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“A Theoretical Model for Critical Geographies of Gentrification: A Comparative Analysis of Globalization in Two Gay Villages”

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**“A Theoretical Model for Critical Geographies of
Gentrification: A Comparative Analysis
of Globalization in Two Gay Villages”**

Spencer Nelson

Senior Honors Thesis in Geography

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Abstract: The role of gay villages in gentrification has long been contemplated yet their relationship to the global circulation of capital is understudied. This thesis sheds light on this phenomenon through an urban political ecology of gentrification and provides a new model of critical geographies of gentrification. The model is illustrated through ethnographic research in the two gay villages of De Waterkant in Cape Town, South Africa, and Loring Park in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The relationship between gentrification and globalization is analyzed through the four lenses that bring flows of financial capital, culture, technology, and ideology into focus and offers a way to critically examine the geographies of gentrification.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Extensively studied in the Global North over the past half-century, gentrification literature has developed in tandem with questions of globalization, though little comparison is often made (Lees et al., 2008). Characterized by increasing globalization, our contemporary world is at a critical nexus of growth and development. The world's urban centers - sites of transnational corporations, international immigration, and multicultural communities - are perhaps on the frontlines of globalization and questions of reconciliation surrounding inter-mixing of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic practices of different cultures, from the transnational elite to the homeless (Chang et al., 2013). The onset of globalized urbanity has placed cultures and their respective practices and ideologies in close proximity to those that are starkly different.

Often the mixing of these cultures that are centered around race, class, and sexuality, result in some sort of gentrification. This term coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass (1964), describes how the 'gentry' or higher-income individuals and communities, return to the urban core, and displace the lower-income communities that live there. Gentrification, though directly related to class and economic transformation of neighborhoods, often involves the transformation of aesthetics, culture, and community (Lees et al., 2008). In particular, the enclaves of non-heterosexuality that have become part and parcel of liberal city neighborhood development, have a sordid history with questions of globalization and gentrification processes (Florida, 2003).

Gentrification has been characterized by "waves", or eras of gentrification that have manifested differently, temporally, in urban centers. The first wave of gentrification or classical gentrification was a sort of return to the city movement in the 1960s in, most notably, London and New York, and other alpha cities (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Thought of as risky for

private sector development, the public sector often financed various housing acts and other policy to revitalize blighted areas of the urban core, drawing in those of higher-income (Lees, 1994). After the recession of the mid and late 1970s, the second wave of gentrification brought the process to other metropolitan areas, and included more corporatization and financialization of neighborhoods (Hammel & Wyly, 2001). The most recent and third wave, began in the post-recession era of the 1990s, where the state would heavily invest in high-level corporate capitalism, and took far more aggressive role than in previous waves (Lees et al., 2008). There is an increasing amount of literature on a possible fourth wave, which identifies neoliberalism, globalization, and the Global South, as relevant components (Lees et al., 2008). An increasingly perplexing field within gentrification studies, the fourth wave of gentrification begs the question: how does gentrification exist outside of traditional academic models?

Theories and dialogues of gentrification are often grounded in questions of supply and demand. Smith's (1979) rent-gap hypothesis, which explains how rents in the urban core were artificially low, and that there is a gap between the predicted and actual rent, and this gap is what prompts gentrification. From the demand side, theorists have argued that consumption and industry, as well as politics and aesthetics have been central to the "professionalization" of neighborhoods, and integral to creating a community of gentrifiers - a population to exploit the rent gap (Butler & Hamnet, 1994). While these theories may have been quite successful to describe the previous waves of gentrification, they fall short as there is a lack of theory in understanding how these traditional processes interact in an era of globalization and transnational communities.

Particularly, these theories largely overlook how non-heterosexual enclaves in urban spaces, often manifesting as "gay villages", interact with changing global attitudes, policies, and

extreme neoliberalism that drive gentrification processes. I use the term “gay village” to describe an urban neighborhood whose residents and frequenters constitute a notable gay demographic and there is supporting infrastructure of gay entertainment and nightlife as well as important social, health, and planning services. Urban studies literature often discusses gay villages in ways that are similar to an ethnic enclave, although gay village’s connection to gentrification are quite different. In the most recent and completed “wave” of gentrification during the 1990s, gay villages played a larger role in gentrification processes where expanding ideology of acceptance of sexual minorities become increasingly popular (Lees et al., 2008). With broader acceptance of LGBTQ+ people, gay villages became desirable for many other populations as well. However, this has led to displacement of lower-income LGBTQ+ people and LGBTQ+ people of color, as straight and more exclusively white, gay, male, demographics found gay villages appealing. As there is increasing acceptance of gay villages across the world, they should now be understood in a globalized framework, which I begin to address in this thesis.

Indeed, there are calls in literature to generate a “geography of gentrification”, that can apprehend the perplexing and less traditional cases of gentrification in this new, fourth, wave, such as those in the Global South (Lees et al., 2008). I respond to this call through an empirical study of gentrification processes in two gay villages that are located in cities that are differently situated with respect to globalization. In this study, I utilize ethnographic and qualitative methods to collect and analyze data. On the one hand, De Waterkant, in Cape Town, a rapidly changing city marked by aggressive neoliberalism, is perhaps the most prominent gay village in South Africa and has experienced drastic change with respect to aesthetics, culture, demographics, and financial investment. On the other hand, Loring Park, a notable gay village in the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota, follows a seemingly more traditional trajectory of

neighborhood. Although it's located in the United States, and was gentrified in an earlier wave, Loring Park still exists in a contemporary world of globalization and continues to demonstrate cultural change, in light of this.

Through my research I address the important question of *how do we analyze geographies of gentrification in an era of globalization?* In response, I argue that the unique geographies of De Waterkant and Loring Park in a global urban hierarchy can be used to create a model for analyzing critical geographies of gentrification of gay villages in an era of globalization. This thesis describes this model. I compare the two case studies of De Waterkant and Loring Park to show how the physical and social landscapes are shaped by global flows of finance, people, technology, and media and ideology, that in turn create uneven patterns of development. In the first chapter, I elaborate on how I use an urban political ecology perspective to conceptualize an approach to the geographies of gentrification. In the following chapter, I discuss the empirical methods I use to study gentrification of gay villages in Cape Town and Minneapolis. Next, in the discussion of my finding, I draw on theories of Appadurai's globalscapes as lenses of analysis for geographies of gentrification and Bourdieu's alternative capitals to explain *how* power is transferred within these lenses, to examine how the flows of finance, people, technology, and media and ideology shape the physical and social landscapes of neighborhood change through gentrification. The analytical and discussion chapter on the globalscapes is divided into each of these lenses on finance, people, technology, and ideas and media. I compartmentalize these findings into my analytical model of "geographies of gentrification" in globalization, where I outline firstly the globalscapes or lens of analysis, and then detail *what* values to look for in De Waterkant and Loring Park, and gay villages similar them. In the final portion of this model, I detail the primary Bourdieuan alternative capital that is used to understand how the

neighborhood is transformed, within that lens. This organization is outlined in the table below. In my final chapter, I discuss how these case studies are archetypal for my argument, and representative of the attributes of the geographies they represent and what this means for the future of gentrification, globalization, and gay villages. I conclude with potential ways in which my findings can be used in urban policy and contribute to new and important conversations in both academia and public discourse alike.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I have divided it into three subsections, in which I discuss the existing academic conversations on globalization and agency, the specific case studies in this thesis, and urban ecologies, and how each of these interact with critical gentrification. As this thesis is a comparative study of geographies of gentrification, in an international context, discussing cities with vastly different geographic and developmental histories, it is important to analyze this lens of globalization. To understand the flow globalization, I draw on Arjun Appadurai's "globalscapes" in the first section of this literature review. Additionally, I examine the role of Bourdieu's alternative capitals as a way of understanding the transfers and movements of the ways in which globalization transforms and performs power relationships outside of fiscal capital, in the contexts of social, cultural, and symbolic capital. These capitals and theories of globalization can be used to help describe the process of global heteroization, and analyze gay villages and gentrification in a comparative context, globally and critically. In the second section, I provide historio-cultural context to my two research areas: De Waterkant and Loring Park. I highlight the importance of the quartering that has occurred in those neighborhoods, and the literature that I draw on as I analyze the present sociocultural context, and anticipate how these places will develop into the future. In the final subsection of this literature review I address the importance of political ecology and queer geographies as critical literature to address in the context of this thesis.

These theories and frameworks provide a way to analyze a comparative and uniquely geographical approach to the study of gay villages and comparative globalization and gentrification. The conversations introduced in this chapter have provided me with a skeleton

from which to analyze geographies of gentrification and create a new model to assess gentrification. Below is a chart that details the model that I've created.

A New Model for Geographies of Gentrification in Globalization: Gay Villages

Lens of Analysis	Variable	Primary Capitals in Transfers of Power
Financescape	Economic Policies	Fiscal Capital
Ethnoscape	Origin of New Residents	Cultural Capital
Technoscape	Information technology access/change	Social Capital
Media-ideoscape	Change in Dominant Narratives via Media and Marketing	Symbolic Capital

This chart is a visual representation of the model that I create throughout the entirety of this thesis. The first column indicates which of Appadurai's "globalscapes" I utilize as a lens of analysis, or way of examining globalized gentrification. The second column is where I indicate a key (but not only) variable to analyze within these globalscapes. This column, and the following one, are informed through my empirical fieldwork in De Waterkant and Loring Park. The final column indicated which *primary* Bourdieuan capital to examine within Appadurai's specified globalscapes to answer the questions *how have these power shifts happened, and how is agency transferred?* In this section, I further explain these alternative capitals and globalscapes, however

it is important to note that I chose to integrate these two theoretical framings to conceptualize a complicated process of globalized gentrification. Appadurai's globalscapes serve the purpose of providing conceptual lens through which to analyze ways in which globalization manifests in different gay villages, while Bourdieu's alternative capitals provides insight into *how* change occurs in these neighborhoods and within the Appadurain globalscape.

Globalization and Alternative Capitals

An understanding of globalization is a requisite to critical and comparative analysis of gentrification, in a global context, as it provides a way framework for critiquing the ways in which contemporary communities operate. Globalization is characterized by global flows of capital, and alternative capitals, that generate interconnected processes and institutions at a global scale. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai uses this fundamental argument to describe his theory of "globalscapes" or fluid ways in which information and capital flow across and between space, in an era of globalization. In his article "Disjunction and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy" he argues that fundamental dichotomy of globalization lies in the balance between homogenization and heterogenization. Seemingly, it is a juxtaposition of Westernization and its hold on cultural hegemony, and Indigenization as a 'counter-hegemonic' response to the profound neoliberalist discourse that has shaped economic and cultural narratives. Moreover, he argues that a 'deterritorialization', or the lack of a need for territory or place in identity of a nation or peoples, has complicated the understanding of place, and the necessity of it, in a contemporary world. He articulates the complexity of global cultural and financial systems that embody these tensions, through the globalscapes, highlighting five key ways of understanding flows of information: the financescape, the technoscape, the ethnoscape, the ideoscape, and the mediascape.

Appadurai's financescape describes global flows of fiscal capital, and financial institutions. Appadurai argues that there is a disjuncture, at a global level, where the market is an aggregation of a number of formal and informal economies, characterized by unpredictable actors that put our global economy at a fundamental cross-road. The concept of deterritorialization arises as Appadurai discusses the importance of acknowledging how people who are outside of the physical borders of their own state, complicate our understanding of where fiscal capital is used, and in what ways. The complication of these flows has not been addressed by global financial actors who often do not enact policy that promotes sustainable development.

In conjunction with the financescape, the technoscape provides an understanding of how new technologies influence a disjuncture of global systems. Appadurai highlights how the era of globalization has given rise to such advanced technologies that they question the need for space, as they transcend physical boundaries (such as the telephone or the internet). He poses this in two-fold of both informational and mechanical technology. The concept of deterritorialization is central, as he details how technoscapes can supercede space. Through this, he argues that contemporary technology, such as the internet and other forms of information technology, have made the idea of spatial congregation obsolete, as communities can connect without physical interaction. Thus, the idea of the 'territory' and its association with a particular place, becomes *not*, thus it is deterritorialized.

The third component of the is the ethnoscape or flow of people. While the movement of people across physical and social geographies is integral to the movement of capitals, it is an important point of complication in and of itself. The movement of people across all kinds of social and physical borders has made the movement of them increasingly less predictable.

Appadurai notes that this is not to mean that the fabric of social institutions is unweaving, but rather, these institutions can exist across a plethora of geographies. Most notably with globalization is the concept of diasporic communities via immigration and refugee resettlement processes. Through globalized forms of communication and imagined communities, these diasporic populations retain a common 'people', further contributing to the concept of deterritorialization. Perhaps at a more universal level, Appadurai argues that globalization has brought the notion of mobility and migration to ethnoscape, which has culminated in a plethora of different socioeconomic processes such as transnational gentrification.

In a more abstract sense, the concept of the ideoscape is the dimension of global flows that is concerned with ideas and how they are incorporated in a cultural context. Appadurai largely focuses on grand practices and systems with this concept, such as the ideas of democracy, sovereignty, welfare, rights, etc. He notes that much of these ideas are being spread from the Global North to the Global South, and that these concepts are applied differently given the cultural context of their geographies. For example, the difference between the application of urban revitalization as an economic development strategy is uniquely different in the Global North and the Global South.

The dissemination of the various imagined realities of globalization (and the previous flows), is through the mediascape. An allusion to Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1991) and the emphasis on print capitalism, Appadurai discusses the various nodes from which information is disseminated to create those imaginaries, such as television, radio, cinema, advertising. These global imaginaries are created through both physical forms of media such as billboards or signs, but also through more covert ways through a media culture.

A foundational theorist in globalization literature, Appadurai applies the globalscapes to articulate how colonialism spread to the Global South, in particular, India. Perhaps as a nod to Benedict Anderson, Appadurai argues that the globalscapes are a heuristic to understanding the ways in which globalized “imagination” exist, are curated, and performed. The ways in which the globalscapes flow, dictate a dominant cultural hegemon, and responses to that hegemon. Subsequently, they create an imagined reality (real or not) in which these global flows lie in ultimate “truths” about fellow citizens of a globalized world.

Despite a pervasive survey of globalizing institutions and forces, Appadurai and those who have used his globalscapes theory, have not addressed the disjuncture of heteroization in globalization, or holistic analysis as to how these theories differ in application to Global North and Global South cities, in various levels of urban hierarchy. In this thesis, I provide integral analysis to these important shortfalls of Appadurai’s theory, as I critically analyze the role of heteroization in two gay villages of the Global North and the Global South to understand how heteroization can use Appadurai’s globalscape theories, to examine how major flows of information and capital(s) influence perpetuate gentrification. Moreover, I critique the idea of ‘deterritorialization’, as presented by Appadurai, and rather argue for a ‘reterritorialization’ (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997), in which space does not become obsolete, but rather a reimagining of how gay spaces are reimagined and artificatized.

To articulate how Appadurai’s theories play out on the ground, I use Pierre Bourdieu’s theories of alternative capital, and the social genesis of groups. Bourdieu, a renowned sociologist, takes a postmodernist lens to understanding ways in which political economy functions, beyond strictly fiscal capitals such as social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic

capital. These forms of capital exist in alternative economies (i.e. not capitalist) and are heuristics in the process of transferring power.

