

INGMAR PASTAK

Gentrification and displacement
of long-term residents in post-industrial
neighbourhoods of Tallinn



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Department of Geography, Institute of Ecology and Earth Sciences, Faculty of Science and Technology, University of Tartu, Estonia

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Supervisors: PhD Anneli Kährik, University of Tartu, Estonia
 Professor Tiit Tammaru, University of Tartu, Estonia

Opponent: Professor Zoltán Kovács, University of Szeged, Hungary

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

This dissertation is based on three publications, which will be referred to in the dissertation by their respective Roman numbers.

Publications included in the dissertation:

- I **Pastak, I.**, Kährik, A. (2016). The impacts of culture-led flagship projects on local communities in the context of post-socialist Tallinn. *Czech Sociological Review* 52 (6), pp. 963–990.
- II **Pastak, I.**, Kindsiko, E, Tammaru, T., Kleinhans, R., van Ham, M. (2019). Commercial gentrification in post-industrial neighbourhoods: A dynamic view from an entrepreneur’s perspective. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 110 (5), pp. 588–604.
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Author’s contribution

	I	II	III
Original idea	***	***	***
Study design	***	***	***
Collection of data	***	**	***
Data analysis	***	***	***
Interpretation of the results	***	***	***
Writing the manuscript	***	***	***

* minor contribution, ** moderate contribution, *** major contribution

1. INTRODUCTION

Today, a total of 55% of the world's population lives in urban areas, and this proportion is expected to increase to 68% by 2050 (United Nations, 2019). The process of urbanisation evolves cycles of change from urbanisation to suburbanisation, then to counter-urbanisation, and finally to re-urbanisation (van den Berg *et al.*, 1982). Each of these cycles initiate several local and wider socio-spatial processes which affect the lives of people. During periods of suburbanisation, the inner-city areas experience out-migration and a lack of investment while suburbs became the sites of in-migration (Geyer and Kontuly, 1992). The knock-on effects of population decline and the drop-off in investment applying to inner-city areas, however, affects the housing market, neighbourhood service provision, and quality of life in such areas (Wilson, 1987).

With some exceptions, the process of suburbanisation dominated Western European metropolitan areas between, approximately, the 1950s and 1990s (Hall, 2001). During more recent decades European metropolitan areas have again experienced a process of population recentralisation, which has initiated development pressure and a demand for the renewal of inner-city areas (Dembski *et al.*, 2019). A large part of existing 'renewable' housing stock can be found in working-class neighbourhoods and industrial sites which are located close to the city centre which and been 'forgotten' by private capital and public sector investments during the suburbanisation period (Scott and Kühn, 2012). It is a visible trend for such areas to be discovered by property developers who seek out places to convert, by means of involving economic, social, and cultural capital in order to change an area's image, which is then translated into property (Madanipour, 2018). The investments that are made by small investors, the state, and international developers into inner-city neighbourhoods have resulted in rapidly rising market prices for property that can be seen to initiate the out-migration of the areas long-term residents: the process which is defined as gentrification (Smith and Williams, 1986; Atkinson, 2000; Hackworth, 2002; Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016).

Gentrification is defined as the transformation of working-class areas of the inner city into middle-class neighbourhoods, which ultimately means the displacement of low-income residents in favour of high-income groups (Cocola-Gant, 2019). The process of gentrification always involves some level of displacement: if there is a physical, social, or economic form of upgrading which does not involve displacement then this process is rather to be defined as regeneration, revitalisation, or renewal (Slater, 2006, 2009). Physical displacement occurs when a household is pressured into moving out of its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings (Marcuse, 1985). The main instrument in this process is price pressures which are created by rising rents and property prices in the local property market (Atkinson, 2000). Developed in the Anglophone context, the key classic studies in regard to gentrification have concentrated on the housing market context, which involves a large share of private rental housing and neoliberal policy frameworks (Slater, 2009; Ghertner,

2015; Maloutas, 2018). In such a context, gentrification is seen to lead to an erosion of affordable private renting which in turn leads to a displacement of local residents who cannot pay rising rents.

Two forms of explanation can be identified for the process of gentrification from those studies which have been conducted in Anglophone cities. The ‘Rent gap’ thesis is the most often used supply-side explanation, which defines gentrification as a process of capital re-investment into locations in which potential profit can be achieved by gaining it from higher rents or higher sales values (Smith, 1982). This explanation is closely related to rental properties and the eviction of long-term residents with fewer resources because individual property owners are secure against direct physical displacement by the very fact that they own the property in which they live (Atkinson, 2000). The second explanation complements the gentrification theory with demand-side explanations about why people move into a neighbourhood that is in the process of gentrifying (Ley, 1994), and opened up the debate about indirect displacement (Marcuse, 1985), which draws attention to various forms of displacement pressure which affect housing stability and neighbourhood choice for low-income groups (Ley, 1994). This explanation considers gentrification as something that is induced by the mobility of people instead of the mobility of capital (Cocola-Gant, 2019). As a result, the gentrification theory has expanded to involve both structural economic processes in the housing market and trends in migration choice.

Recent debates have taken up the challenge to question the Anglophone context-bound core assumptions, and ask whether the process could take place in other contexts, such as in housing markets in which the roles of the state (such as in Asian countries) or individual homeowners (such as in the slums of South American countries) are more substantial (Bridge, 2007; Wyly, 2015; Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016; Slater, 2017). Gentrification has been associated with globalisation, planetary urbanisation, and the growing development pressure upon existing and newly-built housing stock in cities (Bridge, 2007). Gentrification is not defined here as a localised property market process but is rather seen as a result of different mechanisms which are related to a particular context: state-induced strategies which are implemented by regeneration policies, macro-investments which involve public finances, large-scale investments by international capital, and processes which are specific to local property markets (Lees, 2012). In addition, the concept of displacement by gentrification has been developed further. Firstly, indirect displacement is argued to be more common than physical displacement (Davidson, 2009). This means that displacement does not always lead to physical out-migration and, if it does, it takes time to have an effect. Secondly, those who remain instead of moving out are seen as having suffered thanks to their social and symbolic disconnection from the place itself as well as thanks to economic pressures (Atkinson, 2015). Such a form of symbolic displacement has been defined as a phenomenological ‘dis-attachment’ from a place which refers to the disruption of the qualities of a neighbourhood which is perceived of as being home (Blokland, 2009). Thirdly, gentrification has been viewed not only as a residential process but also in the form of substantial changes in local entre-

preneurship, retail, and the leisure sphere which take place at the same time and which refer to the displacement of local businesses (Zukin *et al.*, 2009), having direct and indirect impacts upon the place perceptions of residents (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; Ernst and Doucet, 2014). These accounts show that gentrification should not be understood as a form of property market eviction, and neither should it be seen as being bound to the rental property market, but instead can be defined as a wider process which is embedded in a globalised economy, culture, politics, and the wider society.

During recent years there has been a challenging debate amongst post-socialist scholars about whether gentrification could be applied in order to explain the residential transformations of inner-city neighbourhoods (Badyina and Golubchikov, 2005; Sýkora, 2005; Bernt and Holm, 2009; Bernt, Gentile and Marcińczak, 2015; Kubeš and Kovács, 2020). The core of the debate has revolved around contextual differences when compared with the Anglophone context for which the theory has been formulated (Bernt, 2016a, 2016b; Kubeš and Kovács, 2020). Although many post-socialist countries have imposed neoliberal principles of governance when departing from socialist practices and property regimes to capitalist practices and property regimes (Badyina and Golubchikov, 2005; Temelová *et al.*, 2016), direct displacements which may be induced by the process of gentrification have been empirically difficult to document due to the particularities of the post-socialist context. These particularities involve the rapid inter-generational social mobility of lower social status groups, which serves to lift the position of low-income groups in the housing market (Górczyńska, 2017) and forms the high share of home-owners due to privatisation reforms in the 1990s who tend to be less affected by price-induced displacement (Bernt, 2016a).

Finding controversial evidence has led to the existing contradictions when studying post-socialist gentrification as a process that involves physical out-migration. Many authors have found that the ‘rent gap’ thesis cannot explain gentrification in post-socialist ‘homeowners housing market’ (Bernt, 2016a; Olt and Csizmadý, 2020). However, there seems to be a growing consensus that the manifestations and effects of gentrification are indeed present: the residential turnover towards higher-income households which prefer inner-city residential locations, a growing property market and rising local price levels, and social and cultural homogenisation as a result of these processes (Bernt, Gentile and Marcińczak, 2015; Kubeš and Kovács, 2020).

The recent debates in gentrification theory have shown that there is a compelling reason to: 1) re-consider the context sensitivity of gentrification theory; 2) to critically review the mechanisms involved in, and the causes of, gentrification; and 3) to bargain for the different modes of displacement which could explain the gentrification process that is taking place in the non-Anglophone context. The present dissertation contributes to filling at least part of this gap in information, and questions whether – and under which conditions – the diverse displacement mechanisms which have been identified actually serve to provide an explanation for the social and cultural homogenisation that is taking place in the housing market for homeowners. This thesis uses the Estonian case study as a

reference location in terms of studying the displacement processes that is being applied to owners: owner-occupied housing constitutes about eighty percent of the total housing stock in Estonia, (Hess and Tammaru, 2019). It also studies entrepreneurial changes which take place in post-industrial neighbourhoods which can, in all probability, have an important role in the indirect displacement of homeowners.

The aims of this thesis are therefore, firstly, to understand the commercial and social mechanisms being applied by the revitalisation of housing in post-industrial neighbourhoods and the relation between these mechanisms and gentrification; and, secondly, to achieve a better grasp of displacement in the 'homeowners housing market'. Therefore, three research questions are being posed in this thesis:

- What kind of roles are embodied by the new entrepreneurs and new residents in the process of social and commercial transformation?
- Which local groups are involved in social and commercial transformation, and which are less targeted?
- How do individuals perceive and cope with the displacement pressures which attend the housing market for homeowners, including coping with gentrification-induced social and economic changes, and symbolically-perceived displacement pressures?

To achieve the aim of the thesis, the following research was published in academic journals in the field of social geography and urban sociology, using as a basis qualitative interviews with local entrepreneurs and residents:

- The first journal article (**Publication I**) studies cultural regeneration through public and private sector flagship projects and their various forms of impact upon the local community.
- The second journal article (**Publication II**) explores commercial changes in a time-wise fashion during the process of gentrification, and studies the motivation for individual entrepreneurs to enter a neighbourhood that is in the process of gentrifying.
- The third journal article (**Publication III**) focuses on new avenues in displacement research, and studies symbolic displacement and how it relates to gentrification in post-socialist housing market for homeowners.

The structure of the dissertation is as follows: firstly, the theoretical background is presented in terms of theories about residential and commercial gentrification, its causes, and its outcomes; secondly, the research methods are introduced, along with the Estonian context and the case study area. This is followed by a summary of the main findings from each of the studies and, finally, the main findings are discussed.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Residential and commercial gentrification and its causes

The term ‘gentrification’ was coined by the Anglo-German sociologist, Ruth Glass, when she observed the arrival of the middle class – the ‘gentry’ – in Victorian-era housing areas and the accompanying social transition in the inner-city neighbourhoods of London in the early 1960s. Glass (1964: xviii–xix) described the process as follows:

‘One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes-upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages – two rooms up and two rooms down – have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. /.../ The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their size, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighbourhoods. Once this “gentrification” process starts in the district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed.’

Glass observed that the process was related to the reinvestment of mainly private capital through housing rehabilitation, while also being related to the transformation from renting to owning (Hamnett, 1991). The context of disinvested spaces which belong to the post-industrial decline soon became the core part of the definition of the process, while property speculators, landlords, and private owners were seen as being drivers of the process (Smith, 1979). The second observation made by Glass was the fact that the middle-class demand for inner-city housing was rapidly rising (Hamnett and Whitelegg, 2007). Both observations paved the way for two competing explanations of the process of gentrification: the approaches of supply (production) side and the demand (consumption) side (Bernt, 2016a).

Supply-side explanations view gentrification as part of the wider structural change that is part of capital accumulation and the class struggle, and emphasise the mobility of capital as the main mechanism in the process. In one of his most influential works, Smith (1979) claimed that the accumulation of capital through investments into the built environment is something that is cyclical. It showed that the underdevelopment of an area which was once the location of investment being made by manufacturing and industrial production serves to create opportunities for new types of reinvestment. Visualised by using a simplistic Hoyt model of a land value in a city (Figure 1), Smith proposed the rent-gap thesis which reveals that the land value for disinvested working-class neighbourhoods is lower than the land value in the city centre and in newer housing areas (Smith, 1979; Hackworth, 2002). Smith argued that gentrification occurs when the difference between the actual ground rent and the potential ground rent is great enough for

major profit to be realised by landowners or speculators (Curran, 2004). Since then, rent gaps have been widely used to identify potential locations for gentrification and to explain the property market processes which lead to gentrification (Slater, 2017).

