2
Watched art take place	3	1	1
Unsure, vague, indifferent	2	1	2
Q5 RESPONDENT COMMENT Do you feel like it affects this area in anyway? If so, how?	1	1	31
No - but thinks impact refers to a bad thing	2	1	1
Unclear, vague	2	1	3
Yes - no reason	2	1	1
Yes - positively	2	1	26
Attracts tourism and people	3	1	3
Deters graffiti	3	1	2
Good for children	3	1	4
Improves aesthetic	3	1	5
Interesting	3	1	1
Makes area unique	3	1	1
Reflects community, history and culture	3	1	8
Relatable	3	1	1
Showcases talent	3	1	1
Tells a story	3	1	2
Uplifts	3	1	1

Street Survey 4 - Cecil and Swift Street, Frog Prince			
Q4 RESPONDENT COMMENT Do you like this piece of art? Why? What does it mean to you?	1	1	36
Doesn't like art	2	1	3
Doesn't tell story	3	1	1
Not aesthetically appealing	3	1	3
Likes Frog Prince	2	1	32
Appreciates talent, art and creativity	3	1	2
Attracts tourists	3	1	1
Converts area into an art gallery	3	1	1
Creative	3	1	1
Cultural	3	1	1
Finds it interesting	3	1	3
Gives area character	3	1	2
Good for kids	3	1	2
Improves aesthetics	3	1	2
Likes symbolism or content	3	1	12
No reason provided	3	1	3
Thought provoking	3	1	1
Uplifts area	3	1	3
Unsure, vague or impartial	2	1	1
Q5 RESPONDENT COMMENT Do you feel like it affects this area in anyway? If so, how?	1	1	36
No impact - no reason	2	1	3
Unsure, vague or impartial	2	1	1
Yes - negatively	2	1	3
Doesn't look nice	3	1	2
Downgrades value of property	3	1	1
Yes - positively	2	1	29
Appreciates art	3	1	1
Attracts tourists	3	1	2
Good for kids	3	1	3
Improves aesthetics	3	1	11
Likes symbolism	3	1	1
Makes area interesting and unique	3	1	1
People like it	3	1	1
Showcases artist work	3	1	1
Thought provoking	3	1	2
Uplifts area	3	1	1

Appendix J: Tree node breakdown – business surveys

Name	Generation	Files	References
5) RESPONDENT COMMENT Why do you think there is so much public/street art in Woodstock and Salt River?	1	1	108
Advertises area	2	1	2
Affordable shops	2	1	1
Area is run down (less policing)	2	1	1
Available space	2	1	6
Baz-Art	2	1	1
Creates interest in area	2	1	1
Creative atmosphere or hub	2	1	20
Creative expression	2	1	9
Diversity of area	2	1	1
Gentrification	2	1	4
History and heritage and culture and nature of area	2	1	10
International sponsorship	2	1	1
IPAF	2	1	4
Less policing	2	1	2
No Response	2	1	17
Opportunity for artists to showcase art	2	1	7
Proximity to CBD	2	1	2
Supported by businesses, developers or community	2	1	5
Tells story of area	2	1	1
The Old Biscuit Mill	2	1	1
To improve aesthetics	2	1	4
Tourist attraction	2	1	2
Trendy	2	1	3
Unsure or unclear	2	1	13
Up-and-coming area	2	1	4
Urban renewal	2	1	3
6) RESPONDENT COMMENT What role do you think public/street art plays in your area?	1	1	108
Adds value	2	1	2
Advertises area	2	1	2
Art has important messages	2	1	5
Attracts people	2	1	4
Benefits for business and economy	2	1	12
Can be damaging	2	1	2
Can be educating	2	1	1
Connects people with art	2	1	6
Creates landmarks	2	1	1
Creative expression	2	1	2
Cultural enrichment and diversity	2	1	2
Good thing	2	1	2
Improves aesthetics	2	1	21
Improves security	2	1	2
Inspires people	2	1	3
Less gang graffiti	2	1	2
Likes art	2	1	1
Make area unique and gives character	2	1	15
Makes people happy	2	1	3
Musn't be offensive	2	1	1
Negative things	2	1	1
Facade for businesses	3	1	1
Opposition from community which impacts development	3	1	1
No effect	2	1	3
No response	2	1	19
Supports artists	2	1	3
Tourism	2	1	11
Unsure or unclear	2	1	5
Uplifts area	2	1	16

