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Residents´ Perceptions of Gentrification and Related Changes: a Study of Smíchov and Karlín

Vnímání gentrifikace a souvisejících změn: studie Smíchova a Karlína

Master´s thesis

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Abstract

Gentrification is an urban process gone global with many permutations and local specifics. This master´s thesis analyses how residents are perceiving gentrification in rapidly developing, post-industrial, inner-city neighbourhoods of Prague – Smíchov and Karlín. The thesis is based on the concept of gentrification as planetary phenomenon that is anchored in a post-socialist context of contemporary Prague. The integral process of displacement is understood as direct but also symbolic, as an attachment to one´s neighbourhood. Perception, an individual's filter of understanding and dealing with the world, is used to capture nuances, experiences, and feelings. Using interviews, the thesis seeks to answer the following questions using the underutilized perceptions of regular citizens. How are residents perceiving gentrification and the related changes? Where are residents placing gentrification? Are these findings the same in Smíchov and Karlín or are there differences in the perceptions?

Gentrification and displacement are palpable urban processes that the respondents perceive as having changed the neighbourhoods in an impactful way. Karlín is seen as gentrified, whereas in Smíchov the situation is more nuanced. The group most clearly identified as being displaced are the Roma. The gentrifiers are perceived to be younger and wealthier, sometimes foreign. Among the residents interviewed, attachment and social capital seemed not to play an important role. The mapped changes show more agreement in edge cases of change and in expectations for the future. Based on the responses, several possible gentrification types were identified that can be further explored to warrant their validity.

Keywords: gentrification, perception, displacement, mapping, Smíchov, Karlín

Abstrakt

Gentrifikace jakožto urbánní proces dosáhla globální úrovně s mnoha permutacemi a lokálními specifiky. Tato diplomová práce zkoumá, jak rezidenti vnímají gentrifikaci v rychle se rozvíjejících, post-industriálních čtvrtích vnitřního města Prahy – na Smíchově a v Karlíně. Práce je založená na konceptu geografie jakožto (celo)planetárním fenoménu, který je zakotven v post-socialistickém kontextu současné Prahy. Nedílný proces vymístění (displacement) je chápán jako direktní, ale také jako symbolický, jako náklonnost člověka k jeho sousedství. Percepce neboli vnímání, je filtrem, skrze který jednotlivec chápe a interaguje se světem, a je využívána k uchopení nuancí, zkušeností a pocitů. Pomocí rozhovoru se tato práce snaží zodpovědět na následující otázky studováním málo využívaných percepcí běžných občanů. Jak rezidenti vnímají gentrifikaci a související změny? Kde rezidenti gentrifikaci vnímají? Jsou tyto poznatky stejné na Smíchově a v Karlíně nebo se percepce liší?

Gentrifikace a vymístění jsou hmatatelné městské procesy, které dle percepcí rezidentů způsobily drastickou změnu čtvrtí. Karlín je vnímán jako gentrifikovaný, kdežto na Smíchově je situace složitější. Romové jsou skupina, která nejpatrněji vnímána jako vymísťovaná. Mladí a bohatí, někdy cizinci, jsou vnímání jako gentrifikující. U dotazovaných rezidentů se zdálo, že náklonost k sousedství a sociální kapitál nehrají důležitou roli. Mapované proměny ukazují větší shodu v krajních případech vnímání proměn a v očekáváních do budoucnosti. Na základě výpovědí bylo identifikováno několik typů gentrifikace, jejichž skutečnost lze dalším studiem ověřit.

Klíčová slova: gentrifikace, percepce, vymístění, mapování, Smíchov, Karlín

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1 Introduction

In a world where more than half the population now lives in the cities (Zhang et al. 2020; Pastak 2021), the study of cities is of utmost importance to ascertain smooth sustainable development of cities themselves, but also the global society in general. Cities are consistently evolving, complex, and interwoven systems requiring careful examination and study to help with proper administration and governance, and thus ensure adequate living conditions and general well-being of the populace.