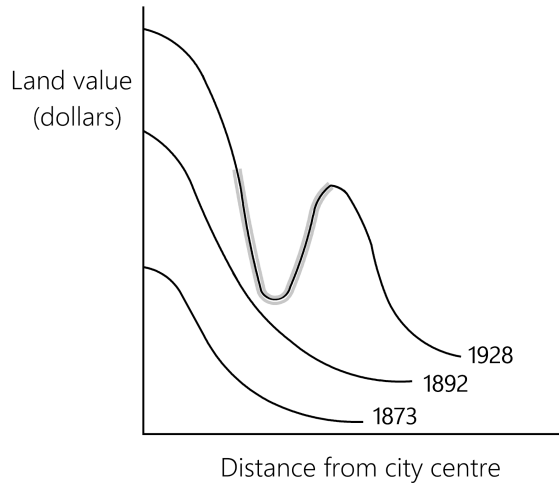


Figure 1. The evolution of land values in Chicago (Smith, 1979, with emphasis on the rent gap ‘slope’ added).

Demand-side theories link gentrification with changed middle-class tastes and shifting consumer preferences for inner-city living, and emphasise the mobility of people as the main explanation (Ghertner, 2015). These theories explore the questions which surround precisely who may be the gentrifiers and why they are seeking to locate in central city areas (Cocola-Gant, 2019). David Ley (1994) proposed that the global economic switch from a manufacturing industry to a service-based industry has led to the changing proportions between blue-collar and white-collar workers. The number of white-collar professionals, managers, and technical workers in the financial, cultural, and service industries continues to grow. Due to the changed location and nature of their work, such a ‘new middle-class’ prefers to live in city centre locations (Ley, 1994). This change was seen as a pivotal moment in the main migration patterns in urban regions as, during the previous period which followed the industrial revolution, middle class inhabitants had tended to move towards suburban locations (Atkinson, 2006; Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016). Ley’s other contribution to the gentrification theory is also noting that the lifestyles of people have changed. Inner-urban living has once again become desirable because the status, style, and cosmopolitan nature of such living has become more highly valued (Bridge, 2006). Modern lifestyles as part of the new ideology of ‘liveability’ are expressed in the increased consumption of culture and city centre amenities (Ley, 2003). In Ley’s pivotal works, a typical gentrifier in the demand-side approach has been characterised as childless, under 35 years of age, employed in professional, administrative, technical,

and managerial occupations, highly educated, and in receipt of a higher than average income (Bridge, 2007; Blasius, Friedrichs and Rühl, 2016).

The classic understanding of gentrification as a local property market processes was shaped by studies which explained gentrification as a staged process and which argued that gentrification is part of a wider shift in urban governance and the planning agenda. The study by Hackworth and Smith (2001) viewed gentrification as a gradual process with identifiable ‘stages’ or ‘waves’. They captured the transformation from a locally-managed process which was being undertaken by property developers and local businesses to an international-capital and state-driven process. In global Anglophone cities, the first sporadic wave of gentrification was seen as having been started by local developers. This wave carried with it many similarities with the classic Ruth Glass explanation. Then, as part of the second wave which was taking place in North American and West European cities in the 1980s, gentrification was seen as spreading to the disinvested central city neighbourhoods of smaller cities, whereas in global cities it was considered also to involve culture-led developments and the art community (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). Finally, in the 1990s, gentrification was seen as being led widely through re-investments by local and international corporate developers (Hackworth, 2002), which were favoured by state-led policies and which emerged hand-in-hand with the global triumph of neoliberalism and urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989). In addition, the application of social mixing policies and flagship projects which are targeted by the modern urban planning agenda in order to redevelop deprived neighbourhoods has been criticised as serving to induce a further process of gentrification (Lees, 2008; Doucet, Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 2011; Bridge, Butler and Le Galès, 2014).

Supply-side and demand-side explanations have initially been used to study gentrification as a residential process (Maloutas, 2012). Nowadays gentrification research has accepted that neither side is comprehensible without the other (Cocola-Gant, 2019). However, both explanations have also drawn attention to the role of cultural production and commercial change, as well as new forms of consumption spaces that are being created in neighbourhoods which are undergoing gentrification (Doucet, 2014). Commercial gentrification is one of the most recent developments in the agenda for gentrification research, one which requires a growing level of attention worldwide.

Commercial gentrification is defined as the upward transformation of local businesses in terms of social class (Zukin, 2008). This was something that was analysed as a process which accompanies residential gentrification, but it has recently gained wider attention as a separate research agenda (Ferm, 2016). Commercial gentrification refers to changes in local entrepreneurship regarding: 1) the changing proportion of enterprises which belong to the service sector instead of the manufacturing industry (Curran, 2004); 2) the changing form of entrepreneurs who belong to a more affluent social strata or corporate sphere (Zukin *et al.*, 2009; Ernst and Doucet, 2014); and 3) the changing set of available goods and services (Wang, 2011; Keatinge and Martin, 2016). Both the macro-economic changes in entrepreneurship and local factors which are related to decreasing

demand due to the residential transformation has routed research towards the study of displacement in local entrepreneurs and their businesses (Curran, 2007; Fern, 2016; Williams and Needham, 2016). For example, researchers have documented the increasing provision of boutiques and ‘hip’ restaurants which replace the previous community businesses and restaurants (Zukin, 2010; Wang, 2011; Ernst and Doucet, 2014), along with the fading out of traditional, affordable price-range marketplaces with private vendors who are replaced by corporately-owned shopping centres (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013), and the diffusion of corporate chains, such as Starbucks (Zukin, 2008).

Studies of commercial gentrification have acknowledged the change of context in terms of gentrification tending to refer to the two or more ‘ends’ in the timeline of commercial gentrification: gentrification is usually seen as having started in a run-down neighbourhood which can be explained as a rent gap in which affordable locations are available in which to start a business (Williams and Needham, 2016), and where artists and small creative businesses rejoice in low costs and a rustic atmosphere (Ley, 2003). The end comes with a highly-priced, exclusive niche market which targets the tastes of its middle class consumers (Zukin, 2008; Keatinge and Martin, 2016). Commercial gentrification is most likely closely related to residential gentrification. The neighbourhood at the beginning of the gentrification processes is not the same neighbourhood that can be seen in the middle and at the end of that process (Blasius, Friedrichs and Rühl, 2016).

In later stages commercial gentrification is also considered to create displacement pressures for long-term residents who cannot or are not willing to pay for the upper price range ‘exotic’ food and ‘niche’ goods (Zukin *et al.*, 2009; Gonzalez and Waley, 2013). In commercial gentrification studies, more attention has been paid to the consumer-side (Parker, 2018), typically such as exploring the tastes and preferences of the ‘new middle class’, the hipster or the bohemian gentrifiers (Hubbard, 2016). For example, craft production is found to be strongly linked to the process of gentrification because gentrifiers are pictured as consuming symbolic value products by means of a claim of authenticity (Ley, 2003; Zukin, 2008). These studies follow the works of Bourdieu (1984) who argued that the middle classes tended to prefer products which have a surplus symbolic and moral value that reinforces and reproduces their class position. Fewer studies focus on entrepreneurs who start up their businesses in gentrifying neighbourhoods and who produce the changed commercial landscape (Parker, 2018; Sakızlıoğlu and Lees, 2020).

It is the commercial gentrification processes that have been favoured by contemporary western neoliberal entrepreneurship policies (Bantman-Masum, 2020; Sakızlıoğlu and Lees, 2020). New businesses have often been seen as crucial players in the revitalisation of brownfield lands, working-class neighbourhoods, and industrial waterfronts (Raco, 2003; Doucet, 2014). This approach has been fuelled by the creative city thesis which many cities have been following, according to which creative entrepreneurship can foster local development with its surplus effect on innovation, and in turn can attract younger creative professionals who

are required in the competition for economic position between cities in terms of globalisation (Ley, 2003; Slater, 2006; Maloutas, 2012). Therefore public and private culture-led regeneration projects for residential, commercial, and mixed-use areas which involve the development of culture-based facilities and activities have been a common form of urban intervention for West European and North American cities (Evans, 2009).

Culture-led urban regeneration projects which have been established on former brownfield or undeveloped areas are often termed flagship projects because their purpose is to provide impetus for the revitalisation of devalued land in physical, economic, and social terms (Scott and Kühn, 2012; Heidenreich and Plaza, 2015). Such flagship developments include high-end housing developments, luxury shopping centres, tourist attractions, museums, and other cultural amenities (Doucet, Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 2011). Publicly-funded flagships aim particularly to initiate or accelerate private investment in order to change the image of an area and to ensure that the area in question will be perceived as a more secure location in which to invest (Temelová, 2007). However, it has been claimed that such projects and their associated regeneration also affect property prices and serve to increase rent levels, while also having been found to lead to residential and entrepreneurial gentrification (Kovács, Wiessner and Zischner, 2013; Mosselson, 2020).

2.2 Displacement, and gentrification outcomes

Working-class displacement has been one of the core elements of the classic definition of gentrification. Marcuse (1985) proposed that gentrification causes various modes of displacement, such as direct displacement, displacement pressures, and exclusionary displacement. Direct or 'physical' displacement is the spatial movement and dislocation of people due to gentrification (Atkinson, 2000). According to the classic definition of gentrification, it occurs when tenants are forced to move out when their apartment is to be refurbished, following which it will be re-let at a higher price (Lees, 2008), or when the whole area is being considered for demolition, to be rebuilt as part of a regeneration programme (Watt, 2013). The owners of residential property are seen as being affected by rather indirect modes of displacement which are related to increased costs for housing and the rising cost of living (Atkinson, 2015). Two classic indirect modes of displacement which have been proposed by Marcuse are those of 'exclusionary', which is the exclusion of low-income residential groups from the area, and the 'pressure of displacement', which refers to the dissatisfaction that can develop 'when ... friends are leaving the neighbourhood, when ... new stores for other clientele are taking their places, when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable' for the excluded (1985:207).

Recent studies which cover displacement have further developed the perceived relationship between gentrification and indirect displacement. These accounts

explain neighbourhoods as areas which function not only as housing markets but also as distinctive social areas (Mazer and Rankin, 2011; Valli, 2015). A growing number of studies have documented the ‘symbolic displacement’, ‘un-homing’, ‘dispossession’, ‘everyday displacement’, or a ‘sense of displacement’ which takes place when long-term residents become isolated by the physical and social changes that have taken place while they still reside in neighbourhoods as they change (Atkinson, 2015). This means that displacement can take place without physical re-location.

Such phenomenological studies have focused on three main subjects in regards to displacement. Firstly, aesthetic and physical changes in a neighbourhood are explained in terms of creating feelings of alienation and estrangement for long-term residents regarding place (Davidson, 2009). The home is considered to be a place that is not only limited to the boundaries of an apartment or house but in the sense of the neighbourhood in which a person lives, and is engaged with local outdoor spaces, social networks, and activities (Pull and Richard, 2019). The neighbourhood can therefore be seen as an ontological part of a person’s identity and existence (Davidson, 2009), and as the spatial anchor for historical connection, freedom, and security (Porteous and Smith, 2001). The focus of such understanding in regards to displacement is on the reduction of the individual sense of belonging, and personal disaffection as a result of the combined effects of physical, social, and economic transformations in the neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2015). These studies carry with them a good many similarities with the works of Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja, who combine the different dimensions of a place into the ontological understanding of place perceptions which matter in the context of this thesis for a deeper analysis of displacement. For example, Soja (1999) argues for the trialectic nature of places: the perceived space (defined as ‘firstspace’), which refers to directly-experienced and empirically-measurable physical features; the conceived space (‘secondspace’) which marks subjective, symbolic, and imagined notions of a place (and is the conceptualisation of ‘firstspace’); and finally the lived space (‘thirdspace’), which consists of assets that can be experienced only through spatial practice, such as by living in the area. This means that lived space becomes a site of resistance and struggle which is related to gentrification-induced changes that are often created by the physical, social, and symbolic transformations of neighbourhood (the home).

The second subject is the loss of community life. The in-migration of people who are of higher social strata has conceptualised in order to transform the identity of the local community, the traditional ways of neighbouring (Blomley, 2004), and local neighbourhood management practices (Pinkster, 2016). It has been argued that the social mixing principle – which is promoted via social mix policies as the ‘positive’ solution to tackle segregation – does not ‘work’ (Lees, 2008), and that newcomers and long-term residents who are following different lifestyles, beliefs, and understandings about community are pictured as actually living socially separated lives within the neighbourhood (Mazer and Rankin, 2011). New residents tend to be considerably more active in local community building and place-making while the long-term resident community tends to lose

its role and importance (Pinkster, 2016). Similarly, Blokland (2009) has found that in gentrification-driven neighbourhoods the dominating narratives for places, in determining what the neighbourhood symbolises, have mainly been attributed to the social group of 'gentrifiers' who actively create the 'storyline of gentrification'.