Integral to the discussion of globalization and critical geographies of gentrification, alternative capitals provide a unique framework from which to analyze change and transfers of agency and power. The first of the alternative forms of capital is social capital, which is premised on relationships as a currency. In this economy, capital is acquired through networks, memberships, and resources. Social capital, and the transfers of it, are characterized by reciprocity and coordination. In *Outline of a Theory in Practice*, Bourdieu (1977) discusses how social capital is used practically, as a sort of model. He highlights how it is used to reproduce inequity (not unlike fiscal capital in capitalist economies) through various social connections and institutions. The end result of this capital accumulation is power. In *The Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (1985) he explicitly defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.”

Perhaps more nebulous of a concept than fiscal capital, social capital, and the accumulation of it, is grounded in networking. This framework of analysis is used by Bourdieu when discussing the genesis of social groups, and how they rise to power and generate membership through affiliations with external institutions and networks, but also how social capital within the group helps curate and create identities and aesthetics through networks.

Deceptively different from social capital, cultural capital is premised around cultural knowledge and literacy as a way of gaining status. Bourdieu discusses this type of capital as three distinct forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital is a sort of inherent or innate form of cultural capital that is curated through experience and

socialization. Bourdieu presents linguistic capital, or the knowledge of language and its idiosyncrasies as an example of this form of cultural capital. As second form is the objectified cultural capital, which is accumulated through the acquisition of cultural artifacts. The third and final form is institutionalized cultural capital, which comes through some type of institutional recognition of status. This could be a diploma or a codified marriage. Cultural capital is premised on ways to increase one's status within a culture.

These various forms of alternative capital all culminate to dictate what Bourdieu later coins as symbolic capital, or the ability to create meaning within a culture from naming and reifying symbolic attributes of a culture. This could be something as banal as streets names to something more underlying and abstract such as the conceptualization of currency. These often get conflated with social capital, but it is important to make the distinction that symbolic capital is about the ability to name, create, and curate different components of society, while social capital is more about gaining prestige through networks and navigating them. It is important to analyze how symbolic power and symbolic capital are used in the genesis of social groups across the world.

Bourdieu's theories of alternative capitals have been well-applied to a number of different social phenomena, but have little explicit usage in the discussion of queer spaces and globalization. In this thesis, I integrate them with Appadurai's globalscapes as a heuristic for understanding transfers of power and how alternative capitals influence the representation of different global flows. Within a geography of gentrification, alternative forms of capital are critical to understanding how to analyze "variables" or indicators of gentrification in a new model. Alternative capitals can be used to provide a more critical and much-needed lens to often overlooked or under-analyzed aspects of gentrification such as the way social mobility is

transformed through technology, or how underlying institutions change fundamental economic frameworks. Moreover, I apply to Bourdieu to queer geographies and spaces, as I analyze the genesis of the new neighborhood ‘quartering’, or cultural periods of a spatial neighborhood, and how various alternative capitals contributed to the demise of the gay village. While this research is qualitative in nature, I can certainly use understandings of the alternative economies to articulate a comparative approach to gay village evolution, and neighborhood change as I discuss the aesthetics and culture associated with gentrification in both Loring Park and De Waterkant.

An application to the local

The comparative analysis I make in this thesis is grounded in the rich historical and geographical contexts both of large, global trends and ideas of gentrification (which I address in a later section), and of the localities of De Waterkant and Loring Park, themselves. In particular, an emphasis on neighborhood change and ‘quartering’ must be examined to understand how these gay villages were created. This section seeks to provide the relevant background information on these two case studies, and a historical context of their geographies.

De Waterkant is one of the oldest European settled communities in Cape Town, dating back the early 1700s. It is in a fairly central location with the central business district to its east and south with the wealthy Atlantic Seaboard on its northeast. De Waterkant is actually a part of the larger Bo-Kaap neighborhood, which is primarily Muslim. For the purpose of this literature review, I will not give a comprehensive outline of the Apartheid regime and its influence on De Waterkant in all of its fashions, but rather highlight the role of the Group Areas Act, which was put in place to racially segregate neighborhoods in South Africa. Prior to the Act, De Waterkant was characterized as a fairly diverse area, racially. In 1966, the Group Areas Act was implemented and De Waterkant was declared a white neighborhood, as was most of the more

‘urban core’ of Cape Town. While the Act fell with the Apartheid regime, De Waterkant, like most neighborhoods in Cape Town, has changed little.

Noting this, neighborhood change remains one of the most inquired components of urban geography and is often studied with respect to transition of ‘cultural quarters’ (Bell & Jayne 2004), or areas of cities that have a sense of cultural place, where that identity of place is performed, temporally (Hall 2013; Evans 2005). An objective of this research is to identify the existing quarter of De Waterkant. A major element of De Waterkant’s past (and present) was its status and contestation (Elder 2004) as a gay village (Rink 2015).

As mentioned, De Waterkant evolved as a diverse and even “Bohemian” area of sorts, prior to being a gay village. The Bohemian area was characterized by “hippies” and artists, and likely developed out of its relatively affordable housing, proximity to industry and the CBD, and was characterized by young people and artists who moved to Cape Town to pursue their artistic career interests and participate in city life. Some of these reasons helped transition this area to ‘gay village’ in the mid to late twentieth century. Scholars argue that the ‘liberalness’ of the area, the diversity, and housing stock, were all factors in creating a gay De Waterkant. This ‘quarter’ of De Waterkant was characterized by a plethora of gay cultural artifacts, such as bars, nightclubs, bathhouses, and other services (Rink 2015). Today, many of these elements remain, but so do artifacts of another era, of transnational gentrification (Visser 2004; Rink 2015), which will be discussed in a following section.

The historical context of De Waterkant is integral to understanding present neighborhood change. This thesis seeks to contribute to this chronology of literature by establishing a present ‘quarter’ of De Waterkant and analyze how that neighborhood transition has occurred, utilizing the theories discussed in the previous section. I also seek to further complicate the narrative

history of De Waterkant by highlighting lived-experiences that are often missing in the literature, such as those by people of color and foreigners.

The history of Loring Park is equally complex as that of De Waterkant, but is perhaps less characterized by distinct quarters and more slow, gradual changes. Loring Park is located near the CBD (not unlike De Waterkant), and is a part of the greater downtown of Minneapolis. The area began to develop in the early twentieth century as a neighborhood marketed to the elite of Minneapolis, characterized by large mansions on Loring Hill. The lower-lying areas of Loring Park surrounded the namesake of the neighborhood - the actual park known as Loring Park, particularly on the east side. That area was mostly home to middle-income, childless couples.

In the mid-1950s, white flight and suburbanization led to a significant change in neighborhood aesthetic and identity. Many members of the “original community” feared the increasing anonymity and impersonalization taking place in the city, Loring Park no exception. The impersonalization was often caused by a general increasing population and in particular those of minority groups. At the same time, the razing of the Gateway District in Minneapolis (an area known for housing a lot of “sexual deviancy” and crime), prompted a need for a space for LGBTQ+ people to congregate. Thus, in 1957 the first gay venue, the 19 Bar, in Loring Park was established. Attracted by the low rents and appropriate housing stock of large Victorian housing (which could be converted to apartment spaces) and large apartment complexes, the area soon became Minneapolis’ gay neighborhood. Loring Park’s status as a place for cruising and crime kept the area in an extended quarter of the gay village. In 1972, renovations were made by the city of Minneapolis in an effort to maintain upkeep on the public spaces and also use the area as an economic development project. This was characterized by the razing of several buildings, a narrative of “cleaning up”, and redevelopment as a tool to keep affluent people in the city. With

this, the Loring Park Development District was created by the city of Minneapolis to address the need for a tax base. In response, the anti-development Citizens for a Loring Park Community was created by the Loring Park community, and neighborhood contestation in aesthetics and identity were perpetuated and the era of gentrification began.

This era has been studied quantitatively by a few geographers who were interested in exploring gentrification modeling and indicators. Hammel and Wyly (1996) explore Loring Park as an example of a larger case study of gentrification, segregation, and discrimination across the United States by using quantitative analytics and Census data. They argue that gentrification ran rampant in the late twentieth century because of the new political economy characterized by neoliberalism and its influence in the urban housing market through a revanchist policy inner-city neighborhood loan lending. Hammel and Wyly note influential findings that I build on such as the interest that insurance companies have in preserving segregation, and the institutional interest in turnover of housing. In another piece, Hammel and Wyly examine Loring Park as an example of gentrification where they argue the rehabbing of Victorian homes and apartment buildings contributed to the gentrification of the area. Moreover, they argue that most indicators of what one typically associates with gentrification are often useless and not predictive such as income, education, occupation, and others. Hammel (1999) tests the rent-gap hypothesis that describes an inflated devaluation of inner-city areas that creates a gap between rent costs and the potential of what rent could be, if it were put to its “highest and best use.” He links gentrification to a larger theory of capitalism in a scalar way. Using over a 130 years of Hennepin county data, he assesses that property values are volatile and that tax assessments often do not represent market value. The redevelopment of Loring Park in particular, through the LPRD was through the creation of a tax-increment financed area and saw refinancing that totaled \$2.2M and

culminated in significant return on the TIF, and had received more than \$40M in public money and \$220M in private, by 1991.

The context of Minneapolis and its own history are integral to my current contemporary study of Loring Park, in which I address the literature gap of qualitative analysis in Loring Park, and a contribution to this chronology of work. The literature that grounded in Loring Park is almost exclusively quantitative in nature, or merely descriptive, and lacks a qualitative analytic lens. More importantly, I ask, and seek to answer, different questions that previously completed research, as I provide insight into the role of social factors that contribute to and induce gentrification in an era of neoliberal globalization. This thesis addresses that gap by providing a “why” to some of the questions and thoughts posed by Hammel and Wyly, and others. Perhaps most notably, this thesis analyzes the unique status that Loring Park has occupied as a gay village, and how that is entangled with narratives of gentrification processes.

Queer Geographies and Ecologies

Urban queer political ecologies lie at a fundamental theoretical basis for understanding geographic distribution and change in both of the case studies that this thesis analyzes. In this section of the literature review, I highlight the role of critical geographies and political ecologies to the process of displacement and marginalization. Moreover, I provide an overview of some of the contributions to queer theory that I draw on this thesis to make the arguments central to this thesis.

The concept of political ecology is used to understand the political economy with respect to the environment. Often, political ecology is used to explore uneven distributions of power and agency, and the influence that agents have on the environment and livelihoods. I utilize this theoretical framing in this paper primarily as a way of understanding difference between and

within De Waterkant and Loring Park. Applied at an intra and inter-urban level, this framing can be used to understand the uneven distribution of “resources”. I extrapolate on this traditional connotation of environmental notions, to apply it to a social environment where the focus is on situational resources, and how unique geographies within and between urban environments influence the ways in which social, political, and cultural resources are distributed. Noting this, political ecology often comes out of research in the rural Global South, or the less “developed” world, as this is the common place for researching local livelihoods and environmental degradation. While this is often the case, it can certainly be applied to places in the Global North, or the more “developed” world, and cities as well. This thesis will draw on the work of Swyngedouw and Heynen (2003) who use urban political ecology as a heuristic for understanding scalar issues of social justice. They posit that the Marxist political ecology approach can be applied to urban space, which are “deeply unjust” and grounded in uneven distributions of resources and political power. To this end, they highlight a sort of environmental injustice that exists in cities, and how the scales of politics and power influence injustices at different levels.

Specifically, urban political ecologies can be used as a framework for understanding marginalization of groups. Wisner et al., (2004) makes the argument that communities are marginalized to less desirable and more environmentally noxious spaces when they are stripped of political and social power. While they don’t apply this to queer studies, there is a growing field of queer political ecologies and marginalization. The majority of literature currently on queer political ecologies is grounded in discussions of HIV/AIDS distribution and the unevenness of disease and healthcare. There is, however, an increasing amount of literature surrounding transformations of sexual identity in the urban landscape. Nash and Groman-Murray

(2014) aggregate the 'Great Gay Migration' of the 1960s-1980s of cities in the Global North, and how it was marked by mobility geographies, and the 'demise' of those villages today is characterized by new mobilities. As the narrative around sexuality and gender change, so do the distribution of resources and power.

The whirlwind of change that has occurred surrounding sexuality in the last half-century has certainly left its mark in the physical and social landscapes, perhaps best through the notion of sexual citizenship and belonging. Sexual citizenship is popularized by Binnie (2004), who argues for a de-cisheteroization of public spaces, to have them grounded in gender and sexual pluralism where one has agency over their gender and sexuality, and diversity is appreciated. Certainly, this concept is not without critique, as Binnie himself highlights the importance of discussing intersectionality of various identities (per Crenshaw 1991), with one's sexual and gender identities that culminate in different levels and hierarchies of citizenship. Andrew Tucker (2009) builds on this concept in *De Waterkant* in particular, where he discusses the white queer patriarchy as a dominant force in a gay *De Waterkant*, allowing for marginalization, within the marginalized community. The belonging literature that I draw on comes mostly from Marco Antonsich (2010), who argues that belonging is a bi-faceted concept in the social sciences, with a value on both the institutionalized forms of citizenship, legal codification of rights, and the like, as well as through the more emotional and visceral concept of placemaking as a way to generate belonging. Both are integral to an understanding of queer belongings, and a useful tool in a comparative approach.

While a substantial amount of research and theory exists on queer political ecologies and spaces, there is a drastic under application to larger globalization trends. I challenge the application of urban political ecologies and marginalization to extend beyond just that of the site-

based environment, but that that of a situational physical environment as well, that goes beyond a discussion of natural resources and political power in a space, but to an inclusion of buildings and semiotics as a way of creating situationally noxious environments. I will be integrating the ideas of urban political ecology with the concepts of queer geographies and sexual citizenships. As mentioned the queer political ecologies literature at present is grounded in HIV, and I plan to stretch the concept to queer identities in political ecology. A comparative approach of gay villages and gentrification in the Global North and the Global South will shed light on cross-comparison of types of political ecologies, and how they exist in urban spaces in the twenty-first century and an era of a new urban renaissance. Noting this, not all cities, countries, and places, fall strictly within the binary of Global North and Global South, however I make this distinction for the particular case studies in thesis.

The theories of Appadurai, Bourdieu, local histories, and urban ecologies, are used and critiqued interactively in this thesis to create a new model for analyzing and understanding critical geographies of gentrification, and then how I apply to them to the case studies of De Waterkant and Loring Park. The theoretical lens of distributions and diffusions of Appadurai's globalscapes are used a tool to understand how large frameworks operate within specific case studies. Bourdieu's alternative capitals are then applied to how the transfers of power and capital manifest uniquely in these two case studies, and how this contributes to unique geographies of gentrification. Given the geographical and cultural context of cities, and gay villages in particular, in an international, as well as localized framework of urban political ecologies is integral to understanding how urban hierarchies and Global North-South divides have a profound role in the way transfers of power within these global flows exist in unique geographies of gentrification.

Chapter 3: Methods

This thesis seeks to address critical geographies of gentrification in an era of globalization by analyzing data through the lens of globalscapes, as defined by Appadurai, and articulated in my literature review. Globalization, as an under-researched part of gentrification studies, requires critical framework and methodology to understand its complicated role in this urban process. In order to address each of these globalscapes and generate an argument about globalization and critical gentrification with respect to gay villages, I synthesize the two previous projects I had completed in both of my respective field sites.