The growth of cities had rapidly accelerated with the industrial revolution as copious amounts of workers emigrated from the rural areas in search of employment and necessary housing. In the centuries and decades that followed, each city went through its own phases and changes with many of them being influenced by global phenomena and the current zeitgeist. The city of Prague, with which I will concern myself in this study, is no exception to these different periods of growth, like the Interwar period, the socialist period, or the so called Transformation period, to name a few (Boháč 1923; Carter 1973; Hammersley, Westlake 1996; Soukupová 2009; Míka 2011).

In this thesis I have chosen two inner-city neighbourhoods of Prague as my case studies. They are Smíchov and Karlín. Even though they share a somewhat similar industrial past, differences can be found in their geography, history, and present. Both are located within the inner city of Prague and both boast a fairly heterogenous population and a varied housing stock. In the past 30 years they have gone through massive changes, physical but also functional and social. The changes are still ongoing with brownfield redevelopment and renovations taking place in Smíchov and Karlín. Several studies have discussed the possibility of gentrification, gentrification-like processes, or processes that accompany gentrification occurring therein (Ilík, Ouředníček 2007; Temelová 2007; Temelová, Novák 2007; Klsák et al. 2020; Ouředníček et al. 2020). The existence of similarities and differences between the neighbourhoods gives value to the comparative spirit of this work and allows for a partial extrapolation of specifics into a wider context of contemporary Prague.

Gentrification has, in many different forms and meanings, proliferated the urban debate in the current zeitgeist, and brought upon a situation in which people may have different ideas and expectations when faced with the term gentrification (Bernstein, Isaac 2021). Davidson and Lees (2005) go as far as to label it the most loaded term in urban geography and urban politics. Understanding how "regular" citizens perceive and understand gentrification especially when it concerns them, their homes, and their neighbourhoods, and their future can be of aid in terms of urban planning and decision making in the future.

There are two main reasons why I have chosen to study the perceptions of potential gentrification of Smíchov and Karlín, a personal one and an academical one. I find the topic interesting; I see it is a way to learn more about the city where I was born and where I have spent the most of my life. I have lived in Smíchov for several years and I still visit both neighbourhoods quite frequently for various reasons. I have personally felt, or rather *perceived*, the change in these neighbourhoods. Quantifying and qualifying this perception will satisfy my own curiosity and allow me to discuss these topics with more knowledge and confidence.

Academically speaking, I hope to enrich the field of urban geography and expand the knowledge of neighbourhood dynamics in Prague. The object of this thesis is to discover, map, describe, and analyse the change in perceptions of residents living in Smíchov and Karlín. I strive to fill a research gap – gentrification in Prague has been studied, it is not a new topic. However, even though physical, social, and functional aspects have been studied, rarely or ever has it been looked at from the point of view of regular citizens, as when interviews are conducted they are usually form the perspective of stakeholders or key actors (Temelová 2007; Sýkora, Špačková 2020). Using residents´ perception of the neighbourhood as a source instead of using quantitative data from the past will unlock new discoveries about gentrification and related processes in near-real-time. Antunes, March, and Connolly (2020) criticize the prevalent retrospective manner of gentrification research in that it presents gentrification as a linear process of urbanization that happened, rather than like a process that is happening.

Perception is an infinitely subjective experience, however all humans share common perceptions (Tuan 1974b). By weaving these individual perceptions into a coherent picture we can begin to understand how gentrification is perceived and how it affects the ones who live in its area of effect. What is the actual experience of living there? One´s perception of a neighbourhood is influenced by many factors such as length of residence, personal investment and attachment to the neighbourhood, existence of a network of relationships and more (Gosse et al. 2016; Jones, Dantzler 2021). This more human view of urban development is in line with Prague´s development policy wherein citizen participation is one of the main arguments of the plan (IPR Praha 2021).