Appendix K: Tree node breakdown – Semi-structured interviews

Name	Generation	Files	References
BENEFITS OF STREET ART	1	0	0
Advertising or landmarks for business	2	1	2
becomes a landmark	2	1	1
Community pride in street art	2	1	1
Educates people	2	1	1
Engage community to benefit community	2	2	2
Less gang graffiti	2	1	1
Supports artists	2	1	1
Tells history of an area	2	1	1
Tourism street tours	2	1	2
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT	1	0	0
Art needs to be acceptable by community - Islamic	2	2	3
Community must be involved in the street art process	2	2	4
Not many local artists	2	1	1
Strategy to get community more involved	2	1	1
Street art must benefit local community or loss of heritage	2	1	2
What gets objected to	2	1	1
GENTRIFICATION	1	0	0
Art can be used to divide	2	1	1
Art serving interests of an outsider	2	1	1
Community fighting back against some new developments	2	1	1
Developments for an outsider	2	1	1
Developments should be for local community	2	1	1
Graffiti art has changed - hipsters playing off a culture	2	1	1
Local community not benefitting from development	2	1	1
People now want to live in area	2	1	1
Street art must benefit local community or loss of heritage	2	1	2
HAS YOUR ORGANISATION COMMISSIONED STREET ART?	1	0	0
City doesn't have the budget for street art	2	1	1
Has commissioned street art	2	1	1
Has not commissioned street art	2	1	1
History and heritage of Woodstock and Salt River	1	1	1
IS STREET ART REPRESENTATIVE OF COMMUNITY?	1	0	0
Agree	2	1	1
Art that does not represent local community	2	1	1
Art that represents local culture	2	3	4
Old art very representative of community	2	1	1
Reflects community	2	1	1
Some art not representative of local community	2	2	2
Undecided	2	1	1
Procedures	1	3	7
Heritage buildings can be a problem	2	1	1
Mix of local and international artists	2	1	1
WHY STREET ART IN WOODSTOCK AND SALT RIVER?	1	0	0
Artists live there	2	1	1
Availability of wall space	2	1	1
Creative culture	2	1	1
Diversity	2	1	1
Proximity to town	2	2	2
Strategy to develop a niche market in Salt River and Woodstock	2	1	1

Appendix L: Sample interview transcript

INTERVIEWER: Thank you. Just before we begin, I just wanted to sort of establish how much of yourself you want revealed in terms of quotes. Do you want your name in? Do you want your street handle or alias? Do you want to just be described as a street artist?

INTERVIEWEE: Yeah, you can put me as a street artist.

INTERVIEWER: Okay, street artist, active in Cape Town. And do you want any reference to your art work? Can I say you have had work by the Old Biscuit Mill? Or anything like that? Or would you prefer to say 'has done work in Woodstock and Salt River'?

INTERVIEWEE: Please refer to me as [RETRACTED – IDENTIFYING NAME], which is my painting name [06:20].

INTERVIEWER: Okay, so you want your painting name?

INTERVIEWEE: Yes. Why? And just put my social media stuff, like my Instagram and whatever. I have a short bio I can send you.

INTERVIEWER: Okay, so you have no problem in being in the research with all that? There is nothing you want hidden?

INTERVIEWEE: Yeah, I am pretty comfortable with being candid. I think the politics behind public art, especially in Cape Town are pretty intense and what I do has been used to sort of gentrify areas and I have unknowingly played a pretty intense role in that. I think it is important for us to voice our own opinions as artists because people immediately assume that we are not aware of what is actually happening where I think it is kind of the opposite. So yeah I am happy to be quoted as [RETRACTED] and I am happy to be a part of this research programme too.