I originally collected data on Cape Town and De Waterkant for a project on ‘belonging’ in a post-gay village. In that project, as a part of study abroad experience, I used qualitative methods and primarily ethnographic interviewing. The interviews were loosely structured, with a few questions about what belonging means, interpretations, existence, and performances, but were mainly centered on the experiences of the individual, and catering to their particular expertise. Noting this, I interviewed a wide array of stakeholders in De Waterkant such as real estate agents, planners, residents, employees, employers, and frequenters to the area. Collecting data from a wide array of individuals, all of whom have a unique relationship with De Waterkant, give a holistic and complicated understanding of the village. These informants provide insight into sexual minorities (as most of them are) in this globalizing space, as well as expert opinion from professionals such as real estate agents. This project collected eight hour-long interviews from seven individuals.

These interviews garnered responses that help to answer and analyze my three objectives to this project. The first is understanding of how global economic flows are incorporated in De

Waterkant. Through the ethnographic interviewing process, I was able to enquire about ways my informants have experienced changes in the international housing market and the social interactions that have also changed from globalization. Using these methods, I was also able to elicit responses from informants about how they experience the commodification of De Waterkant, and the commercialization of their spaces, and lives. ethnographic methods were particularly helpful in generating responses of rich stories and details about the way gay life is experienced in a post-gay De Waterkant. The interviews provide insight into the lived experiences of a multitude of people to garner a broader understanding of life, culture, and aesthetic that exists in De Waterkant. To corroborate with this methods, I also took notes on my own personal observations of culture and aesthetic in De Waterkant as well as photo documentation

I ended up recruiting informants through the snowball method (Browne, 2005). Utilizing this method, I firstly located an original informant from contacting local organizations in De Waterkant. In the snowball method, or a process in which informants recommend other informants, organizations, or areas to pursue in the research, I gained access to a unique and niche population within the neighborhood. This method is particularly useful in De Waterkant because it led to individuals that may not have been studied before. Noting this, the snowball method also has its limitations, as it also can lead to certain niche group that is not representative of a larger population or area. To combat this, I made sure that my informants were of various sexual orientations, occupations, and relationships with De Waterkant, through the possible points of contact as suggested by my informants. There is also a larger precedent to do qualitative, ethnographic methods for the type of question that I am asking. Rink (2015) utilizes

these methods in De Waterkant, as well as Tucker (2009), in his questions of inclusion and exclusions in De Waterkant.

This research required Ethics approval, as it required participation by human subjects. There weren't any foreseeable risks to participation in this study. I explained the projects and it's purpose. Then, I ensured that informants understand their participation is completely voluntary and that they may withdraw from the study at any time, without damaging relations with UCT. Moreover, I made it clear that that these interviews will be recorded for the purpose of further analysis, but will be kept on a password-protected laptop that only the researcher will have access to. I also ensured that the informants understand their confidentiality is of the utmost importance, as I will use pseudonyms and will not reveal any personally identifying information, and that this project has approval from the Ethics Board at UCT. I included all of this information on an informed consent document, which they and I signed, and I gave them a copy of the document.

Despite having a wide array of participants, there were limitations to this study. I was able to conduct interviews in the field (at the discretion of the informant), however, the time of day, year, and week, were limiting as to whom I could interview, and in what environment. Due to informants' schedules, as well as my own, I was limited to interviewing participants in the daytime during the week in the month of April, with exception of one interview at night. Because of this constraint, I was not able to experience much of the nightlife in the area, the weekend climate, or those on holiday in the summer, when De Waterkant is reportedly very different. An important part of this research is the role of the 'swallow' or the international mobile property owners in De Waterkant, who summer there. Due to the timing of my research, I was unable to interview any swallows.

The second part of this research comes from a summer research project on the role of gay spaces in the process of gentrification in Minneapolis. That project also utilized ethnographic interviewing and qualitative data collection and analysis. The methodology to interviewing in terms of techniques, length, and types of informants remained quite similar to that of my Cape Town experience. Noting this, the primary diversion in methodology came in the context of the questions that I asked. In Cape Town I focused on asking more questions about ‘belonging’, while here I focused on questions of ‘change’ in the built and social environment, as a way of interrogating perceptions, both static and dynamic, from a variety of stakeholders involved in Loring Park. This project had input from twelve individuals, in twelve interviews. The informants were primarily gay men who either live or lived in the area, or frequenters of the neighborhood. These informants provided unique insight into how the changing landscape of Loring Park influenced lived-experiences of sexual minorities, from a variety of perspectives and relationships with the community.

These interviews informed my answers to my primary two objectives, for this research project. The first was understanding how the neighborhood could be characterized as a “gay village” (now and/or historically). I asked questions about how and why individuals historically engaged with this neighborhood. Of course, this was perhaps less informative when interviewing (though just two) informants who had a more recent experience in Loring Park. For those, I asked how and why individuals decided to *begin* to engage with the neighborhood. Secondly, I was able to use the ethnographic interviewing process to elicit data on how and why the engagements with these neighborhoods changed (if at all) over time. I was careful to use folk terminology from the informants themselves, to remain the most engaged, putting the neighborhood in their own terms, and to not make assumptions about gentrification. My

exclusion of the word gentrification (unless prompted by the informant) was a calculated decision I made to work to make the interview comfortable, truthful, and the most representative of the language and ideology of the informants themselves. Noting this, the analysis of gentrification, unless explicitly noted in a quote or otherwise, is based on my academic understanding of the term and my methodology is grounded in the academy, and may not necessarily reflect that of my informants. In addition to my engagement with the study area via ethnographic interviews, I made personal observations of performances of culture and aesthetic in Loring Park. For this project as well, I ended up using the snowball sampling technique. While this tactic hasn't be used in Loring Park to a great extent, ethnographic, oral histories, and qualitative methods certainly have (Murphy, 2010).

This research required SSIRB approval, not unlike the process I engaged for the Ethics approval at the University of Cape Town. In this process, I had to detail the objectives of the project, and purpose of the research. I briefly discussed this previously, but the objectives of the research were to uncover spatial and social patterns of neighborhood change, as it pertains to gentrification and gay village presence. I then detailed the type of data that I would need for this project: ethnographic interviews. Informants would be asked about their relationship with the neighborhood over the years, and how/if it has changed, as the neighborhood has (and has not). I noted that there were not any major risks to this study, for both the participants and myself. However, to minimize discomfort during the interviewing process, I specify that informants would be able to withdraw their participation of the study at any point. Moreover, I decided that because of the research I was conducting was around sexuality, to secure professionalism and comfort, most interviews would be conducted in public or visible places, for my own safety (I elaborate on this more, later). My sampling for this project was similar to my Cape Town study,

as I utilized the snowball sampling technique. All of this information about the study, methods, and confidentiality were included on informed consent documents that I distributed to the informants, from which I collected their participation in this study.

Since this project is a culmination of two previous projects, with slightly different research questions, there are specific limitations to this study. In my Cape Town study, I write about the role of international mobile elites in transforming the housing market, however due to the time of year (autumn) I was not able to interview any of these elites, as they summer in Cape Town. Moreover, there are limitations due to race and gender representations, as most (not all) of my informants were white gay men. It is important to note that this area was selected as a “gay village” and that this study was primarily to address the ways that this exists on the ground, and who I was able to interview, I believe is a fairly accurate representation of the demographics of the neighborhood, and that I did particularly want to highlight the role of gay men. Limitations existed in my Minneapolis study as well, as interviews were conducted during the summer, this may not have shed light on how drastically different the neighborhood is in the winter, in terms of climate and how that influences neighborhood culture. Moreover, the limitations of snowball sampling extend to this study as well, as I researched perhaps a more niche community, but to combat this, I was intentional in my sampling and ensuring I got voices from various occupations and relationships with the neighborhood that I sought to have. Noting this, my informant demographic was overwhelmingly (though not entirely) white, gay, cis, and male. This, I believe, will become apparent in the conclusions I draw in my analytical chapters, but it is relevant to note the difficulty I had in my data collection, in this respect.

This thesis is not meant to make an argument about the entirety of the queer community, or generalizations about it, but rather shed light on the role of “gay villages” in a process of

gentrification and engage critically in a discussion that is overwhelmingly heteronormative. The purpose of these two projects are not exactly the same as this thesis, however, I am using the same data. This means that data and responses I have are indirectly related to the research question I posited. Therefore, I extrapolate on some of the data that I have collected to make new arguments. I take caution in providing context for the quotes used, and arguments represented, as I aim to present a holistic and transparent understanding of this thesis and the data it utilizes. The research question I discuss, I believe is a solid engagement and culmination of these two projects, and is one of the best ways in which I could critically engage these narratives in conversation with each other, and the larger literature that I speak to.

The methodology and ways in which I engage this data, make the case studies of Cape Town and Minneapolis primed for my research question. The geographical and situational contexts of Minneapolis and Cape Town, and subsequently Loring Park and De Waterkant, respectively, are quite varying. Minneapolis represents a medium sized city in the Global North, with a greater history of sexual orientation of inclusivity, and economic development strategies marked by regionalism. In contrast, Cape Town is a higher world order city, located in the Global South, has a unique history surrounding sexual orientation that is diverse in ways and levels of acceptance, and practices extreme neoliberal, internationalized, financialize economic development strategies. Moreover, the locations of Loring Park and De Waterkant within their respective cities also play a central role in my analysis, as I examine the trajectories and kinds of gentrification that occur given their geographical proximity to certain amenities and services, as well as the existing features in the neighborhood.

As mentioned in the literature review section, Arjun Appadurai's globalscapes play a central role in my analysis. I analyze the changes in neighborhood aesthetic, culture, and other

factors with respect to these geographical contexts under the the theoretical framing of globalization theory of the “globalscapes”: financescape, ethnoscape, mediascape, ideoscape, and technoscape. To critically understand each of these, I utilize the ideas of alternative capital (social, cultural, and symbolic) as discussed in my literature review. These are a heuristic to understanding the transfers of power and agency within and between these neighborhoods and their respective cities in an era of globalization and gentrification. I further utilize the lens of political ecology and queer geographies to examine the marginalization of situational spaces during this process, and a way to further explain these geographical contexts that are discussed as good reasons for these two case studies to be analyzed under the lens of critical geographies of gentrification in a global context.

Although the bulk of the observations for this research are ethnographic, I utilized other methods as well, which provided unique insight into the way in which I conceptualized my experience in the field. In the collection of my data for both sites, I used participant observation. In this, I observed and documented the performed neighborhood. I examined the built environment and visible social environment, and these findings appear in my analytical chapters as I discuss areas of change, general observations of the neighborhoods, and affirmations or contestations of what informants have presented in interviews in comparison to my own experiences and observations. In this analysis, I use the method of reading the landscape as a text, to ask what is missing and what dominant identities and power structures are being performed? These are integral questions that help me assess ways in which globalization and gentrification exist in these neighborhoods, and to what extent.

It is also important to discuss one's own positionality in their research, to understand the implications for the interviews and the researcher's relationships with informants. Certainly there

are infinite components of a researcher's identity that are omnipresent in fieldwork, and are constantly influencing the environment around them, as well as being influenced by them. There were certain components of my identity that became more salient in this research, which are important to reflect on, as a visible participant and visitor to De Waterkant, in particular sexuality, as this is a renowned gay space (Cupples 2002). As a student, and foreigner, informants were quick to educate me on the area and so I did have a lot of repeated background information across the different informants, which made for a provocative analysis of what seems to be the most focal points in the recent history of De Waterkant. Noting these identities, it is important for me to think of myself not as an objective researcher, but a participant and active member of the performance of the neighborhood, and the way I contribute to or question larger structures with my presence. Additionally, it is critical to note that the multiple and countless identities that I occupy, contribute to the information that is elicited in both case studies. All data that is collected is a performance of the objective reality of these informants, however my identity and positions inform what is being told of that reality, and how. Moreover, the ways in which the data is collected (through open-ended interviews), have an influence on the ways in which narratives are told. Without delving extensively into actor-network theory, the situation and method of data collection from the time of day, year, location, interview, etc., all influence how the narratives are told and data is documented. Should this study be attempted again, it is unlikely that these results would be replicable, however the corroboration of informant responses is overwhelming in the analysis I provide. To address this, I am sure in my arguments to speak to the realities of my informants, and consensus and conflicts that come from the various interviews, given their various positions, as well.

During the interview process, assumptions of my sexual orientation were made in nearly all interviews, although I never explicitly disclosed it to them. Certainly a powerful reflection of the sexualization of space, and how even as a researcher, one is an active participant in the culture. As a gay male, there were certain things I was privy to in this research that others would not have been, such as an interview at Amsterdam Bar – an exclusively male space. Moreover, it is important to reflect on the fact that one takes each of these identities (gender, sexual orientation, race, income status, nationality, etc.) into the field, and that it influences who you can talk to, and how they will speak with you. One potential informant even made sexual remarks about my appearance. Cupples (2002) speaks about sexuality in social science fieldwork, and that it is a reality for many doing research on topics that have sex, gender, or sexual orientation, as an important part of their research question. My experience in the field was highly sexualized during both of these projects. I often faced questions of sexual encounters, relationships, or was “hit on” in the field by informants. As Cupples notes, this is a fairly typical experience being in the field and working in a sexualized area, socially and spatially.

The nuance I would posit to this larger discussion of sexualization of fieldwork, lies in approaches to mitigate oversexualization, and analyzing what this means for the data one is collecting. Firstly, in order to combat some of the hyper-sexualization of this fieldwork, for both my own comfort as a researcher, and the validity of my data, I worked to ensure the professionalism of these experiences. This was a difficult balance between professionalism and comfort for informants (i.e. not being an intimidating experience). It is important to note that all of my informants were older than myself (age varying widely, however) and many had post-secondary degrees and seemed to not be as intimidated by more formal procedures and practices. After facing concerns of lack of professionalism from my De Waterkant research, I made a few

alterations to the way I conducted research in Loring Park. To address professionalism, I would only communicate over an email address I had designated for the research project, rather than an academic or personal email. I did, however, communicate via phone for phone interviews, but this did not prove to be an issue. Additionally, I often wore business casual attire for interviews, as a way to subtly remind informants that this is a professional interaction. These methods were fairly successful and I would recommend them to social scientist pursuing similar research. For data collection, I would posit that the data being elicited needs to be analyzed with the framework of sexualization taken into account, and in certain instances, to question the “truth” or validity of data from the informant. To be clear, I do not mean to disregard this data, in fact, I think it should be greatly embraced as a way of examining the performance of sexualization in fieldwork and perhaps the community in which one is working.

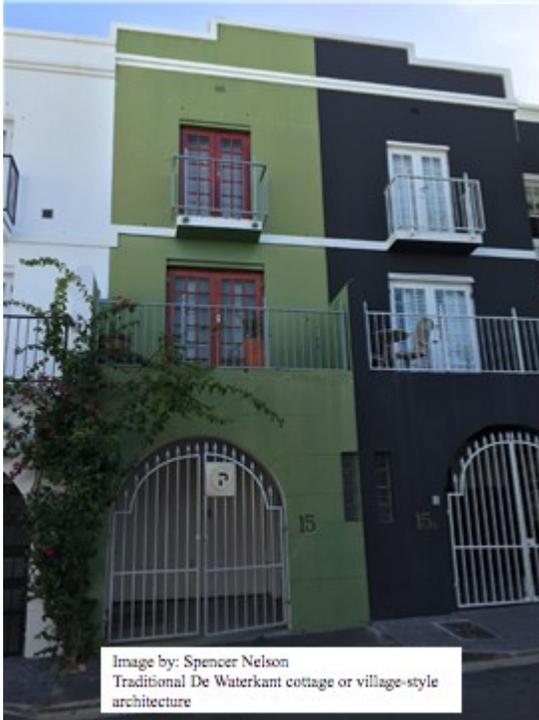
Chapter 4: Globalscapes

The analytical chapters of this thesis provide insight into the globalized gentrification of De Waterkant and Loring Park, as well as how these case studies can be used to create a new model for “geographies of gentrification”. In the following four chapters of the financescape, the ethnoscapes, the technoscapes, and ideo-mediascapes, I explain how each global flow uniquely influences contemporary urbanity. Following, I will discuss the globalscape with respect to the specific case studies, and name a critical way in which that scape has manifested on the ground, and then how it contributes to gentrification. Using Bourdieu’s capitals, I then discuss how alternative economies dictate agents of change within those places, and then argue that these factors are determined by the unique urban political context in which these gay villages, and larger cities in which they’re located, operate. Lastly, I use this analysis to make a comparative analytical argument about each of these gay villages, and how each of these factors can contribute to a predictive model of geographies of gentrification, in globalization.