Thirdly, the change in the retail and leisure sphere has provided the subject matter for displacement studies which have documented changes in retail and leisure as having been created according to the tastes of middle-class incomers (Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Zukin *et al.*, 2009; Ernst and Doucet, 2014). The symbolic displacement which is related to these new landscapes of consumption and leisure, and the de-familiarisation of social life in public places, both form the subject of these studies.

Some authors claim that displacement which disconnects people both socially and symbolically from places could be more common than physical displacement (Davidson, 2009; Atkinson, 2015). Others argue that indirect modes of displacement are – socially – even more damaging than direct displacement (Valli, 2015). It is most likely the case that different forms of displacement simultaneously attend the process of gentrification and, depending upon the context, the ownership status of individual people, and other factors, these apply and are forceful differently (Bernt, 2016a).

During the 'lifetime' of the gentrification theory, there has been a vivid debate about the critical and positive conceptualisation of gentrification outcomes which accompany displacement. Defined as a process which bonds capital investments, physical and social upgrading, and the displacement of (low-income) residents, the body of classic gentrification research has shown critical perspectives in regards to gentrification (Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016). According to that research, the increasing social fragmentation, social and cultural homogenisation, and socio-economic segregation have been studied as the main outcomes of gentrification (Slater, 2006). Recently, Slater (2006) has been concerned that critical perspectives tend to be 'evicted' from contemporary gentrification research and warns to conceptualise the process as being positive. Davidson and Lees (2005) confirm that gentrification has been 'perhaps the most politically loaded word in urban geography or urban studies'. However, it has been widely promoted throughout the contemporary entrepreneurial ideology in regards to urban planning.

Few authors have tried to explain why different case studies have reached such divergent conclusions in regard to the outcomes of gentrification. Firstly, it must be admitted that gentrification is somewhat difficult to measure. Atkinson (2000) shows that finding evidence for displacement is like trying to measure the 'invisible' because the displaced are no longer in the places to which researchers go to find them. When studied alongside quantitative methods such as census data, it is also a challenge to indicate the reasons behind people having moved out, and to define the move as being induced by gentrification rather than another processes (Sims, 2016). Indirect displacement, on the other hand, has been studied through mainly qualitative methods which have not provided solid confirmation of when indirect pressures can apply and to which extent they may be applied.

For example, recent studies have shown that long-term residents do not always feel displacement pressures and some long-term residents may find the gentrification-induced social change as being positive (Paton, 2012). Mixed perceptions can also exist, as gentrification often takes place in parallel with physical upgrading, investment into the public space, the creation of new jobs, and the change of image in regard to a previously disinvested low-income neighbourhood which could also provide some benefits for long-term residents. This can be the reason for commercial changes and housing market developments being partially supported by long-term inhabitants who may eventually become dispossessed, because residents whose well-being depends upon the jobs and services that are provided within the neighbourhood are unlikely to be against developments in local commerce, entrepreneurship, and housing (cf. Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016:17).

Secondly, some authors have claimed that conducting research within different stages (and contexts) of gentrification has resulted in a variety of documented outcomes (Bernt and Holm, 2009; Maloutas, 2018). For example, Freeman (2009) explains that on a neighbourhood level the increase of socio-economic diversity (the opposite of segregation that is traditionally seen as the outcome of gentrification) can take place when middle-class inhabitants start to move in during the first stages of gentrification (Figure 2).

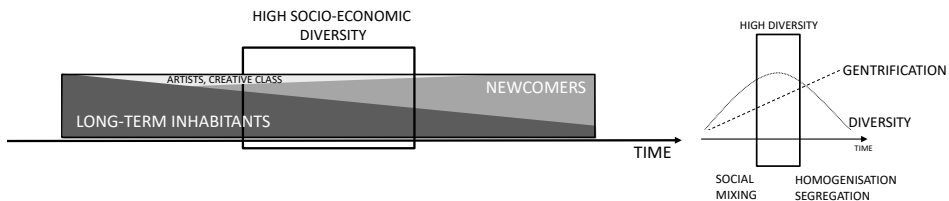


Figure 2. The residential turnover and relations between socio-economic diversity and gentrification (based on the study by Freeman, 2009).

It is necessary to explain the relationship between diversity and segregation. In the first stage of gentrification, social mixing will take place when people who are of higher social strata start to move in (Bridge, Butler and Le Galès, 2014). The positive effect of social mixing is questioned by many qualitative studies which tend to confirm that social mixing in neighbourhoods which are undergoing gentrification will lead to social fragmentation (Butler and Robson, 2001; Blokland and Nast, 2014; Jackson and Butler, 2015). Social fragmentation, in turn, feeds the out-migration of long-term residents when indirect displacement is induced by the change in local community, active place-making, and physical upgrading, and other displacement pressures also apply (Butler and Robson, 2001; Blokland, 2009). These changes depend upon the path taken by, and the speed of, residential changes and the subsequent proportions of newcomers against long-term residents. Eventually, as for the final stages of gentrification, the result of the gentrification process is traditionally seen to be social and cultural homo-

genisation and a high level of local socio-economic (ethnic) segregation (Lees, 2008; Freeman, 2009). The contradictions in outcomes and debates over the definition and scope of gentrification have led to discussions on whether the original definition is not too rigid to explain the current course of the process (Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016).

2.3 Expanding the scope of gentrification theory

Recent developments in gentrification research have debated the possible extension of the gentrification process, from its initial boundaries which are tied to the Northern American and Western European inner-city working-class neighbourhoods, and to view it as a transnational and planetary phenomenon (Wyly, 2015; Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016). This call has risen concurrently with a growing interest amongst scholars worldwide in terms of studying gentrification in its greater contexts, such as the ‘Global South’ (Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016), or Asia (Wang, 2011), or in post-socialist countries (Bernt, Gentile and Marciniak, 2015).

The main argument behind the suggestion that gentrification be understood as a planetary phenomenon is related to contemporary trends regarding planetary urbanisation, globalisation, and the growing number of mobile middle-class people. Lees, Shin, and López Morales (2016) claim that urbanisation has become a planetary phenomenon and a worldwide migration to cities is taking place, creating a demand for inner-city development across different contexts and causing the displacement of indigenous residents and low-income groups. Slater (2017) focuses on the globalisation of property markets and argues that the global circulation of capital also creates planetary rent gaps. Rofo (2003) identifies a growing class of ‘global gentrifiers’, skilled professionals who are employed within globally-orientated industries who tend to be highly mobile and who follow international capital investments. These widely cited works claim that the narrative behind inner-city dereliction and poverty as the outcome of middle-class suburbanisation and their subsequent return to the inner-city have failed to capture contemporary gentrification.

Another argument for why the scope of gentrification should be expanded concerns the process not having been seen alone as having been market-induced, but rather that it is a dialectical interplay between state policies, financial markets, local politics, and people (Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016). Recent studies argue for the further expansion of gentrification theory, from third wave gentrification (Hackworth and Smith, 2001) to the rather poorly-presented terms of ‘studentification’ (student-induced gentrification, such as takes place in university cities), and ‘touristification’ (the displacement of city centre inhabitants as a result of expanding tourism and its effect on housing markets), plus slum gentrification (state-led regeneration programmes for slums) (Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016; Pinkster and Boterman, 2017; Cocola-Gant, 2019). In similar vein, Wily (2015) unties gentrification from local property and land-market

dynamics, and shows how today's cognitive capital 'interweaves property capital flows with media and educational discourses and communications', and defines gentrification simply as the 'upward class transformation of urban space', losing its connection to class conflict, and also links it to property-induced nature.

Recent debate on 'extending' gentrification theory has received a significant level of critique by various scholars. The extension of the theory has been criticised due to its broadness and the resultant loss of its explanatory power (Maloutas, 2012). The core studies by the 'anti-extension side' have generated counter-arguments which lean towards disclaiming gentrification from a (neoliberal) private property market process, losing the critical contradiction of class conflict, and ignoring local contextual factors.

Firstly, Ghertner's (2014) criticism is to a larger extent dedicated to state injustice and the lack of a free housing market in non-Anglophone contexts. He claims that gentrification has been and has to be a process of displacement which is induced by economic pressures that are applied on the private property market, and argues that state-led eviction and non-free market authoritarianism is not the same mechanism. However, Bernt (2016b) finds that choosing sides between more or less universal gentrification has led to a situation in which some authors have bound gentrification together with near-monopoly control over land by neoliberal housing markets which is a phenomenon that does not even exist in the most neoliberalised countries of the 'Global North'. He states that markets are socially embedded institutions, and narrowing down the process of gentrification only to economic action by private capital misses out on interactions regarding social, economic, and political forces.

Secondly, Maloutas (2012) emphasises the dependence of space and time, and bonds the process of gentrification exclusively with that of deindustrialisation, the poor situation of the working class, and rising housing demands in the city and city centre. He states that losing the critical contradiction of local (class) conflict will lead to a loss of analytical rigour and that gentrification, when expanded, will attempt to explain too many applying reasons and mechanisms in regard to displacement. Lees, Shin, and López Morales (2016) claim, however, that the role of the traditional 'stakeholders' of the gentrification process, the working class and middle class, is something that has become devalued in contemporary society. They claim that contemporary inequalities and migration in inner cities are not based upon working class/middle class conflict, and provide examples of super-gentrification (the gentrification of the middle class neighbourhoods that have become further gentrified by upper middle class newcomers; Lees, 2003), along with studentification and touristification to show that the role of middle class gentrifiers is diminishing. Other studies have also shown that the middle class by themselves has been changed over the years in which gentrification studies have taken place (Ley, 1994; Bridge, 2007). In addition, Maloutas (2012) declares that 'increasing diversification within the middle class is boosting demand for the more distinctive and individualistic gentrification aesthetic', and that middle class tastes and consumption models are nowadays being globalised and are massively accepted across various social groups in various geographical contexts.

Thirdly, the extension of the theory has been criticised as it seems to ignore the contextual factors which determine the manifestations and effects of the process (Maloutas, 2018). Some authors argue that displacement when viewed as the outcome of ‘all kinds of’ pressures which may exist in housing markets is not solely gentrification-induced (Sims, 2016). There is also disagreement in the claim that gentrification can indicate indirect pressure without direct displacement (Ghertner, 2015). Addressing these arguments in the present thesis requires attention being paid to distinct features within the context of the post-socialist home-owning housing market which have been presented in discussions upon whether gentrification takes place, where it takes place, and under which circumstances.

Rapidly changing social and power relations in post-socialist cities have quickly manifested themselves in the form of various transformations of the built environment (Kubeš and Kovács, 2020). Visible refurbishment and housing upgrades have also encouraged a growing number of scholars to study gentrification in a post-socialist urban context. Many post-socialist countries have made intentional departures from Soviet property regimes which have resulted in free market principles being implemented (Tuvikene, 2016), and structural reforms being carried out which have edged towards neoliberal housing markets (Tammaru *et al.*, 2016).

Several authors have confirmed that the process of gentrification appears to be taking place in the post-socialist city. However, it has been claimed that gentrification research still needs to trace local forms, political configurations, and locally-specific causes of gentrification (Chelcea, Popescu and Cristea, 2015). Low income groups are seen as being in a better position in the housing market than those in western societies because the privatisation of housing has enabled poorer residents to become homeowners (Bernt, 2016a). Privatisation reforms took place in most post-Soviet countries in the 1990s, resulting in a relatively high share of homeownership and a large part of residential property being owned by residents (Tammaru *et al.*, 2016). Górczyńska (2017) also pays attention to relatively rapid intergenerational social mobility which accompanied the post-socialist transition towards a market economy, something that has been particularly evident since the 2000s. These two factors – rapidly rising levels of income and give-away privatisation – have permitted to take place homeownership and subsequent refurbishment by low-income people, and can be seen as holding back displacement effects, thereby slowing down the process of gentrification (Bernt, 2016a). Some authors also refer to specific governance practices, such as the absence of property legislation and corruption (Olt and Csizmadý, 2020). Others show that the newcomers and long-term residents are often of similar socio-economic strata (Kovács, Wiessner and Zischner, 2013), and conclude that gentrification in the post-socialist context cannot be tied to class conflict. Furthermore, a number of post-socialist authors claim that the rent-gap thesis cannot be used to identify the locations of gentrification because tenure diversity, the availability of privatised housing, and limits on reinvestment between and within post-socialist cities has held back gentrification in some locations (Olt and Csizmadý,

2020). It has to be said that most post-socialist studies tend to examine the effects of physical displacement and have not applied themselves to an in-depth analysis of indirect modes of displacement (Bernt, Gentile and Marcińczak, 2015; Bernt, 2016b).