INTERVIEWER: Thank you so much. I have been reading up on the literature about it. There is actually quite a lot about it and the interesting thing is that street artists generally try to find places that are authentic. So there is this look for places with difference in it, so you know, not the sort of stale Century City looks, you know, commercialised sort of thing. They look for difference, unique people, diversity. And these places, they are usually the first to enter and they put their artwork there which is then often commercialised and then you get developers come into this area because they want to sort of... There is this look at how these areas have been changed by these street artists, and they look to try and capitalise off that. And then suddenly the street artist is generally displaced by their own work. There is some literature about it. They end up being pushed out in these areas themselves. They generally can't afford the trendy lofts that are now catering to an upper middle class, you know ... but those lofts were almost styled on what the street artist needed as a studio at an affordable rental and can now no longer be afforded by the artist themselves. They actually get displaced in areas that they helped bring up...

INTERVIEWEE: Yeah, I think that applies more on an international level. Where you are talking about [is in] the US and a lot of places in Europe. In South Africa specifically, I think our work serves to displace local inhabitants of areas that were once sort of [09:47] fairly affordable to live in, like Woodstock and Salt River. And then what you find is that by coming in and creating art work there, we also kind of get rid of the [he uses fingers to open quotation marks] "stigma of fear and crime" because we as artists are living there. I think it is easier for creatives to become part of a community because we create work that represents that community and helps the community get to know us in an easier and more comfortable way. So what tends to happen is that we will live there and are

welcomed by the community, but by living there we make the community seem a little more “trendy”, you know. Or make it seem like people who like to live vicariously through artists, which will probably be like your high income, what’s the word – like yuppies or like professionals who work office jobs but idealise a creative lifestyle. So after the artists move in then they follow. And once they follow, that is when a lot of property developers like to get involved. So something like that has happened in Woodstock and in Salt River. In Salt River they have consciously used mural art to try and increase the value of property or increase the appeal of the area, which is pretty crazy because I have obviously grown up in Cape Town, and I have painted a lot in Woodstock and I just remember my paintings not lasting. I remember painting, and you would have to get there in the morning, take a picture or else your painting is gone, kind of thing. And now it is just different. Now I am being commissioned by agencies, or advertising agencies. I’ve done projects for the City of Cape Town, and so now it is becoming a way for people to actively increase the value and appeal of an area. So it is definitely a double-edged sword.

INTERVIEWER: Ja, and that is the other thing to look at, because there is a lot of good that comes from it as well. As you mentioned, the changing of an image of a place, and the aesthetic as well.

INTERVIEWEE: Sorry I didn’t hear that; a bit was cut off.

INTERVIEWER: So there is the other side of it, it is not always displacement. There is also bringing in tourism and allowing the local shop to benefit from that tourism, and that is also what I am going to be looking at: to what extent can street art be used to revitalise an area and where does it become the cause of displacement. Is there something that governments or municipalities should be doing... especially in South Africa with our history? If they want to allow a sort of low income, affordable housing close to the CBD is there a way to make sure that these places aren’t slums, they have safety and security, less of a drug environment, good transport, access to good schools, but still affordable to a lower income? And it is looking at what role can street art play in that which is actually... there is also a lot of literature saying that it can unify communities, it can bring a sense of pride, it can bring in tourism, and as long as that tourism doesn’t mean that there is an income coming in that is pushing out a resident that has been there for many years, it can be something that provides employment, and brings in income.

INTERVIEWEE: A perfect example is the mural I started creating in Kwa-Langa [14:08]. So what happened in Kwa-Langa is I have a lot of family there, so I started painting some walls and fast forward a year or two and I’ve got 16/20 murals. And it got to a point where a lot of the City of Cape Town, was asking around for me. I thought I was in trouble, but it actually had got to a position where the community was obviously aware of my work and community leaders started communicating with the City of Cape Town, and they started commissioning me to do more work. And now when you look at Langa tours, Langa tours revolve a lot about the murals that we have painted in Kwa-Langa so it has really become something for the tourists to do. But the initial point [for me] in Kwa-Langa was to create a sort of walking gallery.

INTERVIEWER: I love what you have done there. It is beautiful work.