Financescape

In globalization, economic transactions span political and physical borders, and can be completed by individuals, corporations, and governments. While physical borders and boundaries appear obsolete in this contemporary framework, that is hardly the case. To describe these stark and important changes to financial infrastructure and culture, Appadurai (1996) uses the “financescape”. Certainly, transactions can be made across borders, but the policy and agendas of those places have profound influences on the ways in which finances flows across borders (at an international and national level). The literature indicates that there is an expanding and changing understanding of the way gentrification exists, under a global paradigm of globalization (Lees et al., 2008). Many countries and cities in the Global South, as well as a number in the Global North, have embraced extreme neoliberal policies in recent years to do a “catch-up” on development, and this is true for South Africa in particular (Narsiah, 2002). This has had a profound role in the way finances flow through and between these cities, and alter who has agency in economic process. In this section of the thesis, my argument is twofold: firstly, the financescape provides a useful framework for examining geographies of gentrification through its lens of financial transformations of gay villages and global flows of capital; secondly, the financescape creates these geographies of gentrification quite uniquely in the gay villages of Cape Town and Minneapolis. I use Minneapolis and Loring Park as an example of more traditional North American gentrification processes, but analyzing them through the lens of the financescape. In contrast, I use Cape Town and De Waterkant as an example of the new morphology of gentrification which is occurring in the Global South where I use the financescape to understand the transnational gentrification component that, I argue, is unique to the Global South.

The apartheid regime in South Africa was heavily characterized by isolationist policy. Perhaps ironically, the post-apartheid state sought aggressive neoliberal policy and foreign investment in South African industries and cities. Through these practices, South Africa transformed the financial design of its major cities, where they began to see an internationalization of downtown areas and a “cleaning up”. While this language is often written in tandem with gentrification, this isn’t always the case, as in some cases, the quality of life improved for existing residents. However, in this portion of the thesis, I argue that globalization processes brought on gentrification through the internationalization and financialization of De Waterkant.



One way in which the internationalization has manifested itself, physically in South Africa is through the increase in “swallows”. Often European elites, the swallows are individuals who buy second homes in De Waterkant, and only live there during the warm summer months of December to March. Well established by Gustav Visser (2004), there has been an increasing number of international investment in this phenomena, in De Waterkant. What hasn’t been interrogated are the specifics as to

why that has been the case, and how that relates to global flows of financial capital. During the 1990s, Cape Town’s city center could be described as a place of “very heavy levels of crime”¹ and De Waterkant was a unique enclave, where crime was “under control”². There was also uniqueness to the neighborhood had architecture that wasn’t unlike that of Europe, in contrast to other neighborhoods in Cape Town, such as Sea Point, which “could be pretty much anywhere in the world.”³. The architecture of the neighborhood was perhaps enhanced by the “Bohemian period” of De Waterkant in which individuals revamped some of the cottages, warehouses, and façades, which “made it respectable and desirable for some people to be here. Which then opened the door for this more design-y or more lifestyle...”⁴ This certainly echoes a lot of traditional gentrification literature, however it is unique in the sense that these are not suburban

¹ Anonymous 2016a De Waterkant

² Anonymous 2016a De Waterkant

³ Anonymous 2016a De Waterkant

⁴ Anonymous 2016c De Waterkant

dwellers come cityside, nor are they young professional couples, but rather older, wealthy, internationals.

The swallows nested in the up-and-coming neighborhood of De Waterkant in the early 2000s, corresponding with much of the increased commercialization of the area⁵. The “niche market”⁶ of De Waterkant made it a place that was “a little piece of Europe in Cape Town”⁷, that is “pedestrianized” and “very central” to most of Cape Town’s amenities that cannot be matched by any other location in the city.

The draw of international elites has caused the housing market of De Waterkant (which is a mere seven and a half blocks) to grow to exorbitant and unprecedented levels, to where only the wealthy international buyers can afford the prices. As a De Waterkant real estate agent noted:

“For instance, if you had bought one of those houses from the bank, and paid it back over 20 years, you would be paying back about R45,000 a month. It’s impossible to ask that kind of rent it’s just not...I don’t know how anybody could afford it. What you have in De Waterkant in general -- because the foreigners buy houses, and are willing to pay a lot for them, although to them it doesn’t seem a lot. For South African standards -- it’s very expensive”⁸.

This real estate agent argued that the prices have become so high for the cottages, that only the international buyers can afford the price because of the declining Rand and the prowess of the Euro and other foreign currencies, to the extent that South Africans can no longer afford a place in the neighborhood. This creates a new sense of belonging where internationals buy their way into the neighborhood, and utilize their fiscal capital to translate to a symbolic capital where they have the ability to claim spaces, redevelop them, and have more significant influence on the aesthetics and culture of the neighborhood, than perhaps permanent South African residents who

⁵ Anonymous 2016c De Waterkant

⁶ Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

⁷ Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

⁸ Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

have been residing in the neighborhood for decades. This exacerbation is only expected to continue as internationals continue to buy homes and renovate them, and flip them to where housing that was sold for R1.5 million (approx. \$115,000) a few years ago has been sold for R2.5 million, then R4.5 million, and is expected to go for no less than R6 million (approx. \$500,000) in the next sale⁹.

Moreover, these international elites have cultural strategies to further capitalize on the opportunity to buy property in De Waterkant. One informant describes:

Lots of the people that buy at the moment want to come and live in South Africa. Also, I mean it used to be a total cash market, in De Waterkant...very little mortgage loans, with the economy...with the current situation in South Africa....I think some of the people are also a bit nervous, so they do finance...and then they...they would finance, or some of the people would finance with Investic, but Investic Mauritius, and they would actually pay the money in Mauritius, in foreign currency, so they aren't linked to South Africa's mortgage lending rate. Because our lending rate is like, 10%, where abroad you will get 3 or 4%. So, that's why, even though it looks like cash here, it is still mortgage, but at a foreign lending rate."¹⁰

A large concern for the swallows, finances and generating income from their properties is an a priori issue, and is tackled through the most manipulative of ways, such as using foreign currency to get lower lending rates than that of South African mortgages. Beyond this, nearly all of my informants describe how the swallows utilize the cottages in De Waterkant, as a way to generate income for themselves in a multitude of ways. Some of the swallows will "hold onto their properties because the growth in De Waterkant is quite good. The demand is bigger than the supply because there aren't a lot of properties in the moment, but a lot of people want [them]...."¹¹. But this exists beyond just these, and into properties that border De Waterkant

⁹ Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

¹⁰ Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

¹¹ Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

even, such as the Mirage, a recent skyscraper development with many apartments, where internationals buy homes as a “straight on investment”¹².

The flows of fiscal capital have transformed the once-gay village into a place of globalized consumption and commodification. Cape Town’s (and a larger South African) neoliberal development strategies have caused massive amounts of foreign capital investment have culminated in not just a new market for a new demographic, but a complete transition in neighborhood aesthetic away from a village-like community, to a romanticized version of this, with the benefits of the elite’s capitalism, such as small cottages roof-top pools and a luxury car lined street. In this way, it is evident that the ‘cultural quarter’ (Bell and Jayne, 2004) has culminated in a new post-gay De Waterkant, where the neighborhood is characterized by more of a “lifestyle” era, characterized by international businesses, corporations, entertainment, and general financialization (Rink, 2015). This transformation was through a transnational gentrification process, where international capital is used to gentrify an area (Sigler and Wachsmuth, 2015).

While alternative capitals are perhaps less influential in the context of the financescape (as opposed to others), fiscal capital is still used to transform neighborhood aesthetic and culture via symbolic capital. The corporatization, financialization, and internationalization of the “local” De Waterkant economy has utilized fiscal capital as a way to curate what exists in the neighborhood by literally buying out companies, individuals, and spaces that do not fit their aesthetic. In this, a new narrative of power as the symbolic power garnered by the City of Cape Town and these international companies has used neoliberalism as heuristic to propagate the financescape in juxtaposition to local economies.

¹² Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

In the vacuum of itself, even, it's apparent that the financescape can be used as a lens to understand uneven development, and urban queer political ecologies. As Wisner et al. (2004) noted, the physical marginalization of a socially marginalized population, is part and parcel with political ecology. In the urban context of Cape Town, this manifests in a different way from traditional Third World political ecology. Not unlike narratives of environmental injustice in the Global North, and often (though certainly not always) reserved for urban phenomena, the political ecology of urbanity in, and around, De Waterkant, is apparent as the influx of global capital has culminated in transnational gentrification, through not only the use of foreign capital in investment, but literal transnational peoples and corporations occupying the neighborhood. In line with Nash and Groman-Murray (2014), physical displacement of gay goods, services, housing, and of course, people, from an economically successful community shifted the power, and distribution of it, in Cape Town. The pushing out of a physical space to congregate and live, has helped contribute to the social marginalization of the gay community and uneven distribution of resources such as gay nightlife, health services, and a density that can be used to garner political power. The heteroization and internationalization through the financescape has helped culminate in the physical displacement of queer resources and people by way of hetero-colonialism.

In Minneapolis, the complex dynamics of neoliberalism in urban policy manifest themselves quite differently. Historically, Minneapolis has been one of the wealthier cities in the Midwest, entering the post-industrial era with a sizeable population in the urban core, and large amounts of urban reinvestment that weren't matched in metropolitan areas of similar size, such as Cleveland, Milwaukee, or Indianapolis. Embracing neoliberalism a bit earlier than their South African counterparts, Minneapolis began to see the effect of gentrification in a new political

economy in the 1970s (Hammel and Wyly, 1996). The federal housing policies the imperative connections between the urban core and international markets were integral to the findings of this neoliberal era. I argue that the embracement and integration of neoliberalism in municipal policy has yet to peak, and that its current iteration is the gentrification of Loring Park is spread through the financescape.

The financescape, and global flows of fiscal capital, create an economic reality in Loring Park that is different from De Waterkant. Perhaps characterized by more regional flows, than global, Loring Park's proximity to the CBD of Minneapolis has been a major factor in its evolution through the financescape. As mentioned, the area has been part of a larger downtown improvement plan, and a TIF zone, and has seen major city-financed investment because of this. The Loring Park Neighborhood Master Plan (2013), outlines the importance of revitalizing the area and curating the aesthetic of an "urban village". To this end, there would be wide amounts of greenway investment and mixed use development. These were created as both ways to increase capital and create the feel of a young, vibrant, urban space that is diverse and accessible. The flows that helped dictate these processes are perhaps less global, and more metro or regional. The creation of the TIF district, and the massive amount of public investment into the area, was similarly followed by private investment with major skyscrapers such as the Magellan Project, the large "glass monstrosity" or the "Grindr Tower", as some informants have called it¹³. These massive amounts of city financed and privately financed development projects have helped culminate in a prolonged transition of the neighborhood. While these sorts of projects are

¹³ Anonymous 2016a and 2016d Loring Park

perhaps more prominent recently, the area has slowly been evolving towards being a part of the greater downtown, rather than an abrupt, sudden change¹⁴.

One way in which this more slow, long-term change can be seen is through the use of historical preservation. A tool by the city to maintain the cultural integrity of the neighborhood, the historic districting has certainly contributed to the financescape in a couple of ways. Firstly, it has helped prevent vast amounts of overdevelopment and high-rises in the area because of its aspiration to maintain original housing stock¹⁵. Noting this, it has also made that housing stock incredibly expensive, and often too expensive for residential use, and has therefore been transformed to commercial usage.

This more sustained and slower process of neighborhood change, can still certainly be used to articulate urban political ecologies and marginalization. The history of queer communities in Minnesota play an important role in the process of financescapes and marginalization. Historically, Loring Park developed as a gay village, but in a less dense, less overt way than many gay villages across the county, partially due to a lower need to spatially congregate, and partially because it has been a “gay village” for such a long period of time, that even in imagined histories, Loring Park’s past has always been quite gay. The economy of the area was characterized similar to many urban enclaves of the twentieth century, where local businesses took priority, and housing was primarily rental¹⁶. The rise of the CBD in Minneapolis took Loring Park with it, and this prompted major financialization and investment in the neighborhood that has culminated in a unique “urban village” narrative where culture and

¹⁴ Anonymous 2016b Loring Park

¹⁵ Anonymous 2016c Loring Park

¹⁶ Anonymous 2016b Loring Park

aesthetic are oriented around commercialization, wealth, and accessibility. Prior to this, it was known as an area of sexual deviancy, danger, and isolation¹⁷.

The dispersion of resources and power across the metro has always been quite apparent in Minneapolis. Loring Park, as a gay village, represented this uneven distribution of political ecologies in a complicated way. In a certain context, Loring Park was a place in which the consumption power and fiscal capital of queer people could be used to create and forge their own neighborhood and also a way in which they could gain political power to have access to those resources. In a larger context, Loring Park represented a place that was severely lacking in government investment, and access to certain health and economic resources was severely limited.

Today, the financialization of Loring Park has transformed the ways in which uneven development persists across the urban landscape. The increased commercialization of the neighborhood has raised prices in all types of rental properties across the board. In this respect, it has certainly led to a gentrification that has pushed out nearly all gay venues, however, a number of gay residents still remain, due to increase in visibility and recognition in the metro economy¹⁸. Now, perhaps, Loring Park has access to more resources than it used to, but not all who frequented or lived in the area have access to the same kinds of resources, or political power that they used to have.

Rather, a transformation of political power has occurred through the gentrification of the neighborhood via the financescape, giving heed to the symbolic capital that elites carry in neighborhood planning. Flow of local financial capitals and intra-urban financialization of Loring Park, as an extension of the Minneapolis CBD, have reified power of the city, and given

¹⁷ Anonymous 2016a and 2016e Loring Park

¹⁸ Anonymous 2016i, 2016c, 2016d, 2016g Loring Park

the city the ability to symbolically dictate aesthetic and culture of the neighborhood through intentional design peppered with gentrification strategies reminiscent of Florida's "creative class". While perhaps more hidden through strategies of historic preservation and narratives of "urban villages", neoliberalism is increasingly present in Minneapolis' gay village.

Global (and regional) flows of fiscal capital certainly have profound roles on gay villages, but this is unique given the geographical and political ecological contexts that they occupy. In an intra-urban perspective, there are great similarities between the financialization of De Waterkant and Cape Town. As noted, De Waterkant is characterized by aggressive neoliberal, foreign capital investment strategies, which has culminated in overdevelopment and a reduction in the accessibility of gay resources and financial power, as financialization of the neighborhood brought major investments in the built environment, making it unaffordable. Similarly, Loring Park was marked by the Master Plan (2013) which focused on Loring Park as an "urban village", and "revitalization" of the area, which culminated in a reduction of affordable spaces as well, and a lack of resources.