A comparative urbanism approach provides an analytical framework for comparison (Robinson, 2011). This can be useful when it comes to creating theoretical generalisation accounts. Robinson (2016) suggests that a focus should be placed on the duality of the empirical observation of local particularities, and wider social and spatial processes, the latter providing considerable explanatory power when studied in specific localities. Home ownership within the different political and legislative context of post-socialist cities has been a key element which serves to bind together post-socialist gentrification studies (Bernt, 2016a, 2016b). As recent developments in the theory of gentrification have shown, indirect displacement can be particularly useful when it comes to explaining displacement pressures which can be applied to homeowners. To conclude, the utility of the debate over the mechanisms for displacement in homeowners housing market comes in the form of being able to discuss the complex interrelations between change of residence, local policies, the housing market, and the role of 'place'.

3. METHODOLOGY AND CASE STUDY DESCRIPTION

3.1 Gentrification within the context of the Estonian property market

In the former socialist countries of central and Eastern Europe, deindustrialisation followed the collapse of the Soviet system in the early 1990s, as these countries rapidly adapted to the post-industrial service-orientated model. Many post-socialist countries have implemented thorough reforms to take them towards becoming neoliberal housing markets (Tammaru *et al.*, 2016). Since the 1990s, Estonia has rapidly adapted to the free market economic model which was brought into use after the centrally-planned Soviet period ended. The transition which has been undertaken by social and power relations, the economy, and housing markets has manifested itself in visible transformations of the built environment. Average wages have increased and the rising level of the standard of living has made it possible to improve living conditions. This has gone hand-in-hand with increasing internal migration within the country, its regions, and its cities which was relatively low during the Soviet period (Mägi *et al.*, 2016). Such free market conditions have, however, led to signs appearing of an increasing level of socio-spatial inequality. Today, Estonia unfortunately shows itself to possess one of the highest increases in socio-economic segregation when compared to other European cities (Tammaru *et al.*, 2016).

The post-socialist inner-city neighbourhoods which were built prior to the socialist period witnessed a general drop-off in investment between the 1950s and the 1990s, but are now being discovered by private property developers who seek places in which to invest (Hess, 2011; Temelová *et al.*, 2016). This process can be compared to the first stage of gentrification in which the state's role is less decisive (cf. Hackworth and Smith, 2001), and where the processes involved in upgrading have mostly been initiated by local developers and individual owners. Gentrification has been the object of study for two larger cities, those of Tallinn and Tartu. Previous studies have located this process mainly within areas which consist of low-rise pre-Second World War housing (Hess, 2011; Nutt *et al.*, 2013; Kährik *et al.*, 2016).

The displacement of long-term businesses and inhabitants, however, has been influenced by a decent supply of vacant land and property which is available for the process of regeneration. In Northern Tallinn, at the end of the industrialisation period by the 1990s, about one third of the land was being used for industrial purposes, or as warehouses, ports, and shipyards (Feldman, 2000). This means that the supply of convertible housing stock into residential and commercial use has substantially exceeded demand. The physical displacement of residents has also been held back by an extremely high share of privatised property which is one of the highest levels within post-socialist countries: over ninety per cent of housing is privately owned in Tallinn (Hegedüs, 2013) whereas owner-occupied housing

constitutes about eighty percent of the total housing stock (Hess and Tammaru, 2019).

Last but not least, the Estonian local housing market and the process of gentrification has been influenced by austerity urbanism and market-orientated urban planning (Ruoppila, 2007; Tammaru *et al.*, 2016). National and urban public policies are targeted towards being pro-development, and there are no major urban regeneration programmes that are being addressed which could help to shape the redevelopment of privately-owned industrial properties.

3.2 Northern Tallinn as a study area

Northern Tallinn is the northernmost of Tallinn's eight city districts. A good deal of it is bordered by the sea. It has been the location of ports and shipyards since the eighteenth century. From when the railway connection was laid down at the end of the nineteenth century, Northern Tallinn soon became home to various factories and was also the main location of industrial production during the Soviet Union period between 1940 and 1991. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a good many industries were temporarily closed – some even permanently, and the neighbourhood gained the status of a deprived neighbourhood. Since the 2000s it has been, however, rediscovered by new residents who have mainly moved into its low-rise pre-Second World War (wooden) housing (Kährik *et al.*, 2016).

Today, Northern Tallinn consists of diverse neighbourhoods which display varying levels of development. It is a mixture of architectural forms: including former industrial and military constructions, port areas, Soviet panel houses, low-rise refurbished tenement houses which are hemmed in by numerous refurbished industrial buildings that accommodate offices and loft apartments, and a railway infrastructure that is still partially used. Four neighbourhoods have been studied in this thesis, of which three have been identified as the main case study areas in which gentrification is taking place (Figure 3).

Since the start of the 2000s, Kalamaja and Pelgulinn have been enjoying the most intensive levels of refurbishment and new-build construction. These now highly-valued neighbourhoods are located close to the city centre and consist of a mix of residential housing and industrial property, the latter of which is mainly used as offices, along with good retail and commerce outlets. The growing in-migration of creative, wealthier, younger people, and the out-migration of older long-term residents has changed the area substantially (Mägi *et al.*, 2016). Kopli is a distant neighbourhood in Northern Tallinn, one which consists of less-developed industrial areas and a small residential housing area. Kalamaja and Pelgulinn have experienced vivid social transformation, the birth of neighbourhood associations, and local activism (Holvandus and Leetmaa, 2016). Kopli has been recently discovered by newer residents, and they themselves have also introduced a revival of community life.



Figure 3. The main case study neighbourhoods that are located in Northern Tallinn.

Three publications have been studied during the complication of this thesis in regard to the location of gentrification and urban renewal processes. Qualitative methods have been employed to conduct and analyse interviews with various ‘stakeholders’ who are active in the local economic, social, and cultural transition for Northern Tallinn (Table 1).

Table 1. Overview of study the area, study participants, and analysis methods.

	Case study neighbour- hoods	Study participants <i>(number of interviews)</i>	Method of analysis
Publication I	Kalamaja Pelgulinn	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– project leaders and property managers (museum, creative hub, cultural hub)– local government officials, urban planners, and architects– key individuals from neighbourhood associations and other NGOs– local residents <i>(47 semistructured interviews)</i>	Thematic content analysis (mixed deductive-inductive)
Publication II	Kalamaja Pelgulinn Pelguranna Kopli	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– local entrepreneurs <i>(30 semi-structured interviews)</i>	In-depth content analysis (mixed deductive-inductive)
Publication III	Kalamaja Pelgulinn Kopli	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– local residents <i>(29 semi-structured interviews)</i>	Thematic narrative analysis (inductive)

3.3 In-depth interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used as a source of information by all three publications. Interview material was collected alongside the work for the EU-funded project DIVERCITIES (2013–2017, Grant Agreement No 319970). For the first study (**Publication I**), forty-seven semi-structured interviews were carried out from early 2014 to mid-2015, which included: six interviews with project leaders and property managers; three interviews with local government officials, urban planners, and architects; four interviews with key individuals from neighbourhood associations and other NGOs; and thirty-four interviews with local residents. Most interviews were conducted by the author. Eight interviews with local residents were carried out by the author's colleagues. All interview participants were accessed via internet search and later by using the snowballing method. The author was also responsible for developing and balancing the sample in order to involve relevant study participants. For the second study (**Publication II**), thirty interviews were conducted with individual entrepreneurs between September and December 2015. The study participants were found via internet search and door-to-door site visits to local businesses. The author was responsible for preparing the interview guide, and for sampling and organising the fieldwork. For the third study (**Publication III**), twenty-nine qualitative interviews were

used which had been collected between 2014 and 2015 with residents of Northern Tallinn. This study used the same interview data that had been collected for the first study.

The total of seventy-seven interviews were used in the analysis of the research which was carried out for this thesis and its related studies. The interviews last from between 40 to 120 minutes and have an average length of 58 minutes. All interviews were conducted face-to-face, and used a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions. As the final stage of collecting the interview data, all interviews were fully transcribed. About twenty per cent of transcriptions were carried out by the author.

3.4 Content and a narrative analysis of the interviews

Qualitative analysis methods were applied in order to study the interview data. In the first study (**Publication I**), use was made of a qualitative thematic content analysis. The combination of a deductive and inductive approach was applied in order first to identify those parts of the transcription texts that were important for the research (such as the aims of the project, the involvement of local people, etc), and then inductive coding was used to identify the main themes being used by informants regarding their role and involvement in projects. The second study's (**Publication II**) interview information was analysed with applying the qualitative content analysis method. Conducted similarly as with the first study by starting with a deductive approach, the latter inductive part of the analysis, however, involved now more in-depth coding of interview material in order to understand the exact reasoning and argumentation by entrepreneurs with respect to their particular role in commercial gentrification. This analysis went beyond the thematic categorisation and worked on the motivations of individual entrepreneurs when it came to their participation in the local commercial gentrification process for each type, location, and time period which those entrepreneurs had mentioned in the interviews. In the third study (**Publication III**), the thematic narrative analysis was applied. The narrative method provided the focus to be given to understanding the particular experiences of residents in terms of gentrification with respect to its temporal aspect (the sequence of events and actions), and spatial aspect (in terms of specific locations). The coding process resulted in the main narrative stories which the study participants used to describe the neighbourhood transformation processes, their individual experiences with place-making, and their feelings about the changed context. All of the analyses were primarily carried out by the author.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Commercial changes and the role of entrepreneurs in commercial gentrification

The commercial transformation of a residential neighbourhood is something that is closely related to local residential changes. In neighbourhoods which are undergoing gentrification, new businesses are often started up side-by-side with local social transformations. They tend to be drawn in by the advantages being offered by the local property as well as by the newly emergent target group of ‘gentrifiers’ which prefers to consume local culture, retail opportunities, and dining options which match up with their enacted urban lifestyles.

The results of the study of local flagship urban renewal projects (**Publication I**), and the study of entrepreneur motivations when it comes to starting up in a neighbourhood which is undergoing gentrification, plus their specific location choices (**Publication II**), all serve to indicate that the temporal perspective is important in defining the location and course of commercial gentrification. In other words, commercial transformation and the timing of particular developments depend largely upon the changing context of gentrification. Three flagship urban renewal projects were studied (creative campus, museum, and cultural hub), and these have been targeted at re-opening previously closed Soviet military waterfront areas, to create a semi-public urban space in previously closed industrial sites, and to develop creative and cultural activities within such transformed locations (**Publication I**). The early-gentrification context in which the projects were began in the 2000s was described by stakeholders in the projects who were interviewed about the process as being characteristic of a deprived working-class neighbourhood with a large share of out-of-use industrial property, a high level of unemployment, high crime rates, a low rate of local business activity, and a lack of service, food, and retail options. All three projects were targeted towards the advantages that could be gained thanks to the specific location (such as affordable property, waterfront access, and a location close to the city centre), but had to contribute to the positive image of the projects, along with ensuring favourable media coverage which would result in the accumulation of resources, prestige, and credibility for the involved project management teams in the future (**Publication I**). Those stakeholders who were interviewed and who were responsible for the launch of the projects explained that they had to make a great deal of effort to invite guests (for the museum and cultural hub), and the first tenants to enter into rental spaces in that location (the Telliskivi creative hub), which at the time was not perceived as being especially safe. Interviews with local residents (**Publication III**) and entrepreneurs (**Publication II**) which were conducted when the projects were successfully launched served to reveal the fact that these flagships carried with them the role of initiating the process of urban renewal (gentrification) even across a larger area of the neighbourhood, and attracted further private and public investment into local property. The national maritime museum,

the Seaplane Harbour (a museum) and the municipal project, Tallinn Creative Hub (the cultural hub), were seen as having rather an indirect impact on local gentrification. Telliskivi Creative Centre (the creative campus) has, however, become the hub of social life and the centre for new community activities (**Publication III**). Telliskivi Creative Centre has also catalysed the new trend in Northern Tallinn: the transformation of industrial buildings into privately-owned creative hubs, which has resulted in ten different buildings or building complexes which by 2021 was renting out affordable office space, mainly to creative entrepreneurs.