INTERVIEWEE: It is the catalyst of something. We have a bigger plan but this is what we could do with what we had. And now we have got a lot more resources to pull from so there is a lot more coming but obviously the whole point of it was to create a relationship with art, and have people that can look at work in a completely, sort of pure ... because what happens is once you educate yourself in art you have these pre-written opinions, that is kind of what always happens. Whereas when I run into people who actually haven’t even thought about art, and we start talking about

paintings that I make, I often find that those conversations I grow from the most. Instead of just hearing someone recite something that they read in a book. It is really amazing to tap into someone's truth and painting someone that maybe someone knows, or someone can relate to or someone is related to – it's been the beauty of a lot of work that I have done, in townships. So Kwa-Langa is like the perfect example of creating work or creating paintings that firstly did beautify a certain space, so I've painted in a lot of certain dump sites, where as soon as you paint people would say okay let's clean this up [16:44] and it stops being a dump site. There has been people who started gardens in front of the murals, and now on top of that it is like you have the tourism element and it is something else for people other than just going to sites of pain and sites of trauma, and you know you can find something else to integrate and experience while you are on a tour. So Langa has been perfect in that regard but I think Woodstock though, I just feel like the City didn't come to the table with regards to protecting those spaces, like subsidising people's existence in Woodstock. It just became a free for all like you increase the rates, you may own the property but the rates are too high for you to even live on the property and I think that is the City just being irresponsible [17:38]. As an artist it hurts quite a lot to know that while I always try to work to sort of mirror the community and create a dialogue, that work has kind of served as kind of the tip of the spear for gentrification. It is a little weird, so now in regards to the projects I am doing in Langa, I am stepping into that space but I am just very conscious of the negative effect my work could have or the negative effect of what we are trying to do could have.

INTERVIEWER: Okay, I am going to go through these questions with you because I realise now that I sort of laughed when I promised we would be over in half an hour but it is clearly...

INTERVIEWEE: It's actually fine, I think we should do this conversation justice.

INTERVIEWER: Thank you, thank you. I have got my general survey questions but there are a couple of things I'd like to pick your brain on as well. And also kind of getting an understanding of what procedures you have to go through every time you get art commissioned, especially from the City of Cape Town. I am interested in that one because I am of the impression that they want certain art to provide a certain image in certain places and that is in line with whatever commercial or redevelopment plans they have for an area. So I am interested, I have heard there is a lot of red tape, you can't just go in and paint. There is quite a long process and it can kill the artistic inspiration behind things.

But let's just go through the questions first. The first one is: Who commissioned your art in Salt River or Woodstock? I know there has been a couple but maybe you can talk about one particularly. Or maybe one or two. A) A property developer or investor. B) A private business. C) The Cape Town City Council or municipality. D) Community group or organisation. E) Other.

INTERVIEWEE: So most of my work in Woodstock doesn't exist anymore because it has been painted over. And it's been painted over because its illegal, obviously, because I just went and painted it. The one painting that I have standing there is outside the entrance of the Old Biscuit Mill. And that one was commissioned by [RETRACTED] [20:18]. It was sort of a tribute to one of their [RETRACTED] that passed away. So there were artists maybe across the globe so each continent had an artist paint a mural in a major city. So there is like one in Brazil, and one in France, or one in New York. So that painting was part of that project. So I was commissioned by a private entity.

INTERVIEWER: Where did you draw inspiration behind your work? So you have told me the story a bit about that. You were told to...

INTERVIEWEE: ...paint a mural about this musician. And I just had creative control. I could do whatever I wanted...

INTERVIEWER: Did you had to submit a design for approval before doing it, or anything?

INTERVIEWEE: No, not really. I mean the Biscuit Mill was really amazing, was really accommodating. I got to speak to one of the owners at Biscuit Mill. And he weirdly enough was aware of my work and he was just happy to have a free mural in his space because the label obviously paid me for it. So he just offered the wall and in a matter of two days he was like “Hey, what do you want to paint.” I just sent him some reference images of my work. And he was like “Okay, cool, just go for it.”

INTERVIEWER: So you didn't have to ...

INTERVIEWEE: So what happens is when I paint is I have an idea of what to do... [*indistinct*]... but while I make the painting, I tend to just let the painting grow. So I feed off my errors. Like I use mistakes as a tool to make a painting exciting for me. So I ... [*indistinct*] someone an exact image of what it will look like because I don't know what it will look like. I don't even know what colour palette I will use. I tend to just let them grow the painting. So I always do like a rough sketch and say this is rough, it might not be like this, you know. So I guess I did give them a loose sketch but the sketch doesn't look like the mural at all.