In global and inter-urban contexts, the situational political ecology of De Waterkant and Loring Park differs more in the financialization of the neighborhood. De Waterkant is perhaps one of the most well-known gay villages in the Global South, and certainly on the African continent (Visser, 2014). Building on Nash and Gorman-Murray (2014), in addition to its location in the increasingly global city of Cape Town, places De Waterkant high in an urban hierarchy, and has helped culminate in its intensification of neighborhood change. Corroborating my previous argument, it is important to again note the switch in regime change, to the post-apartheid state, which has been characterized by extreme neoliberalism, and an appeal to global elites (Quastel, 2009). In contrast, Loring Park's status as a historically less gay and

queer concentrated area has prompted regional and local flows of fiscal capital, and in general, lower levels of financialization. The political ecologies of situational geographies, and by extension the strategies of political institutions, have profound influences on the flows of global and regional fiscal capital in gay villages in both Cape Town and Minneapolis (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003).

Although quite differently affected by globalization, both De Waterkant and Loring Park culminate in gentrification, and a new model of geographies of gentrification can be used to understand this process. The financescape is an important lens from which geographers need to analyze the process of gentrification in gay villages. The economic contexts of De Waterkant and Loring Park proved an integral variable to assess within this framework of the financescape. De Waterkant, and more generally the City of Cape Town has utilized a strategy of extreme neoliberalism and overt appeal to attracting foreign capital investment. In contrast, Loring Park and the City of Minneapolis have utilized more covert methods of neoliberalism through the use of historic preservation. Likely unintentional even, the appeal to historic preservation, as illustrated in this chapter, is an economic framework and culture in which the neighborhood operates, to a capital benefit (to some, at least).

A critical geography of gentrification would analyze the financescape, while specifically looking at the role of economic policies and frameworks. In this research, I found neoliberalism to a pervasive theme across both case studies, however the manifestation of it was less overt in Loring Park. I argue that the “values” of this variable of economic policies, such as historic preservation and attraction of foreign capital investment can be used as a possible interpretation of gentrification and globalization processes happening in cities like Minneapolis and Cape Town, respectively. This is extrapolated from my analysis of urban political ecologies in this

chapter, in which I argue that the Global North and “traditional” gentrification often draws from intra-urban populations, in contrast to the international wealth and inter-urban population attraction for cities in the Global South, such as Cape Town. Moreover, Cape Town occupies a higher urban hierarchy in many ways, than Minneapolis, which make this attraction to foreign investment possible, as it is an international tourist destination and one of the largest metropolitan areas on the continent. In order to understand how power is transferred to transform the gay villages, one should utilize the traditional concept of fiscal capital.

Ethnoscape

While currency is used as a tool to transform spaces, there is perhaps no greater global force than the physical movement of people across borders - both municipal and international. Appadurai's "ethnoscape" provides a lens from which to analyze the distribution of these flows. The territorialization of space according to cultural identity appears to be waning in an era of globalization where individuals are transnational and identity and culture are less contingent upon space. There is, however, a reterritorialization (as opposed to deterritorialization) of space in which spaces become reimagined as a part of history culture, as people move away from homelands, but space itself is hardly obsolete. Under studied in gentrification literature is an evaluation of how neighborhood change interacted with the ethnoscape, or the global flow of people.

A reimagination of the city is not unique to the Global North, as it is now being embraced in urban areas of the Global South - where cities are burgeoning. The flows of people have been arguably the most integral part of gentrification theory, but have yet to be analyzed from a lens of reimagination and curation of urbanity for the global elite, as opposed to a place of newly localized wealth. In this chapter, I argue that the ethnoscape is a critical lens from which to analyze the process of gentrification for a comparative analysis and the creation of a "geography of gentrification", as well as that the flows of people into the gay villages of De Waterkant and Loring Park have similarly induced gentrification, but uniquely given their geographical contexts.

Perhaps the crux of globalization theory and urban change has to do with human migration and perceptions of it. This is certainly true for a globalized and post-gay De Waterkant, where urban change has been characterized by an influx of international elites, global

marketing strategies, and developments in social media. These characterizations of the ethnoscape and the mediascape are fundamental to understanding the ways that situational political ecology influences alternative forms of capital. As mentioned in the previous section, the global role and ecology of De Waterkant and Cape Town primed it to be a physical and social hub of global migrations. No doubt, it's been a place of great transformation and contestation and this is well documented by Rink (2008, 2016), Tucker (2009), and Visser (2004; 2014). I build on the changing and contested spaces that they discuss, and further argue that the fall of the gay village in De Waterkant has complicated the way in which gay people exist and interact in the village, and how sexuality is performed. In this respect, I also draw from the research of Binnie and Nash and Gorman-Murray, to argue that sexual citizenship of De Waterkant plays out in mobilities of space and time, and that sexual citizenship is an interesting component of the way that people use cultural capital in the ethnoscape to gentrify.

In the 1990s, De Waterkant could be characterized by a plethora of gay clubs, bars, and venues. One of the first to come to the area was Café Manhattan, which remains, and “everyone else followed suit two or three years later”¹⁹. In this, the informant is referring to the increasing amount of gay venues in De Waterkant, in the mid-1990s. One informant notes, “The area was much more seedy but much more vibrant and exciting”. While there were remnants of its Bohemian past, the area was certainly a melting pot of queer individuals. One of the most notable gay venues in Cape Town, Bronx, was a place of great enjoyment for many over the decade, and it was “very very mixed...it was very fun”²⁰. In the 1990s, the area, and Bronx could be described as bustling and full of life from people across many different backgrounds and

¹⁹ Anonymous 2016f De Waterkant

²⁰ Anonymous 2016a De Waterkant

walks of life. With more than a dozen gay venues, the area was truly a gay village. Today, this is no longer the case.

The reduction of gay residents has also led to a decline of the ‘gay village’ in De Waterkant. This is because of both the internationalization and commercialization of de Waterkant, as described in the previous sections, as the neighborhood has drawn attraction from a multitude of peoples beyond the gay community. As an informant and real estate notes, “It obviously used to be a predominantly gay area when I started here, and it was like for quite [a few] years, but it’s changed, the past...I mean it’s not...there’s still a lot of gay ownership here, but it’s changed, it’s quite a lot mixed now”²¹. She cites the swallows as being a particularly recent trend, and one that is less gay than its predecessors. “I think the percentage...it’s not even...it probably 60-40 now...60 not gay, and 40 gay”²², she articulated as she reflected on her ten years working on real estate in De Waterkant, in contrast to its past where it was “overwhelmingly” gay in ownership. A gay resident and employee of De Waterkant notes “There’s a lot of foreign investment currently in here. I don’t see it as a gay area any longer. It has a feeling of less gay people in the area now”²³.

In addition to the hard numbers of reduced gay presence, there is also a transformation of what this means for the ‘type’ of gay that exists in De Waterkant. The increase in both in social media, acceptance, and the fact that Cape Town “has never really had a gay issue”²⁴ has led to an increasingly smaller gay “going out” presence. De Waterkant could be described as a more “mature” gay. One informant notes that,

²¹ Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

²² Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

²³ Anonymous 2016g De Waterkant

²⁴ Anonymous 2016g De Waterkant

“It’s too stiffy. If you have a business you must have a business where you want to go and say oh this is a lounge, you need to be a little upmarket, I don’t want to go to my lounge in the dark and have dinner, I might as well stay at home.... So people don’t come out anymore because it’s too stiff.”²⁵

The emphasis is placed on “going out” in expensive lounges and restaurants, rather than the party lifestyle of the 1990s and early 2000s. In fact, there is not a single public gay space left in De Waterkant, which has created a heteronormalized sense of belonging for gay residents and frequenters, if not unwanted, and is exclusive to those of privileged incomes and specific tastes.

As the neighborhood transitioned to a post-gay, “lifestyle” village, there was a “sanitization” and de-gaying, or perhaps even deterritorialization, of the area. One resident describes:

“There is a language of sterilization and cleaning, that almost comes off as homophobic at times, of riding the area of ‘crime’ and ‘dangerous’ places, and that languages is used to discuss areas around Somerset”²⁶.

He is referring to the areas in which the current gay clubs are located. Down to the very language used, a policing and cleaning of gay lifestyle for a commercialized and commodified De Waterkant, has certainly led to an institutionalized exclusion of gay-ness, that has gone as far to relocate gay venues outside of what was once the continent’s gay capital.

A post-gay De Waterkant remains a place of great contestation of physical and social space, which makes belonging a complex and multifaceted socialization. These contestations, and transformations come from the mobility of global economic and cultural flows. In the context of the ethnoscape, or migration of people, there was a transformation to a post-gay De Waterkant through the gay emigration. This flow of people culminated into a cultural shifting of the space, where those with symbolic power, and the ability to rename, reclaim, and reify spaces,

²⁵ Anonymous 2016g De Waterkant

²⁶ Anonymous 2016a De Waterkant

are the international home-buyers who transform the area in the aesthetics and culture of De Waterkant, so much to change the industry and lifestyle of the entire neighborhood.

The role of the ethnoscape and the mediascape as ways of understanding situational political ecology and globalization are just as instrumental to Loring Park. Characterized by a rich history of different “waves” of migration, at various scales, and the expanding and changing media presence, Loring Park as a neighborhood has fundamentally been transformed by these processes, and the ways they create and curate alternative forms of capital in the socio-spatial community.

Historically, Loring Park’s status as a gay village is a product of the major rural to urban gay migration that happened in Minnesota. While Minnesota has a rich history of homosociality through the lumbering industry, and a what appears to be a larger visible queer rural community than many other places in the United States, gay informants who migrated to Minneapolis decades ago note the need to have a place in urban spaces (Van Cleve, 2012). One informant notes that he migrated from Fargo, where he was not out, but knew he was gay²⁷. Minneapolis, and Loring Park in particular, was an imagined safe haven for rural queer people, and gay men in particular, who sought refuge from homophobic rural hinterlands. This informant’s story is quite similar to many other informants who sought refuge in Loring Park under the guise (and in addition to) of seeking job prospects or college²⁸. A number of these individuals who created Loring Park as a gay village, still live in the area, however many have left due to changing aesthetic and economic influences, from both the flow and change in human migration and media representation.

²⁷ Anonymous 2016e Loring Park

²⁸ Anonymous 2016e and 2016h Loring Park

Loring Park, located on the edge of the CBD in Minneapolis, saw changes in human migration patterns that are part and parcel with urban “revitalization” efforts, that were characterized by neoliberal economic policies of the 1990s, most notably²⁹. As discussed in the previous section, financialization and financial growth of the urban core was integral to changing these neighborhoods. These economic policies and strategies that characterized a “back to the city” movement, brought a unique demographic of people into Loring Park: the yuppie.

The expansion of the CBD and regrowth, meant the individuals who worked, lived, and occupied those spaces, changed with the economy. The “yuppie” or “young, urban, professional”, is a demographic that informants describe as people who moved into Loring Park to be close to their business and government jobs downtown. In order to capitalize on the resurgence of downtown, the Loring Park Neighborhood Master Plan (2013) was created to cater to this demographic. The creation of bike lanes, mixed use development, and renovation of the park are examples of this. The Master Plan notes that it wants to transform the area into an ideal “urban village”. I think this language, and subsequent policies are instrumental to understanding the shift (and institutional appeal to this demographic) in aesthetic, culture, and people that occupy and interact with Loring Park.

A shift away from its gay village status, an “urban village” is ideal to the city, because it retains the sense of community and a beacon of liberal, “diverse”, urbanism. The ways in which it does, and the ways in which city officials and planning informants describe this, appear to subvert gay residents and frequenters of the area³⁰. Language around “cleaning up” was used by these officials to signify that Loring Park is a dirty area, an unsafe area, and a place that people don’t want to be. However, planners quite like the idea of having some of these gay-owned or

²⁹ Anonymous 2016a Loring Park

³⁰ Anonymous 2016i Loring Park

frequented businesses and restaurants in particular, as it contributes to the diversity of the area. There is, however, a want to clean up these sort of uniquely gay spaces, and the people that frequent them, such as bars, sex shops, and other “dirty” things³¹. Additionally, the renovations to the park, as an informant notes, have made it more open and visible, to increase safety. While this valuable, it also seems to have reduced the spaces in which gay men often hooked up in the park. Safety and security are admirable agendas, but perhaps the “safety” that these institutions seek for this new, liberal elite demographic, is out of a fear of the Other and “sexual deviancy”³².

The younger and straighter demographic that migrated to Loring Park often comes from suburban communities. These individuals have brought with them changing social and symbolic power in the neighborhood. They bring dominant and powerful identities, such as whiteness, heterosexuality, educated, and often upper-middle class incomes, that have the benefit of having cultural and social capital at the highest of global levels. Additionally, in conjunction with planning institutions, they helped change the social and cultural capital landscape of the area, as they bring their aesthetics and cultural practices into the area through transportation, new and different housing stock, and different entertainment venues. They made heterosexuality a norm and the “urban village” a reality. However, one must also not that homosexuality and queerness is not, not present in the neighborhood, but rather not to the same extent as it once was. It is also important to note that during my interviews it was apparent that many queer individuals, most notably young, gay, white men, are often active participants in this process. While many gay men want to move to the area because of its historical importance and remaining venues, many also pride the area for being an “urban village”, as it exists today³³.

³¹ Anonymous 2016b Loring Park

³² Anonymous 2016d Loring Park

³³ Anonymous 2016g Loring Park

The changing realities of migration are pertinent to situational urban political ecologies of both Cape Town and Minneapolis. In an intra-urban level, De Waterkant and Loring Park bear striking resemblance, despite their difference in development, geography, and economy (amongst many other factors). Both neighborhoods are characterized by de-concentrations of gay people, amenities, and resources. This has culminated in a loss of symbolic, cultural, and political power for both locations. At an inter-urban level, urban political ecology can be used to explain De Waterkant as a neighborhood of high global order, that has influenced the flow of people that have migrated to the area, through an appeal to international tourism and its colonial ties to the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Europeanization, from both heterosexuals and bourgeois white gays have permeated the neighborhood, and reduced the permanent population of the area to around just a few hundred, as many are second home buyers and have created a place in which they 'belong' and occupy symbolic capital and power (Antonsich, 2010). This has completely desecrated the ability to lobby for interests against the government and developers, and has culminated in a situational marginalization in both sociality, as well as spatiality, since queer community in De Waterkant has been functionally erased, rather than displaced (Wisner et al., 2004). In contrast to this global attraction, Loring Park exemplifies an inter-urban political ecology at quite small levels. As it is one of dozens of comparable mid- to large-sized cities in the United States, Minneapolis doesn't have the same kind of attraction for international elites that Cape Town does. Most of the flows of people that create the most substantive changes in Loring Park come from an intra-metropolitan perspective, from surrounding suburbs, who move into the area, and appeal to a regional belonging (Antonsich, 2010). In both instances, the straight-washing, and heterocolonialism of the neighborhoods have transformed and subvert the counter-hegemonic sexual citizenship norms (Binnie, 2004), and have culminated in a reversion

to straight spaces. This process, marked less by aggressive neoliberal policies than South Africa and Cape Town, has culminated in a slow, but sure, transformation of the neighborhood.