A similar phenomenon of pioneering ‘stakeholders’ in terms of initialising the process of commercial gentrification can be seen by studying the individual entrepreneurs of early gentrification. The process of commercial transformation in early gentrification is largely shaped by the specific location choices which individual entrepreneurs have made in a particular time and within a particular context (**Publication II**). **Publication II** proposes that entrepreneurs can be divided into five main groups based on their motivation to start up a business in a neighbourhood which is undergoing gentrification (Figure 2 in **Publication II**). The first entrants into the gentrified area (defined as pioneer and early adopter entrepreneurs) start up a business in the neighbourhood with motives that can be explained by the rent gap thesis: the interviews confirm that early stage entrepreneurs mainly use supply-side arguments to justify why they started their business in the area, such as affordable property (lower starting costs, or affordable rents or property prices), flexible regulations (no entrepreneurship policies which are deliberately aimed at tackling gentrification), and low local levels of competition (**Publication II**). Pioneer entrepreneurs who were interviewed have also argued that they have gained confidence to start up a business when they saw the first flagship projects successfully launched in the neighbourhood (studied in **Publication I**). Time-wise, the early majority phase of Northern Tallinn’s commercial gentrification process coincided with the economic crisis in 2008–2010, when many entrepreneurs needed affordable locations which would allow them to reduce costs as they attempted to cope with decreasing incomes. The early phase in commercial gentrification was followed by a greater influx of entrepreneurs (the majority) who realised that investing in property or opening up a business within the rental space of a perspective area of gentrification could be a profitable move. The motivation behind the majority group showed a change from supply-side arguments to demand-based arguments. This change also coincided with the rising number of local residents who were consuming eco-friendly products which matched their lifestyles (**Publication III**). Specific ‘authentic’ markets with local craft breweries, farmer’s shops, craft burger restaurants, second-hand furniture shops, and organic cosmetics brands are created as part of this stage of gentrification, thereby triggering new businesses within the new market niche and a wider range of lifestyle-orientated products (which were not found in other parts of the city at that time). Such ‘follower advantages’ when new, local entrepreneurs who are adherents to some specific form of lifestyle or niche market are attracted into an area should be seen as an effect of the internal characteristics of local commercial and residential gentrification (**Publication II**).

The observations which have been made in **Publication I** and **Publication II** lead to the first core argument of this thesis, which is the observation that commercial transformation is mainly related to the rent gap in the earlier stages of gentrification. This means that the rent gap thesis explains only the early phase of the process of commercial gentrification and is not sufficient to be used in the definition of the entire process of commercial gentrification in the particular context. The second argument in this thesis as based on the results from **Publication I** and **Publication II** is that the further pace of commercial transformation after the pioneer stage is mainly influenced by the location choices of individual entrepreneurs, the availability of transformable property, and also by the global triumph of creative-cultural-eco production which has been used locally to create the specific market niche. This means that the subsequent phases in commercial gentrification are demand driven, and confirms that commercial gentrification is closely related to local context but has been highly influenced by processes which share the global genesis (such as eco-production, the temporary use of industrial land by applying artists, and by creative entrepreneurs). Interviews which were conducted for **Publication II** (see also the quotation on page nine) revealed that pioneers had a global perception, since they have often learned from Western European urban regeneration practices which include flagship developments and which also involve creative entrepreneurs (although sometimes as a temporary element). This can be explained as the local-global ‘buzz-pipeline’ model (see **Publication II** for the particular model provided by Bathelt, Malmberg and Maskell, 2004), which explains how the global knowledge which is transferred to locality can further initialise a local ‘buzz’ of information flows and gossip that can be used to grow a certain market niche or local cluster. In the early stages, pioneers and early adaptors seem to enter the neighbourhood with the support of global ‘pipelines’ (external know-how, such as from previous work or entrepreneurial experience or by having good external business networks), which have helped them to recognise the existence of the rent gap. In the later stages, information and know-how about the advantages which are contained in commercial gentrification have spread between groups, from pioneers to laggards and beyond. This means that commercial gentrification in Northern Tallinn should not be understood as an entirely local phenomenon but as the intersection of local and global forces. Based on these results, the process of commercial gentrification in Tallinn can be defined as the outcome of intentional and unintentional decisions and the actions of individual entrepreneurs, along with local and national government authorities (‘weak regulation is also policy’), influenced by local and global market forces. This definition is also supported by the fact that the already-widespread global trends of eco-orientated and lifestyle-orientated products arrived in Tallinn hand-in-hand with developments which were related to gentrification (**Publication II**).

The results of **Publication II** show that, since the mid-phase of commercial transformation in Northern Tallinn when the neighbourhood was discovered by a greater number of new entrepreneurs (the majority), a tactical search for business locations which could be related to the established local market niche for eco-

production and specific ‘authentic’-value goods was the dominant reason that individual entrepreneurs ended up entering the neighbourhood. The results from **Publication III** reveal that the new whole foods and eco-friendly goods are consumed mainly by newcomer residents, and the very sale of such products is empowered by the consumption habits of those newcomers, along with their better economic positioning and social prestige. Long-term residents, however, usually do not visit shops that sell eco-friendly goods and food. These results lead to the third argument in this thesis, which is that market-led commercial transformation and retail change tends to follow the lifestyles and tastes of new residents, while local long-term residents are less targeted or involved. In addition, the results from **Publication I** clearly showed that the impact of the three culture-led regeneration projects were seen by local inhabitants as serving to initialise a physical upgrade, but in terms of local social impact they tended to be targeted towards the young, the more affluent and vocal, the ethnic mainstream, and to entrepreneurs and professionals, rather than long-term residents, the less affluent, people of older age groups, and ethnic minorities.

4.2 Symbolic displacement, belonging, and ‘disattachment’ from place

As has been discovered with preceding studies of gentrification in the post-socialist context, and from research that has been conducted with entrepreneurs (**Publication II**), it can be seen that the classic definition of gentrification – lying mainly with the rent gap and physical displacement – cannot explain the process of gentrification in Northern Tallinn. Studying indirect displacement, however, means working to understand the motives for various stakeholders, from local residents to entrepreneurs, and their intentional and unintentional contributions towards the physical, economic, and social upgrade of the neighbourhood.

In order to investigate such a complicated set of displacement pressures which attend and intersect the processes of local physical, economic, and social upgrade, the third study (**Publication III**) has analysed local active place-making as an umbrella process for locally-induced urban change. It suggests that place-making be considered as the mechanism that combines, mediates, and empowers different indirect modes of displacement. The results from the study show that the dominating place-making narratives are those of collective imaginations of place and the means of story-telling which guide how a neighbourhood is perceived, and that the narratives also result in collective accounts of actions and practices in the local upgrade.

The results of the analysis which was conducted as part of the third study (**Publication III**) show how the most active place-making narratives (the eco-narrative and new community narrative) serve to drive individual and collective investments into a local upgrade in terms of various capital types (investments of made using economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital). The eco-narrative

is a collective means of story-telling which uses eco-friendliness for argumentation and results in underlying collective accounts in place-making. It relates to an eco-friendly lifestyle and environmental thinking, and also in distinguishing local collective place-making practices, such as eco-renovation, a DIY culture,¹ and so on (see Figure 2 in **Publication III**). The place-making activities that have been induced by this narrative include several eco-festivals (such as street food festivals), flea markets, and various workshops (such as those for eco-renovation or organic cosmetics). The interviews confirm the fact that this is also being applied to local individual refurbishment work (such as that which is related to natural and second-use materials). According to the information that was collected from the interviews, the narrative is used and amplified by local commercial places such as, for example, local craft breweries, burger restaurants, second-hand furniture shops, and an eco-themed bakery, all of which use the same stories as local residents when it comes to shaping their product range in order to respond to local demand (**Publication II**). The eco-narrative is often related to the specific style being used in refurbishment work, and such public and individual places can be visually identified by the unsanitised finishings, the re-making, a continuation of use of a somewhat 'seedy' industrial style, or the use of eco-friendly materials and second-use furniture.

A new community narrative (as defined as 'wide' in **Publication III**) implies collective story-telling that has roots in global influences in regard to active community-building and participatory planning, and modern liberal views on community. The results of the third study show how communities of long-term residents and newcomers do not share the same areas of understanding when it comes to the community, and neither do they share the same principles in terms of community-building (see Figure 4 in **Publication III**). The results also reveal that communities of newcomers and those of long-term residents do not interact. The new community identity is built on the liberal principles of an open community which values social mixing and which serves to bond people with similar views and lifestyles. This is seen as a disruption of the existing community by roughly one third of those long-term residents that were interviewed because it has no continuation from previous community encounters (community places prior to the process of gentrification), and past community networks which previously were often based around workplaces or a small geographical area close to one's home (**Publication III**).

The results of the third study (**Publication III**) have shown that commercial and residential gentrification has been empowered by place-making. This in turn has been driven by dominating narratives which have been created by newcomer residents. It can be argued that symbolic displacement can itself be considered gentrification because more affluent groups and entrepreneurs do not invest economic capital alone in the devalorised urban neighbourhoods, but also social,

¹ DIY (Do-It-Yourself), a term which refers to tackling building or repair projects by one's self (whether it be building, modifying, refurbishing, or repairing things without the direct aid of external experts or professionals).

cultural, and symbolic capital through contributions to local identity, community, and the physical appearance of places. Younger newcomers are eager to make a 'place' in terms of community-building and identity, and local businesses direct their products towards the newcomers whom they see as potential clients. The results have shown that a place-making narrative is not merely a way of telling about 'neighbourhood' or a way of experiencing it but also, subsequently, it is about creating a tangible structure which leads to symbolic displacement. This also leads to the fourth argument of this thesis, in which symbolic displacement pressures do indeed apply to long-term and mainly homeowner residents in post-industrial neighbourhoods which are undergoing gentrification in the form of a transformation of place identity and community change.

To continue with the displacement pressures that exist in a more tacit form of displacement, one which is related to the 'loss of place', the question is raised in terms of how 'forceful' such pressures can be and to whom they may apply. Interviews with long-term residents of Northern Tallinn show that a place-making narrative serves to exclude when it has become a dominant means of perceiving and transforming a place but when it bonds together a narrow segment of local residents. The interview analysis also shows that local residents start to perceive local social changes and transformations as an interruption to the community, while displacement pressures are mainly felt in the later stages of gentrification. This argument is closely related to an understanding of gentrification as a staged process in which, in the later phases, the newcomers statistically outnumber long-term residents. Then the narrative gathers followers from the increasing number of newcomers who tend to have an open vision in terms of the community, being fond of the eco-narrative and its physical implications, and whose place-making practices gain an increasing scale in the neighbourhood. For long-term residents, such changes are perceived as being a form of disruption to the community, and previous lifestyles and local identity, one which has no continuation from previous community encounters or past community networks, and which takes place in unconventional venues (hip restaurants and Facebook communes) (**Publication III**).

Long-term residents who begin to feel hesitant that the transformation of their neighbourhood will head in the desired direction have shown different levels of reaction to the two new, increasingly dominant narratives. The common reaction of the excluded is embodied in avoidance behaviour towards particular places and groupings (**Publication III**). For about two-thirds of the long-term interviewees, those who do not share the principles and attitudes which are incorporated into newcomer place-making or who cannot afford the 'higher-quality' new cafeterias, shops, events, or community encounters that are being provided by the changes, the common strategy was to not visit the new places or any of their related social events. For one third, critical statements were made regarding the perceived loss of privilege and legitimacy in the social and spatial 'making' of the neighbourhood, but such criticism had not reached the level of an organised activity, such

as that of the protests by the average ‘Nimby’,² or any kind of push-back which typically strengthens the position of the opposed (**Publication III**).

Information that was collected from the interviews has provided three explanations for such ‘calm reactions’. Firstly, despite the lack of involvement by long-term residents in place-making, the eco-narrative and new community narratives are seen as bringing with them various benefits for long-term residents, such as the refurbishment of decayed buildings, the initiation of new commercial and economic activities, new investment into streets and public spaces, and the promise to reduce crime rates (**Publication III**). Secondly, the third study (**Publication III**) also concluded that oppression and perceptions of oppression take place in different domains (respectively in the ‘secondspace’ and ‘thirdspace’; please see the explanation in **Publication III** which uses Soja’s conceptualisation of the trinity of space). Place-making is taking place in the imaginational and interpretational domain (the ‘secondspace’), and via the physical transformation of public space (the ‘firstspace’), while its indirect pressures apply in the individual perception-based and community-orientated domain in which people actually live with these symbols and identities (the ‘thirdspace’). Thirdly, inclusion (within the new community) and exclusion (of the long-term community) take place simultaneously, which can be the reason for the existing mixed perceptions by long-term residents towards the process of gentrification. Only a few of the respondents who were long-term residents have associated place-making directly with symbolic displacement. This leads to the fifth and final argument of this thesis in that symbolic displacement applies selectively to long-term residents and should be not seen as a zero-sum game.