INTERVIEWER: Okay, okay [22:53]. So that then brings us back to the next question which was did your design change at all from the initial concept? There was no real initial... you kind of went with what you had.

INTERVIEWEE: All the time. It makes it impossible for me to work in the corporate sector to be honest because corporate wants certainty with everything and my work is like growth. I meditate through painting and I figure myself out through painting and as soon as I lose that in my practice then I feel like I have lost that in my practice. So within a lot of jobs I don't really compromise. I tend to make my work into what I make it and whoever commissions me must just trust me, you know? And so it is interesting, because the ones that do trust me we are still in contact. Like I have lifelong sort of relationships with people I work with. Did that answer your question?

INTERVIEWER: No, it did. It is perfect, thank you. So we kind of touched on this, but just to get it into your own words... why do you think there is a high prevalence of street art in Woodstock and Salt River?

INTERVIEWEE: Well it is conscious, it is happening consciously now. So what is happening is that there are a lot of vehicles, creative vehicles that are commissioning artists and using street art and murals as a tool and as a way to get more tourism and make income off tourism. So, yeah, that is what is happening now. There is an organisation called Baz-Art which is probably the biggest mural-based organisation in the city now. And before that it was a guy named [RETRACTED] who was commissioning a lot of artists. It is a conscious thing; it is not just happening organically or anything. One of the things that has always been an issue for me is that these vehicles aren't consciously involving Woodstock artists. That is something that I find a lot of people overlook when they trying to do something in the betterment of the community ... they tend to look over the community when it is time to actually do the work. You literally can't even count five artists from Woodstock in Woodstock in those murals which is a little crazy.

INTERVIEWER: What you said there is actually quite interesting because there is some street art which I don't really know what it connects with. There are some pictures of wings which you see on Instagram quite a lot which people do the photos in front of the wings. It is by [RETRACTED]... and people do the photos with the girls with these sorts of wings behind them... it is a bit of a tourist attraction, but I don't really see the connection with the community there, so it is an interesting thing there. But let's go back. You said you painted there a lot, it was illegal, work got painted over – but why Woodstock and street art for you? Back before what it is today, why those areas? Why did you choose them?

INTERVIEWEE: Just traffic, you know. Foot traffic. It has got a high density of a lot of people who go past it so, I know for a fact that a lot of people see my work if I painted there – as opposed to painting in a part of town that doesn't have that much density of people travelling. That is what I consciously think of, especially when I was just starting off with my muralism was like I always wanted to make sure I could get a spot that everyone would see when going to school or coming back from work or whatever. Just high visibility. And that is the case of everyone, whether its graf or whether its street art we want visibility, we want it to be seen because we are not being paid for it so might as well get some attention for it.

INTERVIEWER: Good answer. Final for this survey, what role do you think street or public art plays in an area? I know you have touched on this already but let's go back.

INTERVIEWEE: I mean, it depends because there are different forms of painting and different kinds of painters. You know there are painters that are purely aesthetic. There are painters that are purely narcissistic. You know, there are people who just want to see their name up, and want to see their name up all over the city. And those are like the building blocks of muralism and of street art, is like graffiti. When I was younger, that was what I was influenced by. [*indistinct*]... before I started painting murals and painting people. And now I have become the kind of artist that ... I want to sort of have my finger on the pulse of whatever community I am painting in. I want my work to leave long lasting impressions on the whole community and not just my peers but from kids to the grandfathers and grandmothers. I almost see my work as being a sort of time capsule of that time, that moment, that feeling and when people see it you kind of get taken back to that feeling. I always think about what people would feel if they saw my work a million years later... [29:05]. You see that is influenced by how I was influenced to paint walls, I was really into rock art and I remember when I was young, I went to Cango Caves I remember seeing these samples of these rock art and trying to get into the mind of the person who did that and why and trying to just feel ... because sometimes thinking just doesn't get you there. Try to just feel what that person may have been feeling or what kind of existence it may have been. That is kind of the work I want to make, you know. The kind of work that makes you escape but also makes you understand. So maybe I have been jumping back and forth with regards to this answer but I hope I can sort of give you an idea of what my motivation is.

INTERVIEWER: I can totally understand that. That creating something that can last. I am sorry a lot of your work has been painted over in Woodstock. That must be kind of a horrible feeling actually.