In conclusion of these two case studies, the ethnoscape is a critical frame through which geographers should analyze globalizing gentrification. The idea of inter-urbanisms and intra-urbanisms reoccurs in this chapter, but perhaps with a larger role and with an emphasis on physical migrations of peoples. The variable that can be analyzed through the ethnoscape, to indicate levels and presence of gentrification would be the origin of new residents. De Waterkant draws from a largely inter-urban demographic, largely international, even. The people who are moving to De Waterkant are international elites, both gay and straight (though increasingly straight) who buy homes in De Waterkant to take advantage of the opposite summers, colonial environment, and affordability. When analyzing the cities and gay villages of the Global South and those of higher urban hierarchies, these will remain important values to assess. As discussed, these elites or “swallows” utilize not only their fiscal capital, but their cultural capital to transform the neighborhood, through their Europeanization, their whiteness, and for some, their straightness. Cultural capital is an important part of understanding geographies of gentrification, and within the ethnoscape, as it provides a way for understanding how transfers within power occur.

In contrast to De Waterkant, Loring Park draws a new population largely from an intra-urban demographic. In this chapter, I’ve argued that Loring Park occupies a lower level of urban hierarchy and because of that draws mostly from local sources for its gentrification. Fitting Richard Florida’s model well, Loring Park utilizes the appeal of liberalness to capitalize on the metropolitan area’s (and beyond) wealthy, young, professionals. The ethnoscape remains a valuable frame from which to analyze geographies of gentrification, as there is also the presence

of the variable of new residents within Loring Park. Notably, these residents are migrating far smaller differences than most who migrate to their Captonian counterpart. Within this new model, geographers must look at cities of the Global North and of lower levels of urban hierarchy as an important component to a geography of gentrification.

Technoscape

Globalization permeates less visible forms of communication and information. Part and parcel to the rise of globalization and spread of either the ethnoscape or the financescape, is the use of modern technology as a tool. The way that these technologies are physically and socially diffused across the world can be characterized as the technoscape. Within the technoscape, there are a variety of platforms for which information can be spread. In “Disjunction and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy” (1996), Appadurai often frames these technologies as informational and mechanical. While these both are integral to the spread of globalization and modernization, informational technology is a more nebulous and perplexing question with respect to global ethnographies.

Science and technologies studies often delve into discussions of actor network theory, however this chapter posits more of a discussion of diffusion of these technologies, in addition to a greater understanding of “territory” and place in globalization. Importantly, this chapter discusses the role of social media applications in the deterritorialization of gay villages, as well as a cultural strategy to re territorialized gay villages. The ways in which these technologies are utilized by communities is analyzed through the lens of Bourdieu’s social capital, where I discuss the use of networks in globalization. I discuss how this then creates a lens for which to analyze geographies of gentrification, and how they are exhibited uniquely within the case studies of De Waterkant and Loring Park. Through this, I integrate the idea of information

technology into global ethnography, comparative urban analysis, and landscapes of sexualities. The discussion of the images and ideas that are curated through these technologies is further discussed in the following chapter on media and ideas.

The rise of social media applications and information technologies of the like, have been transformational in the way communication exists within and between communities, across the world. The social media phenomena has gone through iterations of platforms for AIM and MySpace in the early 2000s, to contemporary uses of the big three: Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. The use of these contemporary platforms have allowed for mass global connection and communication. With the click of a mouse or the stroke of a key, one can connect with an individual in another country, oceans away. Today, social media applications have expanded beyond these modes of communication but are often created to streamline a difficult transactional process (often one that is contingent upon geographical proximity). In this chapter, I highlight the role of Uber, a mobile application which provides a cheaper car transportation alternative to a taxi. Another critical application to these ethnographies is the role of AirBnB - a service that is used to self-rent one's homes (or rooms in a home) to guests for either a long or short stay. Perhaps the most notable type of applications in gay villages would be the use of gay social media platforms. The most well known of these applications is gay hook-up, dating, and chat application known as Grindr.

Globalization has spread new forms of information technologies such as social media applications, that have made gay culture in De Waterkant more mobile, and deterritorialized. The rise of social media, and information technology, generally, helped raise De Waterkant as an international gay destination - particularly for wealthy gay Europeans³⁴. International marketing,

³⁴ Anonymous 2016a De Waterkant

originally done through print media such as gay magazines and newspapers, is now nearly exclusively based in social media and other forms of digital advertising. These transformations have changed the type of people that have access to simply the idea of De Waterkant. As discussed in the ethnoscape and the financescape, international elites have bought homes in De Waterkant. Many of these individuals are wealthy, gay, European men who have discovered De Waterkant as a Africa's premier gay enclave through the expansion of information technologies that enable their migration and economic transformation.

While I didn't have the opportunity to interview any of these elites (or "swallows"), I did have the opportunity to discuss the role that these individuals play in the transformation of culture and contribute to gentrification of De Waterkant with residents (past and present), and how technology has transformed this process. Expanding to a greater geography and social groups was inevitable, as social media applications Grindr and Tinder give non-straight (mostly) men the ability to meet men without needing to spatially congregate.

Although these applications are still spatially based on proximity to others, they do contribute to a seeming deterritorialization of gay space. This is a phenomenon that's been documented worldwide, and is certainly true for De Waterkant. Many informants feel as though they no longer need to travel to De Waterkant to catch up with friends or meet new friends, hook ups, or dates, as they can find them throughout the entire metro area via social media applications³⁵. This has culminated in a reduced gay presence in Cape Town, as there is a reduced need to go out, particularly with younger crowds. Amsterdam Bar, for example has an average age of 35³⁶. In addition, the area has become increasingly expensive which has resulted in a spiraling reduction of fewer and fewer students, young people, and people of lower incomes

³⁵ Anonymous 2016f, 2016g, 2016h De Waterkant

³⁶ Anonymous 2016f De Waterkant

frequenting the area. This has created a belonging of gay space as beyond the physical, and into the virtual, and left De Waterkant with a limited and exclusive gay presence of older and wealthier frequenters than it used before. An informant who has been frequenting the area for thirty years notes:

“And with the advent of computerization and cell phones people started to stay home, the internet and all that. Things changed. So there was not enough things for people to sustain...they moved away out of town...and so things depleted so we had five or ten places, now we only have 5 places that are too little for all the people. So it changed a lot. Modern technology has really taken over”³⁷.

Many of my youngest gay informant discussed the use of social media applications as being “convenient” and allow for more flexibility in plans and cast a wider net for friends³⁸. This includes being able to meet other gay men at venues that are not specifically gay spaces, but at alternative spaces such as a mall, a beach, or for an activity. This is particularly true for gay people who have other salient identities to the way they navigate space, and may choose (such as those that cater to black Africans, younger people, internationals, etc). Of course, this allows individuals to stay in contact with friends abroad, such as the migratory elites. In contrast, the older population that I spoke with, often described a time when De Waterkant was “more gay”. One of the most noticeable changes to them, in the way that people navigate space, has been the introduction of social media applications³⁹. Although they don’t blame those that have these apps (most of them do as well), they still long for a truly “gay” De Waterkant.

The use of global information technology in De Waterkant also interacts with the use of other social media platforms, transportation methods, and the lodging economy. As discussed in the financescape, the economic transformation from international elites (both gay, and more

³⁷ Anonymous 2016f De Waterkant

³⁸ Anonymous 2016h De Waterkant

³⁹ Anonymous 2016g and 2016f De Waterkant

recently, straight) and neoliberal city policy, has come with great contestation of current and former residents, who aspire to have De Waterkant maintain its “village” feel and aesthetic, as opposed to major high rise developments. To counter this, many of the locals and long time residents have actually used social media as a way to push back on this controversy⁴⁰. The Facebook page “De Waterkant Village Community” was created by the neighborhood council to discuss concerns of new developments and other issues that may occur in the neighborhood. In this way, social media and information technology has also been used as a cultural strategy to help maintain aesthetic and culture of De Waterkant. and promote a specific kind of aesthetic. Therefore, this page is not created to prevent gentrification per se, but to prevent overdevelopment, such as massive skyscraper projects and new shopping centers. Many of the posts in this page, as well as discussed by my informants, is to police the neighborhood identity, often fitting with that of being an elite and exclusive neighborhood, and certainly not the curation of gay or queer community⁴¹. Moreover, the “swallows” occupy a fairly large presence in this neighborhood page, particularly during the summer months, as they are prominent stakeholders in the neighborhood still, and the social and economic capital to support this (as discussed in previous chapters).

An increasing problem that often gets mentioned on this page is the lack of parking in De Waterkant. Historically, most people traveled to and from De Waterkant via personal cars, this has become increasingly difficult in the neighborhood with the development of the world-known FIFA World Cup stadium in nearby Green Pointe. Perhaps an example of mechanical technology and globalization, the creation of the stadium required a refitting of a number of streets, buildings, and parking in De Waterkant and other proximate neighborhoods. In this process,

⁴⁰ Anonymous 2016a and 2016c De Waterkant

⁴¹ Anonymous 2016a, 2016c, and 2016e De Waterkant

Somerset, the main drag of De Waterkant, saw a loss in street parking as it narrowed, as well as a number of other streets, especially as they transitioned to one-way roads. These changes coupled with new high rise developments, made parking in De Waterkant (particularly on the weekends) difficult and expensive at best and unavailable at worst. Informants argue that this has led to the demise of the village as a gay Mecca, within the metropolitan area, as the accessibility has become increasingly sparse⁴². Consequently, the lack of local gay revenue, culture, and residents, particularly of younger folks in De Waterkant, is a contributor to both gentrification by straight people, as well as international elites (both gay and straight). Noting this issue, it is important to note the role of digital applications, such as Uber, on handheld devices. This technology has been used as a cultural strategy to access De Waterkant, for many gay and queer individuals. However, it is widely used by straight people from across the metropolitan area, making Uber's role perhaps even more of a tool in the gentrification process, than a cultural strategy for prevention of gentrification.

The technoscape and use of information technology perhaps most greatly interacts with the ethnoscape and financescape through the increasingly popular use of AirBnB. A platform that is used to rent out rooms in one's home (or the home in its entirety), AirBnB has been used by many individuals across De Waterkant as a way to supplement their income, or even function as their primary source of income. I've discussed the importance of De Waterkant as a second home buying market for international elites, and how they have transformed the local economy (Visser 2014; Rink 2015). Gentrification, in its most traditional senses, seems to become more apparent through analysis of AirBnB, as international elites rent out their De Waterkant homes via AirBnB, and consequently create a constant state of tourism in the village. I've discussed the

⁴² Anonymous 2016f and 2016g De Waterkant

role that a couple agencies play in the management of rental properties in De Watkernat, but they are increasingly in struggle as AirBnB has become a more lucrative option for many swallows and other landlords⁴³. Knowing that De Waterkant has transformed economically, and demographically (as evidenced by the financescape and the ethnoscape, respectively), analysis of the technoscape provides a lens to see how gentrification of this processes will continue via the information technology that globalization makes readily available. Specifically with AirBnB, the residential population is kept to a minimum, as many of the homes become second homes, and are rented out to mostly short-term renters (as one can charge comparatively more for shorter stays than longer stays/rents). Additionally, AirBnB attracts a wealthy demographic that, while it is too premature to track well, appears to drive up property prices, rental costs because a transformation to a more commercial economy, even in residential spaces (or what once were) makes a larger profit for investors than simply flipping and selling.⁴⁴ and transforms the aesthetic and culture of the neighborhood to an unrecognizable global urban center of skyscrapers and international chain stores⁴⁵.

The technoscape and spread of information technologies, in particular, is strikingly similar in Loring Park. Globalization has brought the similar social media applications, and general use of information technology to Loring Park. The most notable differences that I will focus on in this section of the chapter are how hierarchy and development have had a profound role on the way that the technoscape has uniquely influenced Loring Park, in contrast to De Waterkant. Social media and technology have certainly had a profound role on the way that narratives are curated in and on Loring Park, particularly through the most recent iteration of

⁴³ Anonymous 2016a and 2016c De Waterkant

⁴⁴ Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

⁴⁵ Anonymous 2016d De Waterkant

gentrification of the neighborhood, and its transformation to an “urban village”. Although I will speak more about how the ideas and narratives of Loring Park through media in the following chapter, I highlight the importance of the spread of technology (and thus the technoscape) in creating contemporary gentrification in Loring Park. Many of the same platforms used in De Waterkant, such as Grindr, Tinder, Facebook, and Uber, are prominent in Loring Park as well. As I’ve argued in the financescape and ethnoscaapes, the gentrification of Loring Park is less international, and more inter-urban, with the primary demographic being the “yuppies” or young urban professionals, largely from the Twin Cities’ affluent suburbs. Often, they gain access and awareness to Loring Park through the spread of technology and use of media.

In contemporary gay America, and particularly urban gay America, Grindr is an essential element of information technology to access gay culture, let alone other gay and queer individuals. Grindr presents an interesting phenomenon of assimilation and queering geographies, particularly in Minnesota and the Twin Cities. A number of my informants note that Grindr and similar technologies have allowed them to find friends in more “unusual” places, such as in the suburbs or parts of the city, that may be further from Loring Park, or other, smaller, gay and queer enclaves⁴⁶. These individuals often appreciate the ability to move where they’d like, and frequent where they’d like, with built in support, rather than having to consistently return to Loring Park. In contrast, there are a number of individuals who attribute the rise of Grindr and other similar applications, to the demise of Loring Park as a definitively gay neighborhood⁴⁷. Not unlike older individuals in De Waterkant, there appears to be an age gap as well in Loring Park, where older residents and frequenters attribute Grindr to the deterritorialization of Loring Park, and gay areas and micro-spaces across the metropolitan area.

⁴⁶ Anonymous 2016f and 2016g Loring Park

⁴⁷ Anonymous 2016a, 2016b and 2016e Loring Park

Moreover, the way that individuals use information technology and Grindr specifically in Loring Park has changed the way that gay and queer friendships and interactions exist. Prior to globalization, and the spread of new information technologies, Loring Park (the park itself) was known as a place for gay cruising, as it was proximate to gay bars. One informant even notes how traffic jams would be caused because of the amount of cars lined around Loring Park waiting to pick someone up⁴⁸.

Today, that is certainly not the case for Loring Park. As a part of “cleaning-up” the neighborhood, and curating the “urban village”, The City of Minneapolis actually changed streets to one way to prevent cruising up and down Clifton Ave in Loring Park⁴⁹. Despite these legal changes, he attributes much of the demise of Loring Park as a gay village to the use of Grindr, and the lack of a need to congregate, or a deterritorialization of Loring Park. Another informant noted how Grindr had changed the way that he interacted with other residents and frequenters of Loring Park. He says that while the area seems to be “less gay”, that he will still often see a lot of traveling gay men, in particular, on Grindr in Loring Park⁵⁰. The Magellan Project or Grindr Tower, as discussed in the financescape, gets its colloquial name from the large presence of traveling gay men who have homes in this skyscraper. My informant notes that most of the people who live in the Grindr Tower are similar: young, urban, mobile, elites⁵¹. Certainly, there are a number of gay men who find the area attractive and decide to lease a property in the building, however, most of the renters are straight. A different informant mentioned to me how

⁴⁸ Anonymous 2016b Loring Park

⁴⁹ Anonymous 2016b Loring Park

⁵⁰ Anonymous 2016i Loring Park

⁵¹ Anonymous 2016d Loring Park

there is almost a ritualistic, or even rite of passage, type of interaction of getting the hook up with some “rich gym rat” in the Grindr Tower, to experience Loring Park⁵².