² Nimby (standing for ‘Not in my backyard’), a term which is used to refer to opposition by local residents to proposed and realised developments in their local area

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Relations between place, displacement, and gentrification

In gentrification studies, the present thesis fits into the recent debate about whether gentrification is a global phenomenon or a local property market process. Often amplified in gentrification literature as these two distinct extremes, the discussion about the planetary nature of the process actually focuses on the definition of mechanisms which themselves lead towards displacement, and tries to find a balance between local and global structures. This debate has been started with supply-side and demand-side explanations which, nowadays, are seen as self-evident (Cocola-Gant, 2019). Similarly, as the actual neighbourhood does not remain the same over the decades where gentrification has been studied, the definitions have also to be changed when the context changes. In this sense, this thesis forms a counter-argument to conservative accounts which tie gentrification only to North American and Western European contexts (such as Ghertner, 2015; Sims, 2016; Maloutas, 2018). Globalisation and its implications on the locality (the place) have led to a situation in which the impact of global processes cannot be ignored when studying localities and, on the contrary, when global processes should be studied in close reference to localities (Robinson, 2011). Several authors have claimed that processes which were local before globalisation have most likely been influenced by globalisation and are intertwined with global elements: and that purely local or global processes can hardly be found (Urry, 1995; Marling, Jensen and Kiib, 2009). The argument being put forward by this thesis in terms of local gentrification processes also including place-making processes which have a global genesis (**Publications II, III**) is, therefore, in line with studies on comparative urbanism (Robinson, 2016) and planetary gentrification (Bridge, 2007; Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016). These studies have acknowledged that the high levels of (international) cultural capital and the pressures invoked by economic necessity are being accepted by an increasing number of people, and that the gentrification habitus (lifestyles which relate to gentrification) are acquired by larger numbers of people who are living in different styles of housing (Bridge, 2007). However, the aim of this thesis is not to praise a stout decontextualisation of the gentrification theory. The spatial scope of this analysis remains on inner city areas, previous working-class neighbourhoods, and private market-influenced processes. This thesis is also in line with many post-socialist researchers who argue that the analysis of local context, such as ownership structure, is needed in order to understand the mechanisms through which a housing market operates (Bernt, 2016a; Kubeš and Kovács, 2020).

Symbolic displacement is studied by this thesis as the disconnection from the feeling of ‘home’, referring to a deeper connection with a place, and those neighbourhood qualities which make the neighbourhood felt like home. In this sense, it also applies to homeowners while, theoretically, symbolic displacement can be

seen to be a considerable process which affects potentially large swathes of populations no matter where they live. However, symbolic displacement which is generated by gentrification – changes which are generated by the local property market and population change – can be seen as being ‘forceful’ in other ways. The results of this thesis have shown that gentrification-induced displacement pressures are selectively forceful: long-term residents simultaneously face new qualities and lose old qualities, some long-term residents become involved in new groupings and activities, there is no strong opposition to the changes but most long-term residents ‘just’ avoid new places and groupings and, even when being very critical, long-term residents are seldom organised enough to be able to protest. A similar discovery has also been made in previous research which was conducted by Paton (2012), who concluded that long-term residents do not always feel displacement pressures because this group is not coherent in terms of age, lifestyle, or levels of inability to adapt to the ‘new’. Bernt (2016a) showed that displacement by gentrification is not an automatic process, but that its ‘forcefulness’ always depends upon the particular political and social context. Lees, Shin, and López Morales (2016:17) claimed that any negative perceptions may be held back by the fact that residents who feel displacement pressures depend upon the jobs and services that are provided in the neighbourhood and therefore cannot be against gentrification-induced developments in local commerce, entrepreneurship, and housing.

This means that indirect displacement pressures operate differently from the classic forms of eviction by means of pricing pressure. As noticed by Atkinson (2015) and Davidson (2009), this means that physical displacement is not the only the result of symbolic displacement, but people do feel displacement pressures (or ‘suffer’) while remaining in place. When homeowners do not feel price pressures that can be related to the property in which they live, they are ‘voluntarily’ locked into a physically, economically, and socially upgrading neighbourhood. Symbolic displacement is, however, and according to the author’s understanding, not comparable with physical displacement (in which oppression and perceptions of oppression take place in different domains; see **Publication III**), but is inter-related with it (being enforced by physical displacement and theoretically leading to physical displacement). Recent studies of gentrification in post-socialist, ‘Global Southern’ and Asian contexts, however, have only slightly investigated the indirect displacement pressures which may apply to indigenous residents in terms of in-migration and economic revitalisation.

5.2 The applicability of gentrification theory in the post-Soviet context and beyond

Firstly, a discussion has to be undertaken in regard to why, in post-Soviet gentrification literature, there has been less attention paid to different types of displacement. The core of post-socialist gentrification studies has focused on contextual differences when compared with the Anglophone world (in terms of governance,

society, the housing market, etc). Previous studies have not reached similar conclusions in regard to whether physical displacement takes place, and have argued that local context has conditioned differences in the mechanisms and outcomes of gentrification. It can be argued that post-socialist studies have not been able to take up a position between the historical-specific causalities and universal causalities when it comes to providing an explanation for similar and singular outcomes (cf. Robinson, 2011). Therefore, the post-socialist gentrification ‘project’ needs to overcome the issue of ‘incommensurability’ between different case studies in order to contribute to the mainstream theory. A similar suggestion has also been provided by Tuvikene (2016) who defines post-socialism not as a characteristic of any particular locality but as one of particular phenomena and processes. The planetary gentrification approach, however, provides the opportunity to build up the research framework for non-Anglophone studies in which gentrification theory and comparative urban theory can be combined in order to study the relationship between the local and global in the gentrification processes. Therefore, more attention needs to be paid in future studies to finding comparable mechanisms of displacement which share the same origins across post-Soviet cities and across non-Anglophone contexts. The present thesis has drawn inspiration from recent developments of gentrification theory towards indirect modes of displacement, searching for means to move away from a situation in which non-Anglophone gentrification studies are divided into incommensurable territorial entities.

Secondly, an element of caution exists in regard to the less ‘forceful’ notion of displacement perhaps receiving less attention or even being considered unworthy for the subject of post-socialist gentrification studies. It has been noticed by previous studies that gentrification processes in post-socialist cities tend to occur in a different way from, and less intensively than in, Western European cities (Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz, Szybel-Boberek and Wolaniuk, 2017; Olt and Csizmady, 2020). Even if post-socialist gentrification does not follow the classic stage model of gentrification and does not involve direct evictions, the approach shown by gentrification in post-socialist cities should not lose its critical edge. Gentrification in the homeowner property market can indeed provide additional value to local property while also creating new qualities for local residents, but these gains tend to be given at the ‘expense’ of a disconnection from the ‘feeling of home’ when interrupting the connection for long-term residents with ‘place’ and those neighbourhood qualities which make the neighbourhood feel like ‘home’. Therefore the author cannot agree with such accounts that have found gentrification not to generate losses for indigenous inhabitants while bringing with it into the neighbourhood a desired level of social change and inclusive civil society (such as Grabkowska, 2015). The lack of opposition and protest within the long-term community may be related to the relatively early stage of the gentrification process in which the study has been conducted, which means that there could well be a greater number of inhabitants who feel displaced and who become more critical when the place-making narratives eventually gain more followers who have been drawn into the neighbourhood by residential changes. In addition, there are substantial differences in levels of ability to express views and spatial practices

between ‘active’ newcomers and ‘passive’ long-term residents. Those of the less engaged tendency often show themselves to be more reticent and less communicative (for similar conclusions see Blokland, 2009). The same should be considered when studying gentrification in different social and cultural contexts, such as the Eastern European, Asian, or South American contexts.

Thirdly, a discussion should take place about how it might be possible for homeowners to avoid the social and cultural homogenisation of post-industrial neighbourhoods in the housing market. There is plenty of room for policies which can slow down the process of gentrification in its later phases, although there may be a lack of political willingness to undertake such a slowing down process. Rent regulations which are often implemented in western cities when tackling gentrification will most likely not be employed in the Estonian case. However, it is possible to provide subsidies for local long-term entrepreneurs so that they can continue to operate in the neighbourhood, and to support community activities and non-governmental organisations which are operating in relation to and which are targeted towards long-term and older inhabitants. One of the most touching examples was revealed during an interview with an active member of a local non-governmental organisation which organised events for the elderly: the rising prices for local property have forced the organisation’s activities out of the Northern Tallinn area in which its members – the elderly – still live. These people are forced to travel longer distances because they cannot afford to rent a meeting place and have also failed to find support from the local municipality. A situation in which some residential groups feel disaffiliated, discouraged, and physically or mentally excluded from participation in local development silently but steadily tends towards the production of fragmented communities.

This thesis has also limitations which have to be considered in the interpretation of the results. Firstly, the primary source for the analysis is the interviews with local long-term and new residents who have dissimilar social statuses, levels of education, skills, knowledge, and other factors which influence the opportunities that can be engaged with and options to be able to act. The study’s vulnerable and active participants may have different levels of perception about ‘what is normal’, including their understanding of the studied social practices and displacement processes. These groups may also have different levels of self-determination about their role and that of other groups in neighbourhood transformation. This requires careful attention because those who are less engaged tend to be more reticent and less communicative, whilst statements by active residents and successful entrepreneurs may easily be over-represented in the analysis. The second limitation is with regard to the cross-section method being used by the study and the temporal nature of the gentrification processes. By conducting research at one point in the process of gentrification, it is possible to retrospectively study the motivations of entrepreneurs and the perceptions of residents. Therefore, it has to be admitted that interviewing entrepreneurs and local residents at a certain time and moment in the process of neighbourhood change may amplify some elements in participants’ perceptions and influence how they perceive the local commercial and residential changes. It must also be

acknowledged that negative events may be described more positively as time passes. The third limitation is that the study has not involved entrepreneurs and residents who have moved away from the neighbourhood. Interviewing entrepreneurs and residents who have 'survived' the gentrification process may have an effect on the results in terms of analysing the 'strength' and 'forcefulness' of displacement pressures. Therefore, the information that was collected from interviews for this thesis cannot be used to study whether the neighbourhood developments and symbolic displacement pressures have resulted or will result in physical out-migration. Such considerations are made in a fully discursive manner and belong to the discussion chapter. The author of the thesis is aware of these limitations, and does not claim to describe the entire process of displacement and its long-term implications.

Nevertheless, the context of Tallinn provides an excellent case study of indirect displacement when these limitations are recognised. Firstly, Tallinn with its extremely high share of private residential and commercial property will, most likely, force less people to be priced out of their property. This firstly means that people who are not moving out are a useful source when it comes to conducting a study of indirect displacement pressures which apply when remaining in a neighbourhood in which social, economic, and symbolic transformations take place. Secondly, the Estonian market-based economy and policy structures celebrate the minimal regulation of the private sector, which may also result in greater freedom to choose the location for a business. With respect to residential gentrification, there are neither any forms of rent protection or any other policies that tackle the process of gentrification. The high existing share of private property results in a limited opportunity for the public sector to be able to act when it holds none of the rights over the available land units. Such a context forms a great opportunity to be able to study the role being played by individual entrepreneurs and their motivations, and also makes it possible to discover the displacement pressures that are being applied to homeowners who are induced by local market processes when the effect of local and state policies is minimal. In such a context, gentrification can theoretically follow more closely the market forces of supply and demand.

In conclusion, the results of this thesis meet the stated aim, revealing that within the context of the housing market for homeowners, there is empirical evidence which shows that indirect forms of displacement do indeed apply to long-term residents. Such displacement is created by the combined effects of commercial and residential transformation which are led by the dominant place-making of newcomers (research question 2). The results of this thesis have shown that commercial and social changes are not 'background processes' but, during the process of gentrification, form a part of the 'gentrification mechanism' which creates, mediates, and empowers different indirect modes of displacement (research question 1). Within the context of the homeowners housing market, however, bi-directional perceptions have been conditioned towards gentrification which includes 'calm and silent' opposition (research question 3). The disconnection of place is acknowledged, but long-term home-owners are not forming a persistent or critical opposition to local social and economic developments.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Gentrification is a socio-spatial process which affects the lives of people who are living in neighbourhoods which are experiencing physical, social, and economic upgrading. The gentrification theory has a legitimacy to be able to show how investments being made by small investors, the state, and international developers have resulted in rapidly rising market prices for property in inner-city neighbourhoods, and have induced the displacement of its long-term residents. The core of the theory, however, is closely bound to Anglophone cities. It remains to a large extent confined within the narrow limits of the rental market and direct displacement by means of property market speculation. Studies which have been conducted in non-Anglophone contexts have only marginally investigated the indirect displacement pressures which can be induced by local newcomer residents and entrepreneurs. This thesis addressed this gap and has aimed at understanding the commercial and social mechanisms being applied by the housing revitalisation of post-socialist neighbourhoods and the relation of such mechanisms to gentrification; and was targeted towards achieving a better grasp of displacement in the context of the 'homeowners housing market'. A qualitative interview method was applied to be able to study how local entrepreneurs and residents understand gentrification and its outcomes, and how indirect displacement is perceived and coped with.