INTERVIEWEE: No, no. To be totally honest, I am so used to it. And you ask anyone that has done graffiti or paints street art, you almost don't have emotional ties to the work because it gets painted over so much. It is only now that I have gotten to a certain level of skill that people appreciate my work and they don't paint over it as much. But when I was getting to this point, it was guaranteed that everyone was painting over [*indistinct* 30:47]... that is part of growth and it has helped me a lot, you know.

INTERVIEWER: That must be very frustrating. And this question I am asking sort of everybody. To what extent do you agree with this statement: street art in Woodstock or Salt River is representative of the local culture in Woodstock and salt river? The options are: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, or strongly disagree.

INTERVIEWEE: Strongly disagree.

INTERVIEWER: Okay, can you explain your answer.

INTERVIEWEE: I mean, what I just said though, Woodstock locals aren't in charge. They are not the ones who are dictating what should be painted on the walls. I mean the guy who runs Baz-Art is from Belgium. [RETRACTED], I am not sure where he is from but it is normally white males and white females or whomever has resources to bring people together and they bring artists from all around

the world but as I said, you can count the number of artists from Woodstock on one hand, probably not even. There is probably like one. I know Defeat1 is a Woodstock artist who painted as part of this mural...

INTERVIEWER: Who?

INTERVIEWEE: Defeat1

INTERVIEWER: I must get that spelling from you because I have been looking...

INTERVIEWEE: Defeat's from Woodstock and he has painted here and there, but like I said, there is no representation from within the community. So I don't think the work mirrors the community at all. I strongly disagree with that.

INTERVIEWER: Thank you and final question, and then I will let you go – just a little more insight. So your work in Langa has caught the attention of the City of Cape Town and they are now working with you to get ... so how does that work. Tell me a little bit about how that process works. Do they just allow you to paint anywhere or are there a little bit more red tape... I haven't got any idea of how that usually works?

INTERVIEWEE: So what happens with the City of Cape Town if you want to paint. So for me I painted all my walls illegally – with no paper work. But technically, what you are meant to do is you are meant to contact the City of Cape Town, and they will give you a form. And that form you get the landlord of the building you are painting to sign it and you have to get neighbours, about 10 neighbours, or 10 people on the same street that the wall will be on, to sign the papers. And then you have to give the design and hand it into the city, and then once the city approves it, then you can paint. And once you have done this five times, you become a self-approving artist. So once you have done this five times you can just paint walls without going through the 10 people process. You can just send the design and paint. Obviously I just worked the other way round, I just painted walls. I just met a lot of the officials that were in the art department, the Public Arts Department and we got along. They obviously appreciated what had been done so far and were excited by what is to come. So they just sort of like reverse engineered all the work that I had done and just approved the walls and gave me the self-permitting artist paper work – just off what I had already done. So when they have projects come up, so if they want to paint a library or the most recent one was the [Duloon 34:55] library that I painted. But I did the old Langa flats that were part of the flats in the old town of Langa so they had a sort of tender out to go paint those flats and they obviously contacted me and invited me to apply to paint the flats so I obviously registered as part of the supply chain, and did all the paper work and sent my proposals and the crazy thing about that is I was literally the only artist in the room. Like only artist. So like a lot of us... aren't aware of the plans to alter the visual landscape of Cape Town... [*indistinct – the rest were*] tender-entrepreneurs. So they would obviously get the tender and then find the artist to... it is very sort of... I think the way it is structured doesn't really make sense for what they are trying to do because what you end up doing is sort of diluting the quality of the work because you award the tender to someone who just has a good financial plan but doesn't have a good [*indistinct*] plan.

INTERVIEWER: I really appreciate this... I think I have everything...

INTERVIEWEE: You guys end up informing corporate in some way or another, so it is really important for you guys to step into it with the right information – because the machine is broken, the machine is very broken. I have been approached to paint a development in Rustenberg [37:10] now and they don't even have one person from Rustenberg in the team... so it is just really crazy to see just the break downs and the communication. People get so caught up in just doing what they want to do, they don't really think about the process and how to do it in a way that enriches lives in the area that they are working in. So it is important at every level for us to share information and you guys to be informed.

Appendix M: Turnitin report



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Word count: **47,488**
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