Although there appears to be controversy in the application of Grindr, there is a larger consensus amongst informants on the use of Facebook as a valuable communication technology in Loring Park. Not unlike the Facebook page for De Waterkant’s residents, there is the Facebook page “Citizens for a Loring Park Community”, which is named after the neighborhood organization bearing the same name. Informants who are either aware of or have used this page, have generally positive thoughts on its ability to build community among existing residents⁵³. This page, however, is markedly different from De Waterkant’s, as this is far less active and primarily utilized by older residents. Similarly to De Waterkant’s, this page is about maintaining community and a place where people feel comfortable, so the things that are discussed or posted are related to winter festivals or family-friendly events, not posts related to Loring Park as a gay village.

A common motif amongst gentrifying neighborhoods appears to be the lack of parking, and Loring Park is no exception. The lack of parking in Loring Park has become exacerbated as the CBD of Minneapolis expands into the neighborhood, skyscrapers are built, and street parking is lost from construction and other renovations and new developments. Some informants have actually cited this as part of their calculus in moving out of the area, but none mentioned it as the most prominent issue (which was usually rent cost). A couple whom I interviewed reported to me that although they now live in Uptown (a trendy neighborhood in South Minneapolis), they go out just as much, if not more in Loring Park than they used to⁵⁴. They attribute this to the use

⁵² Anonymous 2016d Loring Park

⁵³ Anonymous 2016a, 2016e, 2016i, and 2016j Loring Park

⁵⁴ Anonymous 2016h Loring Park

of Uber, and not having to find a location to park. While this couple is gay, and formerly lived in Loring Park, and were displaced because of the cost, I'd argue while frequenting Loring Park, they often still contribute to gentrification. While visiting the neighborhood, they often frequent the newest bars and restaurants, and perhaps unknowingly, contribute to the revanchism of Loring Park⁵⁵.

The role of the technoscape in gentrification of both De Waterkant and Loring Park can be explained by transfers of capitals and power through Bourdieu's social capital. Unlike cultural capital, social capital is based in networks and social connections. The technoscape has expanded the social networking ability, for whatever purpose, for individuals across the world. Specifically in Loring Park and De Waterkant, the technoscape has provided information technology that has culminated often in the use of social media platforms. The use of these platforms gives access to accumulation of social capital, within a number of different communities and society at large. For example, access to Grindr has given those who frequent(ed) or reside(d) in either Loring Park or De Waterkant, access to a larger social network of gay and queer individuals. The expanding social network has led to a deterritorialization of these gay villages, as there has been a lower need to congregate spatially to acquire the same level of social capital. Moreover, the use of information technology through apps like Uber, AirBnB, and even Facebook generally extends access to Loring Park and De Waterkant to many people who do not identify as gay. . Through this, the social capital of these dominant groups is extended to the gay villages, and gives them the ability to acquire their own relationships that are grounded in place. This is in contrast to the increasingly less territorial gay relationships and networks. It is evident that

⁵⁵ Anonymous 2016h Loring Park

transfer of agency and territorial social capital of the gay villages via information technology is at the crux of gentrification of these spaces.

Although there are notable similarities between the way the technoscape has manifested in De Waterkant and Loring Park, there are equally notable differences that can be articulated through the perspectives of urban political ecology on critical gentrification. It is important to reiterate the unique geographical contexts that these two neighborhoods occupy. De Waterkant represents a city in the Global South and of a higher urban hierarchy, and Loring Park represents a city in the Global North and a city of slightly lower urban hierarchy. In De Waterkant, the technoscape has developed more quickly, and recently, than its counterpart in Minnesota. Grindr, Tinder, Facebook, Uber, and other applications of the Global North, and primarily the United States. Noting this is critical to understanding the process of diffusion of technology in globalization, and how larger cities, and geographically more proximate cities, often gain technologies more quickly. This is certainly the case for information technologies in Loring Park and De Waterkant. However, it is important to also think about the prominence and hierarchy of these cities in a global context, and global economies. Cape Town, is in a unique position in Africa, as it is one of the largest, wealthiest, and most “connected” cities (via colonialism and migration) on the continent. Therefore, it is not surprising that technologies, once global, make their way to Cape Town quite quickly. In fact, only eleven cities in sub-Saharan Africa have Uber, and of them Cape Town is the second largest. In contrast, Minneapolis is one of over a hundred metropolitan areas in the United States with Uber, and is the sixteenth largest metropolitan area in the United States. Urban political ecology, and the uneven distribution of power across the larger urban hierarchy is a lasting effect of colonialism, heteroization, and other major systemic issues that have permeated globalization, and create a unique geography for each

city, and thus gay village. These unique geographies exist within the larger system of globalization, and an urban political ecology lens is best to understand how the technoscape has created an uneven distribution of access to resources.

The technoscape, and the diffusion of information technology in particular, is an important part of a new model to analyze globalizing gentrification. Through this research, I discovered that the most salient variable to analyze within the technoscape is the change in information technology use and access. A critical geography of gentrification will explore this variable, and take into account the unique geographical context to understand how the technology has occurred as it has. De Waterkant and Loring Park serve as examples of the Global North and the Global South, respectively.

In De Waterkant, the diffusion of technology reflected its status as an international city, and as a city in the Global South. Serving as an example as a city in high urban hierarchy, De Waterkant has become a hotbed for AirBnB and similar travel applications, particularly those that target international travelers. One assessing a critical geography of gentrification in a large, international city, may look to this as an indicator. Moreover, the timeframe in which the social media and other forms of information technology reach Cape Town and other cities in the Global South, is often slightly later than that of their Global North counterparts. This will be a salient way to analyze the technoscape, and assessing geographies of gentrification, in the future.

Loring Park provides a slightly different iteration of the technoscape, that reflects that of the Global North and a regional city. Most information technologies, and all discussed in this paper, come from the Global North, and thus often reach cities in the Global North more quickly. Should the Global South catch the Global North in its use and creation of information technology, this may be a variable in this model that will require revisiting. Although Loring

Park has AirBnB, its role is far less prominent in the local economy and use of information technology than in De Waterkant. Rather, Loring Park seems to have a higher emphasis on wealthy people using Uber to travel into the neighborhood (both gay and straight). This has (perhaps inadvertently) contributed to the gentrification of the area, and a stratification of what remaining original residents reside in the area, and the businesses they need. Increasing uses of applications that promote intra-urban travel and migration, such as Uber, may remain an indicator of gentrification.

Both De Waterkant and Loring Park are analyzed through the lens of social capital, which is an important way to understand transfers of power in a geography of gentrification. This way of understanding networking (which is actually one of the “I’m Looking For” categories on Grindr) can be used to explain how individuals build networks outside of place. When this happens, it can be used to allow for a sort of passive gentrification. In a model of gentrification in globalization, geographers will need to analyze the role of social capital and networks that are not grounded in spatiality, but rather the technoscape as a way to interrogate contemporary gentrification.

Ideo-Mediascape

Globalization has streamlined the diffusion of ideas through global marketing schemes and the spread of global capitalism. Although globalization permeates even the most remote geographies, its heart is at the urban center. These centers are at the nexus of international and regional migration, wealth, and knowledge centers - all products of globalization and globalizing capitalism. Within these centers, gay villages represent globalization of an international gay identity and praxis. This chapter will discuss the role of globalization on creating and curating what I will call “brands”, which are the overarching marketing strategies and images of my two case studies: De Waterkant and Loring Park. These brands are created and changed by dominant power structures in their respective places, that extend beyond the idea of a neighborhood identity, but to a performance of that identity to the outside world. For this chapter, I combine Appadurai’s mediascape and ideoscape for the purpose of providing an advanced analysis of the way media reifies and diffuses ideologies and narratives of place, where the diffusion of media is used to predict the ideoscape. Within these flows, transfers of agency and power must be critically analyzed through the Bourdieuan concept of symbolic capital. Through this, I analyze how the ideo-mediascape manifests in unique contexts of power and development. These are then further explored, through an analysis of how they create different urban political ecologies at a inter and intra-urban level. The analysis of how and why the ideo-mediascape represents itself, and diffuses in the context of these gay villages, creates a new a way of analyzing neighborhood change within a global context. I argue that the ideo-mediascape is an integral strategy for analysis in creating and assessing critical geographies of gentrification.

Gay villages have developed in major metropolitan centers across the world. These have developed for several reasons, chief among them is that they provide a way for gay and queer

people to congregate and live in safety. De Waterkant is no exception to this phenomenon, serving as a local, regional, and even international hub of gay life from its inception. De Waterkant is unique in the sense that its prominence and peak of gay life is also a product of globalization and larger international migrations and movements, in contrast to gay villages in the Global North. The diffusion of expanding ideologies of acceptance via globalization was a prominent force in giving agency to gay and queer groups in Cape Town, and the creation of De Waterkant as a gay village. As discussed by Rink (2015), prior to its gay ‘quarter’ De Waterkant could be characterized as a “Bohemian” neighborhood, populated with artists, young working class individuals, and a diverse population, racially. The apartheid era solidified De Waterkant as a white-only neighborhood, which certainly had a profound influence on the very clearly forced and visible change in the neighborhood in terms of race, and therefore class, culture, and aesthetic. During this time, De Waterkant developed as a gay village, and this was in fact furthered with the fall of the Group Areas Act, and the neighborhood again returned to be more diverse in the 1990s, representing many religions, classes, races, all of primarily a non-straight demographic. Informants who have been long time residents and frequenters to the neighborhood (of multiple races) and remember these times in the 1990s, reflected on their times as positive and that De Waterkant was a diverse community. Many of them even recall a return to the former “Bohemian” aesthetic.⁵⁶

The dominant narrative of De Waterkant as “Africa’s Gay Capital” was certainly altered through the intentional creation of a “brand” of De Waterkant, and the utilization of neoliberal policy in globalization via the ideo-mediascape. During its “prime” years, De Waterkant was an international tourist destination, but was first and foremost a gay village for Capetonians. As

⁵⁶ Anonymous 2016a, 2016c, 2016e De Waterkant

discussed in the financescape, neoliberal policies, likely to compensate for isolation in Apartheid, were utilized to bring international capital into the city and neighborhood. This was done through branding De Waterkant. Note my use of the word “altered”, as De Waterkant remained Africa’s Gay Capital, but for whom? In an era of globalization and neoliberal economics, the city of Cape Town, as well as developers, worked to curate and create an image of De Waterkant as cosmopolitanism epitomized. The appeal to international gay elites to invest heavily in De Waterkant came through an appeal via print capitalism. A term coined by Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities* (1991), print capitalism refers to the distribution and access to ideas via print media, often in the vernacular. Below, I’ve included a chart of how I use Anderson’s terms, in the context of neoliberalism.

Anderson in Neoliberalism

Anderson's Term	Term in Neoliberalism of Gay Villages
Print capitalism	Digital capitalism
Vernacular (spoken/written)	Vernacular (use of gay cultural language/appeal)
Nation	A global gay identity
Imagined Community	Consists of a "brand" and a "target demographic"

International gay magazines, television, and other forms of media helped culminate a an “imagined community” of gay identity. To this end, I liken a global gay identity to a nation (and with respect to “brands” , a target demographic). Thus, the vernacular is not a language in its own right, but rather an appeal to a gay pathos. International gay magazines, the City of Cape Town, and new international businesses in De Waterkant, created an international brand with international elites (gay and straight) as its target demographic. After all, they do bring in the most capital investment. The developer whom I interviewed corroborated this, as even went as far to state that gentrification is a good thing and beneficial to local economies and development⁵⁷. He went on to discuss the change of De Waterkant from being “primarily gay” to being more about new wealth and “international.”⁵⁸

While targeting international elites of all sexualities, real estate developers are sure to capitalize on De Waterkant appeal as a “gay village” in its creation of a place of internationalism and diversity. The alternation of this narrative, and spread in ideology (via media) fundamentally

⁵⁷ Anonymous 2016h De Waterkant

⁵⁸ Anonymous 2016h De Waterkant

changed the type of economic framework that exists in De Waterkant. Historically, De Waterkant could be described, to an extent, a sharing economy, operated with small businesses, and a genuine “village” feel where everyone was familiar with each other and economically supported one another, as well. The drastic fundamental change in business types and branding of De Waterkant has created a new “imagined community” and dominant narrative of the neighborhood as place of extreme wealth and capitalism. No doubt, what exists on the ground today, is largely reflected by that narrative with new skyscrapers appearing annually. These developments have shifted the economic framework of De Waterkant away from a sharing economy to rather an aggressive neoliberal and capitalist economy. To this end, gay culture is used as neoliberal tool for investment. Certainly, a number of contributors to the pressing concerns of overdevelopment in the neighborhood can be attributed to gay elites, but this increasingly less true as the neighborhood shifts. Today, what is left of a gay De Waterkant, exists in artifact. The artifactization of De Waterkant is representation of gay culture as an image of what it once was as well as an allusion to the seemingly exploratory and archaeological process that straight communities practice when entering De Waterkant.

Within the context of De Waterkant, the ideo-mediascape can be used as lens to understand changing frameworks of being. Functioning as a global imaginary of consumption, De Waterkant’s brand and target demographics comprise an imagined community (via print capitalism) and the nation to fill it. A stark transition away from the sharing economy articulated in nostalgia by my informants, the new neoliberal capitalist framework creates a context that cedes the local to the global. As Rink (2015) argues, De Waterkant now exists in a ‘lifestyle’ quarter, characterized by international bourgeois businesses, corporations, and luxury condominiums. The remaining decidedly gay spaces exist for the purpose of attracting tourism.

Artifactized, these bars and clubs are visited with nostalgia by older gay frequenters to De Waterkant, and amazement and obsession by De Waterkant's new target demographic: international (straight) elites⁵⁹.

In contrast to De Waterkant, the ideo-mediascape has branded and reimagined Loring Park as the idyllic "urban village". As discussed in the financescape, the "urban village" is an aesthetic and culture created and curated by the City of Minneapolis. In the Loring Park Neighborhood Master Plan (2013), which was developed less than a decade ago, the performance of liberalness and highlights the benefits of urban living. Certainly, this document details admirable efforts of diversity, cultural preservation, and sustainability. I highlight the appeal to pathos of "yuppies," and using Loring Park's marked status as a gay village, to achieve this agenda. While this document is likely only seen by few public eyes, it is important to emphasize the codified and long-term objectives of local planning efforts in economic development, and what tools are (perhaps even tacitly) being used by these entities.

As Hammel and Wyly (2001) indicate, there has been an increasing trend in the change of housing values, rental costs, and income of the neighborhood, in a way that would indicate gentrification. Although this phenomenon has been well documented in Loring Park by economists and statistical geographers, the questions of "why" and "how" remain. Murphy (2010) provides us with some insight into this, particularly on the discussion of land use and the gay land rush, in Loring Park. He highlights the use of gay sexuality in media through print capitalism and uses in the "gay vernacular" (as opposed to planning documents) such as billboards and magazines to tap into an underutilized demographic in marketing and branding. With the onset of perhaps digital print capitalism (as opposed to strictly print capitalism) and the

⁵⁹ Anonymous 2016f De Waterkant

rise of information technologies (such as those discussed in the previous chapter), there was an appeal to larger gay demographic, reaching beyond its existing population. This was precursor to the type of gentrification and branding that is seen today in Loring Park. Paving the way for wealthy gay elites to migrate to the chic and up-and-coming gay village of Loring Park provided the neoliberal framework to ultimately appeal to a larger “yuppie” demographic and contemporary brand.