The results of the thesis have confirmed that housing markets are not separated from society and culture. They also suggest that mechanisms which are related to gentrification-induced displacement should also include on local symbolic, commercial, and social transformations. New residents and entrepreneurs who move into a neighbourhood which is undergoing gentrification tend to contribute actively to the revival of community life, and to changes in local retail and entrepreneurship. Local transformation is largely shaped in the early phase of gentrification through the choices of location which are made by newcomers, and which can be explained by the rent gap thesis. The reasons for new businesses being started up in the neighbourhood lay with lower starting costs, and affordable rents or property prices. In the later phases, however, commercial transformation is closely linked to local social transformation and the identity change that is induced by the place-making of new residents. New 'authentic' markets and their 'clients' can generally be identified in the form of a growing number of craft breweries, farmer's shops, craft burger restaurants, second-hand furniture shops, and organic cosmetics and eco-renovation workshops, to name but a few. This commercial process takes place in close interaction with new community building which follows the lifestyles and tastes of newcomer residents, such as that which is related to the liberal principles of an open community and social mixing, and rather tends to bond the newcomers. In subsequent phases, the main driver of commercial and residential change is therefore not the 'rent gap'. Instead the process is demand driven and is closely related to local social transformation and community change. The results show that commercial and social transformations carry

with them the role of inducing, mediating, and empowering displacement pressures.

Being locally induced, however, means that the process of gentrification is also linked to global processes, such as modern urban living narratives and consumption practices, and can therefore be seen as having a global lineage. Those neighbourhoods which were part of the study also form those locations into which first arrived the spatial transformation of new global trends for eco-orientated and lifestyle-orientated products. The results of this thesis show that the long-term resident group is less involved, and is targeted in any trendy social and commercial transformation. Most likely, new strong place-making narratives also tend to attract further new residents, enticing them to move in, and serve to invite new entrepreneurs who see the growing market share and the available business opportunities. These newcomers are often from similar socio-demographic backgrounds, with largely shared values and tastes, who once again empower even further the process of gentrification.

This thesis contributes to the existing literature in three ways. Firstly, it shows that the gentrification theory should also have legitimacy when it comes to studying investments in terms of various forms of capital which are made into local property, commerce, and retail, plus the leisure sphere and the community. These investments are not only made by small investors, the state, and international developers as is contained within the classic view, but also by local residents and individual entrepreneurs in other fields besides that of the property market, such as retail or community life. Defining gentrification as investment by symbolic, cultural, and social capital means it becomes possible to understand the motives of the various stakeholders, from local residents to entrepreneurs, and their intentional and unintentional contributions towards the physical, economic, and social revitalisation of the neighbourhood. It allows gentrification-induced displacement to be viewed not as an automatic market mechanism but as a more complex ‘real-life phenomenon’ in which different displacement pressures are attending and intersecting the processes of local physical, economic, and social upgrade are being considered. The particular contribution of this thesis is in applying such a complex set of mechanisms into a common study, while also explaining how the physical, mental, and symbolic contributions to ‘place’ will be combined into a powerful mechanism of place-making.

Secondly, the contribution of this thesis is to explain that the ‘homeowners housing market’ – which has been shown not to be the location for gentrification – hosts similar gentrification processes. The particular contribution of this thesis is to explain how displacement pressures are created and perceived in different ontological domains in the housing market for homeowners. Traditionally, displacement pressures have been seen to be embodied in price pressures (whether rising price levels or rising rents) and social changes (when friends are leaving and social networks are fading), which are directly associated with gentrification. This thesis has provided an explanation in the form of the commercial and residential place-making of newcomers taking place in the imaginational and in the interpretational domain (the ‘secondspace’) which drives the physical transfor-

mation of the public and private space (the ‘firstspace’), while its pressures apply in the individual perception-based and community-orientated domain in which people actually live with these symbols and identities (the ‘thirdspace’). This is a crucial standpoint for non-Anglophone research in that gentrification should not be identified based on how intense or vocal the resistance may be at a particular point in this staged process, but should be based on what kind of an effect the process has in the long term.

Thirdly, this thesis opens up the field of indirect displacement pressures for the non-Anglophone context, including the post-socialist. At the moment, post-socialist gentrification studies are divided into incommensurable territorial entities that have reached somewhat different conclusions regarding whether – and under which circumstances – gentrification takes place. The argument being put forward by this thesis is that local gentrification also involves processes which have a global genesis, such as being linked to growing global markets for whole foods and eco-friendly goods, the temporary use of industrial land by engaging artists and creative entrepreneurs as ‘agents of change’, plus active community-building and participatory planning. The socio-spatial processes which share a global genesis and which carry considerable explanatory power when studied in particular localities should be defined across non-Anglophone cities and between Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts.

The benefits of this research mainly include a theoretical understanding of housing revitalisation in the housing market for homeowners and its implications for local residents. Gentrification in Estonian urban planning practice is viewed through the positive lenses of social and economic neighbourhood upgrade. At the same time, the results of this thesis have shown that the process contributes towards the slow and ‘non-violent’ segregation of inner-city areas. If it remains unnoticed by urban planners now, its consequences will be difficult if not impossible to repair at a later stage. Socio-economic segregation is rapidly rising in post-socialist countries. If socio-economic diversity could be maintained to some extent in post-industrial neighbourhoods, this would serve to slow down socio-economic segregation. Further research should also combine qualitative and quantitative approaches in order to gain greater levels of in-depth knowledge about the relationship between the commercial and residential transformation of a neighbourhood and indirect displacement pressures. Evidence from other contexts could complement those observations which are made in terms of the homeowner housing market in Estonia and serve to reveal those locations in which similar processes can be classed as being gentrification.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Gentrifikatsioon ja kauaaegse elanikkonna väljatõrjumine Tallinna endistes tööstusasumites

Linnade elanikkond on kasvanud alates 19. sajandi tööstusrevolutsioonist kiiresti (Hall, 2001). Tööstusajastu linnad kasvasid, sest areneval tööstusel oli vaja tööjõudu. Tänapäeva linnastumine jätkub kiirenevas tempos, kuid ei jälgi samalaadseid mustreid nagu eelmisel sajandil. Teenindussektori tööhõive osakaal suureneb, samas kui tööstuses rakendatakse üha vähem tööjõudu. Kaasaegne tööstus on suuresti kolinud linnast välja ning varasemad siselinna tööstuspiirkonnad on eesmärgipärasest kasutusest välja jäänud (Dembski *et al.*, 2019).

Seoses linnaregioonide majandusliku võimekuse ja rahvaarvu kasvuga suureneb linnades nõudlus elu- ja kontoripindade järele ning endised tööstuspiirkonnad ja tööliklassi linnaosad on jõudnud taas kinnisvaraturule (Scott and Kühn, 2012). Endistesse tööstuspiirkondadesse uute elu- ja kontorihoonete rajamine ning olemasoleva tööstusparandi renoveerimine on iseloomulik paljudele tänapäeva linnadele (Madanipour, 2018). Kapitalimahukad investeringud kohalike arendajate, avaliku sektori ja rahvusvahelisel kapitalil tuginevate arendusprojektide näol on toonud kaasa muutused nende linnaosade elanikkonna koosseisus. On täheldatud, et nii majanduslikult kui ka sotsiaalselt maha jäänud endised tööstuslinnaosad, mis olid koduks madalama sissetulekuga inimestele ja tööliklassile, on muutumas üha atraktiivsemaks kõrgema sissetulekuga inimeste jaoks (Smith, 1979; Marcuse, 1985; Ley, 1994). Sellist elanikkonna muutumise protsessi on defineeritud kui gentrifikatsiooni (ingl. k gentry – aadel, jõukama klassi esindaja) ehk keskklassistumist, mis kätkeb endas kohaliku kauaaegse elanikkonna väljatõrjumist kinnisvarahindade tõusu tagajärjel (Smith and Williams, 1986; Atkinson, 2000; Hackworth, 2002).

Gentrifikatsiooniteooria lähtekohad on välja töötatud Põhja-Ameerika ja Suurbritannia linnades, mille eluasemeturgu iseloomustab kõrge üürituru osakaal ning eluasemepoliitika, mis sageli ei toeta madalama sissetulekuga inimeste toimetulekut (Slater, 2009; Ghertner, 2015; Maloutas, 2018). Viimasel ajal on üha rohkem proovitud rakendada gentrifikatsiooniteooriat ka väljaspool selle esialgset konteksti ning proovitud seletada Aasia, Lõuna-Ameerika või Ida-Euroopa eluasemeturul toimuvaid protsesse (Wyly, 2015; Bernt, 2016a; Lees, Shin and López Morales, 2016). Näiteks on täheldatud, et mitmetes Ida-Euroopa siselinna piirkondades toimub samalaadselt kõrgema sotsiaalmajandusliku staatusega elanikkonna sisse- ja kauaaegse elanikkonna väljaränne (Bernt, Gentile and Marcińczak, 2015; Kubeš and Kovács, 2020). Samas on endistes sotsialismimaades toimunud ulatuslikud omandireformid, mille tagajärjel on üürituru osakaal tunduvalt väiksem kui lääneriikides (Lux, Kährlik and Sunega, 2012). Eesti eluasemeturul on näiteks üle kaheksakümne protsendi elupindadest nende elanike omandis (Hess and Tammaru, 2019). Omanikud aga reeglina otsest survet väljakolimiseks ei tunneta (Atkinson, 2000). See on tekitanud terava debati, kas teooria algu-

päraseid lähtekohti peaks muutma ning millistel tingimustel ja millises vormis surve väljakolimiseks avaldub. Viimase aja uuringutes on teoretiseeritud, et surve väljakolimiseks ei avaldu ainult läbi elukalliduse ja üürihinna tõusu, vaid kohalikud kauaaegsed elanikud tunnetavad väljatõrjumise survet läbi kohaliku arenguga kaasneva identiteedi teisenemise, muutuste kohalikus ettevõtluses ja kogukonnaelus ning ajalooliste traditsioonide katkestamise (Davidson, 2009; Atkinson, 2015). Samas ei tea me siiani kõike protsessidest ja teguritest, mis erinevate piirkondade keskklassistumist põhjustavad ning millised tagajärjed võivad sellel inimeste jaoks olla.

Käesolev doktoritöö keskendub eluaseme- ja kinnisvaraturul aset leidvale väljatõrjumise protsessile Tallinna endistes siselinnas tööstusasumites. Uuringualaks on valitud Põhja-Tallinna linnaosas asuvad Kalamaja, Pelgulinna ja Kopli asumid, mis on läbinud kiire muutuse mahajäänud tööstuspiirkonnast Tallinna kiireima hinnakasvuga piirkonnaks ja elustiilitoodetele spetsialiseerunud väikeettevõtluse asukohaks. Käesolev doktoritöö panustab teooria täiendamisesse analüüsides kinnisvaraturu protsesside mõjul toimuvat väljatõrjumist Eestile tüüpilise 'omanike ühiskonna' kontekstis. Töö eesmärgiks on selgitada, kuidas endiste tööstusasumite eluasemefondi uuenemine on seotud ettevõtluskeskkonna teisenemise ja kohalike sotsiaalsete muutustega ning seletada, kuidas toimub elanike väljatõrjumine suure eraomandi osakaaluga eluasemeturul. Selle eesmärgi täpsustamiseks esitati kolm uurimisküsimust:

- Milline on uute elanike ja ettevõtete roll ettevõtluskeskkonna ja kohaliku kogukonna teisenemises?
- Millised kohalikud elanikud on rohkem kaasatud muutunud ettevõtluskeskkonda ja kogukonnaelusse ning millised vähem?
- Kuidas kinnisvara omanikud tunnetavad väljatõrjumist ja saavad hakkama elukeskkonna muutustega?

Väitekirja põhineb kolme eelretsenseeritud teadusartikli tulemustel. Esimene neist keskendub avaliku ja erasektori arendusprojektidele (Kultuurikatel, Lennusadam ja Telliskivi Loomelinnak) ning otsib vastust küsimusele, millist kohalikku mõju need projektid on avaldunud ning kuidas on kohalikku kogukonda kaasanud. Teises artiklis uuritakse põhjuseid, miks kohalikud uued väikeettevõtjad on oma ettevõtte gentrifitseeruvasse piirkonda rajanud ning analüüsitakse ettevõtjate rolli ettevõtluskeskkonna ja kogukonnaelu uuenemises. Kolmandas artiklis uuritakse, kuidas kohalikud elanikud tunnetavad muutusi ettevõtluskeskkonnas, elumufondis, kaubanduses, kogukonnaelus ning kas ja kuidas see võiks põhjustada nende väljatõrjumist. Uurimustöö peamiseks andmeanalüüsiks viidi läbi kvalitatiivsed pool-struktureeritud intervjuud kohalike ettevõtjate ja elanikega. Kokku viidi läbi seitsekümmend seitse intervjuud kestusega keskmiselt üks tund. Intervjueeriti nii uusi kui ka kauaaegseid elanikke ja ettevõtjaid. Andmeid analüüsiti kvalitatiivse sisuanalüüsi meetodil.

Doktoritöö tulemustest selgub, et gentrifitseeruvate endiste tööstusasumite ettevõtluskeskkonna teisenemine ja muutused kohalikus elanikkonnas on lähedalt

seotud. Põhja-Tallinn on nüüdseks aktiivne väikeloomettevõtluse piirkond ning see on saanud üheks peamiseks ökoloogiliste ja elustiilitoodete turustamise ja tarbimise sihtkohaks. Seda kinnitavad erinevad ökoloogiliste toodete poed, kunsti- ja käsitöömüügikohad, boheemlasliku sisekujundusega restoranid ja kohvikud ning mööbli restaureerimise ja ökoloogilise kosmeetika töötoad. Võib öelda, et suhteliselt lühikese ajaga on supiköökid ja autoremonditöökodadega mahajäänud tööstuslinnaosadest saanud Eesti 'ökogurmee' üks põhilisi asukohti. Paljud senised uurimused on tõdenud, et selliste toodete ja teenuste tekkimine on orienteeritud peamiselt uutele ja trenditeadlikumatele elanikele ('gentrifitseerijatele') ning nende poolt väärtustatud sümboolsele ja moraalsele lisandväärtusele, kuid kauaaegsed elanikud sellest reeglina osa ei saa (Zukin *et al.*, 2009; Gonzalez and Waley, 2013).

Tulemused näitavad, et ettevõtjaid ja kohalikke elanikke on meelitanud Põhja-Tallinnale kui gentrifitseeruvale piirkonnale omased hüved ning sealne ettevõtlus- ja elukeskkond. Kuivõrd kohalik kontekst on alates 1990ndatest aastatest kuni tänaseni suuresti muutunud, siis jaotati ettevõtjad erineval ajaperioodidel domineerinud põhjenduste alusel, miks nad Põhja-Tallinna kolisid või seal tegevust alustasid, viieks rühmaks: teerajajad (pioneerid), varased omaksvõtjad, varajane enamus, hiline enamus ja viivitajad. Uuritud Põhja-Tallinna tööstus- asumid, olles enne ulatuslikke muutuseid ja gentrifikatsiooni sotsiaal-majanduslikult mahajäänud, pakkusid algselt soodsat asukohta teerajajatele ettevõtetele, kes selliseid asukoha-eeliseid otsisid ja ära kasutada oskasid. Põhja-Ameerika ja Lääne-Euroopa gentrifikatsiooniteooria keskmeks on seletus, et gentrifikatsioon leiab aset, sest kinnisvarahinnad on kesklinna-lähedastes tööstuslinnaosades tunduvalt madalamad (vt joonis 1, rendilõhe) kui kesklinnas ja neist kaugemates piirkondades (Smith, 1979; Curran, 2004). Seetõttu on igati loogiline, et hea asukoht ja soodne kinnisvara tõmbab ligi uusi elanikke, ettevõtjaid ja kinnisvaraarendajaid. Ka läbi viidud analüüs kinnitas seda esimeses gentrifikatsiooni- protsessi etapis. Samas intervjuueeritud ettevõtjad, kes alustasid hiljem koos nõ varase enamusega ei toonud välja peamise põhjusena rendilõhet isegi kui see veel teoreetiliselt eksisteeris, vaid põhjendasid ettevõtte asukohavalikuid uue kohaliku turuniši, öko- ja mahetoodete olemasoluga ning sellele kohaliku kasvava tarbijakonnaga uute elanike näol. Sellest lähtuvalt leiti, et kohalik ettevõtluse muutumine on tihedalt läbi põimunud elanike vahetuse protsessiga ning nende ühiseks nimetajaks on elustiili- ja ökotooted, trenditeadlikkus ning taotlus autentsele elukeskkonnale. Uute ettevõtjate lisandumine leidis kinnitust pigem kui taktikaline otsing keskkonna järele, kus on kliente, loomingulisust, kindel turuniš ehk lisanduvate ettevõtjate asukohavalikul domineerisid sarnaste ettevõtete koondumise tagajärjel tekkinud eelised. Kohalike elanikega läbi viidud intervjuud kinnitasid, et kauaaegsed elanikud ei olnud uute ettevõtete kliendid ega nende pakutud toodete ja teenuste tarbijad ning ei saanud valdavalt osa tekkinud hüvedest.

Muutused ettevõtluskeskkonnas ja kohalikus elanikkonnas on tekitanud olukorra, kus uued elanikud ja ettevõtjad juhivad aktiivselt kohaliku piirkonna arengut ning kujundavad selle identiteeti nii sümboolselt kui ka läbi reaalsete tegevuste kogukonnaelus. Doktoritöö kolmas artikkel vaatas seda kohaloome (place-

making) kontseptsioonist lähtuvalt, mis annab võimaluse analüüsida, kes kohalikku keskkonda nii majanduslikus, sotsiaalses kui ka tajutavas-sümboolses vormis „toodavad“. Selle lähenemise juured peituvad Pierre Bourdieu töödes ning ülekantuna gentrifikatsiooniteooria konteksti näitavad, kuidas domineerivad arusaamad võimendatuna aktiivsemate ühiskonnagruppide poolt kujundavad kohalikku identiteeti, inimeste tunnetuslikku seost nende kodupiirkonnaga ning kuulumistunnet kohalikku kogukonda (Blokland, 2009; Benson and Jackson, 2012). Tulemused kinnitasid, et eluasemeturu muutused algatasid tunduvalt laiemal elukeskkonna teisenemise protsessi, mis ulatus kaugemale eluasemeturu piiridest. Uued elanikud ja ettevõtjad ning nende poolt loodud ja ellu viidud arengunarratiivid viisid kohaliku kogukonnaelu, kooskämiskohtade ja kaubanduse teisenemiseni, mis ei kõnetanud kauaaegseid elanikke ega olnud nende maailma-vaadete ja sissetulekutega vastavuses. Analüüsides intervjuusid kauaaegsete elanikega järeldati, et kuigi kohalikud kauaaegsed elanikud omades elupinda „võidavad“ kinnisvara väärtuse kasvades, kaotavad nad olulise osa oma ajaloolisest sidemest, kohapealsest suhtlusvõrgustikust ning võimalusest kohalikes arengutes kaasa rääkida. Senised uuringud on näidanud, et selline sümboolne väljatõrjumine ja võõrandumine viib pikemas perspektiivis erinevate elustiilide ja erinevate sissetulekutega inimeste sotsiaal-ruumilisele eraldumiseni (Marcuse, 1985; Davidson, 2009; Atkinson, 2015).

Uurimistöö kinnitas, et Põhja-Tallinnas on suurenenud lõhe kauaaegsete elanike ja uute elanike vahel ning intervjueritud kauaaegsed elanikud pigem uue kogukonna üritustest osa ei võta. Intervjuud näitlikustasid, et tegemist ei ole ainult nõmaitse küsimusega, vaid ka uue kogukonna ja ökotoodete motiivid on kauaaegsetele elanikele sageli ideoloogiliselt vastuvõetamatud. Selgitatakse, et tunnetatakse sõnaõiguse puudumist kohalikus arengus, tuttavate väljakolimise tagajärjel hääbuvate suhtlusvõrgustike mõju, sobivate kooskämiskohtade puudumist ning kogukonna- ja seltsielu koondumist kohtadesse, mis ei ole hinnataseme poolest vastuvõetavad. Umbes kaks kolmandikku intervjueritud kauaaegsetest elanikest ei ole samas avaldanud teravat vastuseisu ning tavaline reaktsioon on olnud uuest kogukonnaelust ning tarbimiskultuurist eemale hoidmine. Üks kolmandik on samas siiski kriitiliselt meelestatud ja rahulolematu, kuid ei ole samas midagi ette võtnud, et oma vastasseisu väljendada. Seoses sellise reaktsiooniga on joonistunud välja olukord, kus inimesed hoiavad teatud üritustest ning kohtadest oma kauaaegses kodupiirkonnas eemale, sest tunnetavad, et ei saa midagi selliste arengute pidurdamiseks teha. Samuti ei tunnetata toimuvaid muutusi läbinisti negatiivsena, vaid proovitakse leida selle positiivseid ilminguid. Käesolev töö pakub sellise kauaaegsete elanike reaktsiooni selgituseks välja, et ruumi loomine ja kodutunde kui ruumitunnetuse katkemine toimuvad erinevates ontoloogilistes sfäärides: domineerivad arengunarratiivid luuakse suuresti kujutletavas ning sümboolses vormis (domineerivad arengunarratiivid nagu näiteks ökoloogiline elustiil) ning viiakse ellu läbi füüsiliste tegevuste ja arenduste, samas kui inimesed tunnetavad muutusi läbi kohaliku identiteedi teisenemise oma vahetus elukeskkonnas, mida sageli ei seostata arengunarratiivide ja nende loojatega. Väitekirjas jõutakse järeldusele, et kuigi (välja)tõrjumine ei ole otsene

ja „vägivaldne“, vajab see tähelepanu, sest viib erinevate elanike gruppide ruumilisele eraldumisele ning võib kaudselt mõjutada nende hilisemat väljakolimist. Kauaaegsete elanike jäämine toob samas kaasa vaheldusrikkama linnaruumi ja ühtlasema kohaliku kogukonna.

Kokkuvõttes võib öelda, et Eestis omandireformidel ja erasektorile suhteliselt vabade käte andmise põhimõttel linnade arengu planeerimisel on oma hind. See peadib sellega, et kontroll kinnisvarasektori üle on üsnagi leebe ning suurenev elatustase ja surve arendustegevusteks Tallinnas tingib siselinna piirkondade kiire arendamise ja hinnatõusu. Kuigi kohalikud kauaaegsed elanikud, kes tänaseks veel Põhja-Tallinnas elavad, on vähem mõjutatud hinnasurve kui üürnikud, ei saa väita, et nad survet väljakolimiseks või sotsiaal-ruumiliseks eraldumiseks ei tunneta. Suuresti kinnisvaraturul toimuvate arengute mõjul toimub kiire ettevõtluskeskkonna ja kohaliku kogukonnaelu muutus, mis on suunatud peamiselt uutele gentrifikatsiooniprotsessi vältel sisse kolinud elanikele ning juhitud nende ning kohalike ettevõtjate koosmõjul toimuva uuendusprotsessi läbi. Doktoritöö panuseks on gentrifikatsiooni analüüsimine eraomandi kontekstis, mille tulemusel võib öelda, et (välja)tõrjumine ei ole automaatne ja turumajanduslik protsess, vaid toimib ka kaudsemalt läbi domineerivate kohalooime narratiivide, mida siselinna endistes tööstusasumites jõuliselt rakendatakse.

PUBLICATIONS

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Ingmar Pastak
Date of birth: 16.10.1983
Phone: +372 524 7860
E-mail: ingmar.pastak @ut.ee

Education:

2014—... University of Tartu, Human Geography, PhD studies
2012–2014 University of Tartu, Human Geography and Regional Planning,
MSc studies (Cum Laude)
2008–2012 University of Tartu, Geography, BSc studies
2000–2003 Tartu Mart Reinik Gymnasium, secondary education

Work experience:

2014—... Junior Research Fellow of Human Geography, University of
Tartu
2017 Visiting Researcher, Delft University of Technology

Research interests:

Gentrification, socio-spatial inequalities, urban governance and smart city planning

Publications:

- Pastak, I., Kährlik, A. (2021). Symbolic displacement revisited: Place-making narratives in gentrifying neighbourhoods of Tallinn. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Accepted for publication
- Kljavin, J., Holvandus, J., Kurik, K.J., Pastak, I. (2020). Activism in the co-creation of public space (Aktivism avaliku ruumi koosloomes). *Human Development Report of Estonia 2019/2020*.
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ELULOOKIRJELDUS

Nimi: Ingmar Pastak
Sünniaeg: 16.10.1983
Telefon: +372 524 7860
E-post: ingmar.pastak @ut.ee

Haridustee:

2014—... Tartu Ülikool, inimgeograafia, Doktoriope
2012–2014 Tartu Ülikool, inimgeograafia ja regionaalplaneerimine,
magistriope (Cum Laude)
2008–2012 Tartu Ülikool, geograafia, bakalaureuseope
2000–2003 Tartu Mart Reiniku Gümnaasium, keskkharidus

Töökogemus:

2014—... Inimgeograafia nooremteadur, Tartu Ülikool
2017 Kõlalisteadur, Delfti Tehnikaülikool

Peamised uurimisvaldkonnad:

Gentrifikatsioon, sotsiaal-ruumiline ebavõrdsus, valitsemine ja kaasamine, tarkade linnade planeerimine

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