Perhaps the most salient performance of the idea-mediascape appears in the annual Pride event, hosted in Loring Park. Loring Park, as historically the neighborhood for “sexual deviants”, has hosted a Pride festival since the mid-twentieth century. Originally as a protest for equal rights and treatment (as all Pride events were), it has transformed over the years. Today, Twin Cities Pride is the third largest of its kind in the country, only second to New York and Los Angeles. My informants’ relationship with Pride varied by age, as the older informants recall the time when Pride was more of a protest, and the younger informants know it as more of a large party⁶⁰. One informant who has a long history with the Pride festival in the Twin Cities, relayed to me a paradox that he feels Pride is facing, “...sometimes it can make it feel like a big marketing festival, but at the same time it’s like well at least I’m glad they want my dollars rather than not wanting them.⁶¹” Over the years, the Pride fest has become increasingly dominated by neoliberalism, and there has been a change in the very imagining of Loring Park. As gay and queer rights have gained support and popularity, companies, similar to cities, can gain cultural capital (and subsequently, fiscal capital) through an appeal to gay rights. The branding of companies as gay or queer-friendly, has seemingly transformed the purpose of Pride. As my informant notes, this not without complexity, as it’s changed the core of what Pride is

⁶⁰ Anonymous 2016a, 2016b, 2016e, and 2016i Loring Park

⁶¹ Anonymous 2016a Loring Park

about which he's not so keen on, but it also symbolizes an appeal to gay folk belonging to larger identities. For example, when Target (one of the largest corporate supports of Twin Cities Pride) has a large float in the parade, there's a sense of belonging to an American identity, as Target is a nationally recognized chain, that's often associated with the American banal.

Although the Twin Cities largely attract a national and regional crowd, it is certain the influence comes from the global. The flows of fundamental change in ideology such as acceptance and neoliberalism. In tandem, these globalizing ideologies and frameworks have permeated Minneapolis and Loring Park through the use of print, or perhaps more accurately, digital capitalism. Reframing Anderson's ideas in terms of neoliberalism is perhaps best seen in the chart below. The spread of these ideologies is done through events such as Pride, where there is a performance of allyship. These performances give cultural capital to these corporations, not unlike how cities can cultivate cultural capital through their appeal and branding as a gay-friendly.

The changes in the way Pride exists in Minneapolis has similarly altered the way that people conceptualize Loring Park. Today, my informants were in consensus that Loring Park is likely most well known to those outside the urban core as "the place where Pride happens"⁶². Certainly, Loring Park has retained its reputation of being a gay space, but is fundamentally different in the way it is territorialized, not unlike the way De Waterkant has changed. As discussed in the technoscape, there has been an arguable deterritorialization of gay spaces due to increasing expansion of acceptance and the prevalence of information technology. Building on Ferguson & Gupta's (1997) critique of Appadurai, in globalization there isn't a deterritorialization, but rather a reterritorialization of space. In the current model and existing

⁶² Anonymous 2016a, 2016e, 2016h, and 2016i Loring Park

framework of the way contemporary gay villages (or post-gay villages) may be utilized differently, but are certainly not obsolete, in gay culture or otherwise. No doubt that these reterritorializations coincide with the “brands” of Loring Park. The corporatization, commodification, and even artifactization of Twin Cities Pride has a profound role on the imaging of Loring Park to gay and queer people, and others. To my gay and queer informants, Loring Park is a symbol of what it once was, or rather it represents an artifact of its former, pre-gentrification quartering⁶³. To others, it symbolizes a place of urban festivity, as it’s known for “the place where Pride happens.” As cultural attitudes have shifted around gay and queer rights, so has the narrative of Loring Park.

Although there are notable similarities between De Waterkant and Loring Park, their global and geographical contexts within a larger urban political ecological framework have influenced the way that the ideo-mediascape has permeated their respective cultures. A political ecology of the ideo-mediascape requires a reframing of the framework that is focused less on a hierarchy of access to resources, but rather an uneven diffusion of ideology. The important distinction to draw here is the the diffusion of the idea of “acceptance” and “tolerance” of gay and queer people across the world, as an ideology, through media. Although acceptance has been practiced by whom? regardless of geography, there are certainly dominant ideologies of cities, and those are often reflected in planning and city “branding.” Many cities adapted these ideologies more quickly, than their rural counterparts, however, there is a diversity in adaptation as well. The history of Minnesota and the Twin Cities as having gay spaces is extensive (Van Cleve 2012). Spanning a century into the lumbering industry where homosocial behavior was frequent, and the historical Gateway District, a more visible queer community has existed in and

⁶³ Anonymous 2016b, 2016d, 2016f, and 2016i Loring Park

around Loring Park. In contrast, De Waterkant, while having been a self-designated gay village for quite sometime, has not had the same level of visibility. With the rise of the post-apartheid administration, neoliberalism was more heavily endorsed, as well as a plethora of rights for sexual minorities. The spread of these ideologies to government in Cape Town and South Africa helped propel De Waterkant into the globalization via the ideo-mediascape.

The diffusion of these ideologies, and their transformation to the built and social environment on the ground, in these two case studies, can be articulated through the Bourdieu's symbolic capital. The ability to make what *is* and what *is not*, and to reify spaces and determine territoriality can all be attributed to symbolic power. This can, to an extent, be thought about as the theoretical sum of the other forms of capital (fiscal, social, and cultural). The agents with symbolic power in the instances of De Waterkant and Loring Park are governmental entities such as the city governments of Minneapolis and Cape Town, and international corporations, such as Target. This form of capital is unique, as I theorize that there is no power shift in who has capital and access to, as I do in the previous chapters. Corporations and governments have had control of symbolic since the rise of capitalism, and have dictated who has the other forms of capital, when it is advantageous to them. When having a gay population was not a capitalizing attribute for cities, they made the role and influence of those communities and neighborhoods negligible. Today, they use them as a heuristic for generating greater investment, as they have recreated the narrative and the symbolism of these places.

The role of the ideo-mediascape is perhaps more abstract than some of the other globalscapes analyzed in this thesis, but is equally as important to a geography of gentrification, if not more. A model of geography of gentrification must include an analysis of overarching ideas that are diffused through media. What are the perceptions of these villages, and how has

that influenced gentrification? The ideo-mediascape provides a strategy in research to understand how changes in dominant narratives can be an indicator of gentrification, but these narratives look quite different given the unique geographies in which they occur.

De Waterkant and Loring Park both have major “brands” that are curated by their respective municipalities and relevant corporate actors in development. De Waterkant, as an international city appeals to a “target demographic” of international travelers and performs as a playground for the world’s elite. Beyond this, cities that occupy a similar level of urban hierarchy of Cape Town make expect that in the process of gentrification, that gay villages may be artifactized, where people travel to view the gay village, or at least an image of what they think it is. In contrast, Loring Park appeals to Richard Florida’s “creative class” through its marketing as an “urban village” and emphasis on sustainability, liberalness, and diversity. No doubt, these are good things in an urban center, and perhaps these narratives aren’t even presented as a way to generate capital, but that is nonetheless the effect they have. Cities such as Minneapolis, that are in the Global North, and slightly lower in the urban hierarchy, often appeal to people from their large and wealthy suburbs, and enact this through the “brand” or an imagined community of diversity, liberalism, and sustainability. Using this model of gentrification, researchers should critically analyze the role that neoliberalism plays in how cities portray themselves, and what kinds of cities portray themselves in similar ways.

To further explain this model, researchers should analyze the relevant Bourdieuan capital for the ideo-mediascape: symbolic capital. In this chapter, I argued that symbolic capital is likely a constant across geographies of gentrification, where the elite institutions of government and powerful corporate actors often have power in creating dominant narratives and the ability to name. Although I identify this as a constant, it is perhaps the most foundational underlying

component to this model. Researchers must examine and identify which institutions and individuals, specifically, have symbolic power. From there, they can begin to assess how this influences the curation of a neighborhood.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

In this thesis, I have responded to this call by creating a new and critical model from which one can analyze the processes of gentrification in a truly global context, and not strictly the Global North. This theoretical framework is again detailed in the chart on the following page.

A New Model for Geographies of Gentrification in Globalization: Gay Villages

Lens of Analysis	Variable	What to look for in alpha cities	What to look for in beta cities	How power shifts have primarily happened
Financescape	Economic Policies	- Foreign Investment - Overt Neoliberalism	- Historic Preservation - Covert Neoliberalism	Fiscal Capital
Ethnoscape	Origin of New Residents	- Intra-urban migration - “swallows”/ international elites	- Inter-urban migration - “yuppies”/young elites	Cultural Capital
Technoscape	Information technology access/ change	- Rise of global/tourist platforms (AirBnB) - Increase in use of gay/queer social media - Increase in use of intra-urban movement (Uber)	- Increase in use of gay/queer social media - Increase in use of intra-urban movement (Uber)	Social Capital
Media-ideoscape	Change in Dominant Narratives via Media and Marketing	- Appeal to an international market through “branding”, “target demographics” - Artifacticization of gay culture in marketing	- Appeal to a “creative class”/“yuppief” demographic through “branding” and “target demographics” - Performance of liberalness in media	Symbolic Capital

This chart is a tool for understanding the model presented in this thesis, and responds to the gap in literature on the integration of globalization in gentrification, as well as an enhanced understanding of the relationship between gay villages and gentrification. The chart clearly displays the role of a lens of analysis or Appadurain “globalscapes”, to critically examine a variable, or neoliberal process of gentrification in urban centers. The third and fourth columns depict the arguments made in the analytical portions of this, in a comparative analysis of gentrification processes in alpha cities and beta cities. The final column indicates the primary Bourdieuan capital that can be analyzed to understand how gentrification processes may occur. This model responds to the call for an integration of globalization into gentrification literature, by providing these frameworks of analysis, as well as an understanding of the processes in varied geographies. Additionally, this model and thesis provide an understanding of gay villages in gentrification, which is under-discussed in a critical analysis of gentrification. This chart displays the role of gay villages in gentrification by highlighting how the various iterations of globalization (the globalscapes) influence the culture of the gay villages.

Globalization has an omnipresent role in both the banal and the eccentric of contemporary urbanity. The various roles that globalization plays can be characterized by Appadurai’s five globalscapes: the financescape, the ethnoscape, the technoscape, the mediascape, and the ideoscape. I’ve discussed how gay villages are at a particularly susceptibility to a globalization centered around neoliberalism, as they are untapped and underused spaces, from capitalist understanding. The two case studies I examined in this thesis provide insight to not only how these flows manifest in gay villages, but uniquely how the geographies of these gay villages matter to the way in which the flows manifest themselves.

Through an analysis of urban political ecology, I've articulated how local contexts provide insight into how globalscapes are not uniform in diffusion or iteration. To critically understand the ways in which resources are distributed in urban spaces, and gay villages specifically, I analyzed the case studies of De Waterkant and Loring Park in a comparative analysis. In the Global South and cities higher in the urban hierarchy, such as that of Cape Town and De Waterkant, tend to accumulate more inter-urban flows. In contrast, Minneapolis Loring Park, as an example of a village in the Global North and slightly lower in the urban hierarchy drew from a globalized intra-urban flow. Noting this, globalization induced change was often initialized earlier in Loring Park due to being located in the Global North than its South African counterpart, however, De Waterkant appears to have a quicker marginal change, likely due to being higher in the urban hierarchy. These villages highlight how unique geographical contexts influence the way that globalization has influenced the trajectories of the neighborhood, and a model to predict and analyze gentrification should be nuanced as such.

Despite these differences, I argue that both neighborhoods culminate in gentrification and Bourdieuan alternative capitals give agency to this. Bourdieu's alternative capitals can be understood in the context of each globalscape. Within the financescape, the traditional understanding of capital (fiscal capital) is used by actors to change the way financial transactions are conceived, and contribute to the transition to the neoliberalization of gay villages. In the ethnoscape, I indicate that the use of cultural capital is integral to physical movement of people. Elites (both inter and intra urban) carry cultural capital through literal artifacts such as degrees, but also through language and skill. They utilize this cultural capital to transform the social demography of gay village, in which they gentrify and displace original residents. The technoscape highlights the spread of information technology such as social media, and agency is

transferred through the use and accumulation of social capital. The networks and connectedness of individuals gives them the some agency in the outcome of the neighborhood, such as a passive component of gentrification, where some gay and queer individuals no longer feel the need to maintain the village. Lastly, the ideo-mediascape utilizes the symbolic capital and power. In juxtaposition to the previous capitals, I argue that symbolic capital is stagnant through the gentrification process. Symbolic power in the context of gay villages is about the ability to dictate the dominant narratives, the marketing, and imagination of the village. The actors who consistently occupied this power are large corporations and governmental entities who have the ability to create and endorse neoliberal policy. Therefore, gentrification often occurs when these actors determine that a gay village is a capitalizable attribute of their city or provides an opportunity for their developments and businesses.

After establishing how gentrification has occurred in these two case studies, I identified how these globalscapes, and the supporting theories I used, can be used to create a new model for understanding “critical geographies of gentrification.” In *Gentrification* (2008), Lees et al., reflect on the iterations of gentrification over the last half-century, across the world, and the various theoretical frameworks that have been used to explain them, often from a consumption- or production-based perspective. Lees et al. (2008) call for a greater critical understanding, as well as how this increasingly present process interacts with globalization, another seemingly increasing influential process.

This model, which is not limited to this chart, but the entirety of this thesis, is intended to inform future research and policy on gentrification, gay villages, and globalization. Although this research is certainly not intended to be a holistic analysis of gentrification, it provides insight to two complex and under-researched components: gay villages and globalization. The model

created from this research is also a critical reflection of the use of qualitative data collection and analysis, and “micro-level” or individualized and more personal methods, such as ethnography, can be used to make complex and grand models that not only extend to our philosophical understandings of culture, identity, being, and place, but to a model that is meant to be predictive in nature. This thesis serves as a qualitative model of *how* to analyze geographies of gentrification, through the globalscapes, *what* to look for within those frameworks, through the differences identified in from my urban political ecological analysis - the “values”, and *why* the geographies of gentrification occur in the way they do, through the relevant Bourdieuan capital, which I’ve identified.

This model and research provides insight into the ways in which complex, underlying structures and frameworks continue to influence our research design, practice, methods, and analysis. Lees’ call for a an examination of globalization is topical, but to highlight as a sort of enigmatic concept is an issue for research and analysis. Throughout this thesis, I highlight the pervasive role of neoliberalism in the two case studies, as it became an unavoidable motif in my research. This framework was instrumental to understanding how globalization manifested in my two case studies, and was occasionally quite unpredictable or less visible. This model is meant to provide a way for understanding what researchers should be examining when they are looking for indicators of globalized gentrification, in gay villages. Although I detail specific “values” or attributes to look for in certain contexts (those similar to my case studies), there is the opportunity for this to be expanded. Further research could be done in different kinds of gentrification that has not occurred in gay villages, to contribute nuance to the model. Additionally, further research could be done in different geographical contexts such as countries, languages, colonial historical contexts, and contexts of geographies of sexual citizenship and

queer and gay rights. Gentrification is often not studied in a comparative context, however this is imperative if researchers aspire to understand how contemporary gentrification iterates, as its inextricably a part of gentrification, specifically in the Global South.

The model presented in this analysis will serve as an integral starting place to continue this necessary research. I've presented a holistic, qualitative model that was created out of an in-depth comparative analysis of two gay villages, using ethnographic data. The urban political ecological analysis used in this thesis has provided ways to examine gentrification in large frameworks that all cities, in era of globalization, operate under, but at a localized level where I create a predictive model of critical geographies of gentrification.

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