I ask a number of questions. Do the perceptions of long-term and shorter-term residents differ, i.e. (how) does length of residence influence one´s perceptions of the neighbourhood and its changes? More specifically, how are the residents perceiving the subprocesses that accompany gentrification and gentrification-like processes, such as symbolic or affectual displacement and urban renewal? Has gentrification impacted their daily lives and social

networks and relationships? Are they familiar with the term gentrification, do they use it or some other accompanying terms, such as displacement? Do they feel affected, or maybe threatened by gentrification? What do they consider to be the drivers of gentrification? Are some residents welcoming of the process and the changes it brings to the neighbourhood? How and where do residents perceive gentrification as taking place? Is there a difference between renters and owners?

This barrage of inquisitive inquiries is distilled into the following research questions that I seek to answer with this research and thesis:

I. How are residents perceiving gentrification and gentrification-related changes in Smíchov and Karlín? What feelings or emotions does the changing neighbourhood evoke? Are there feelings or pressures of displacement and unhoming?

II. Where are residents placing gentrification as happening or about to happen? Is there an overlap or a discernible difference between different groups of residents, namely old-timers and newcomers or renters and owners?

III. Are these findings the same in Smíchov and Karlín or are there differences in perceiving gentrification?

Based on preliminary research and knowledge of the context, the assumption is that the differences between Karlín and Smíchov will not be striking, but they will be there. Generally speaking, Karlín has three main areas ("new" Karlín – Rohan Island, "old" Karlín, and the area around the housing estate Invalidovna). On the other hand, the segmentation of Smíchov, thanks not only to its size, is more complicated, overlapping, and dispersed. Furthermore, even though construction is ongoing, the Rohan Island area in Karlín has been functioning for more than a decade, both residentially and as an office park, and even though Smíchov′s potential for new-build gentrification and its effects has been growing for at least fifteen years, its biggest project to date – Smíchov City, is far from complete. Thus, it might be safe to assume that here will be a wider consensus among residents of Karlín in terms of localizing and placing gentrification whereas the perceptions of Smíchov′s residents will be more dispersed and concentrated to the areas the individuals are familiar with.

In terms of comparing the newer and older residents, the assumption is that the older residents would be more strongly connected to their neighbourhood, both functionally and emotionally, and would thus be more perceptive and reactant to change while also being less likely to embrace it (Gosse et al. 2016) in both neighbourhoods. Contrastingly, as some of the newer residents might partially be the instigators of neighbourhood change, it is not unreasonable to assume that their opinions of it might be more positive. It is also possible to

assume that the median age of the newer residents will be lower. This would result in some of the changes (for example of services available) fitting in better with the lifestyles of younger people.

There could also be a difference between renters and owners. Owners, no matter if they have been one for a long period or a short one, have the security of owning their housing and are thus largely immune to direct displacement. Renters, however, are not – they are much more mobile and more susceptible to price increases and thus make easier potential displacement victims (Steinmetz-Wood et al. 2017). Due to the national preference for housing ownership and the perception of rental housing as less secure in general (Lux et al. 2009), renters might also be more "aware" of the current (rental) housing market situation which would give them more information to base their assumptions and perceptions on.

2   A Literature Overview of Gentrification and Perception

2.1   An Introduction to the Two Topics

The discussion about and research on gentrification holds a strange position. On one hand, it is phenomenon that has been studied for many decades, as it was first described already in (1964) by Ruth Glass with research continuing to this day. But throughout all this time it was mostly studied and written about in "the West", more accurately in the Anglosphere (Lees, Shin, Ernesto 2016a; Swanstrom, Plöger 2020). In recent years – the 21st century, more studies about gentrification from places other than the West have begun to emerge (Sýkora 2005; Ley, Teo 2014; Grabkowska 2015; Murzyn-Kupisz, Szmytkowska 2015; Temelová et al. 2016). These western, more specifically Anglo-American, roots of gentrification have helped cement the theories and ideas about gentrification in a western context, which some authors have argued can even be described as conceptual colonialism when these theories are used in post-socialist cities[1] (Swanstrom, Plöger 2020) or cities of non-anglophone continents (Ley, Teo 2014). Ouředníček (2016) and Sjöberg (2014) have discussed the transfer and applicability of western theories in the Eastern and Central Europe in a more general urban environment.

This situation then raises the question, is there a research gap? Can it be said that gentrification studies have been saturated? I would argue that yes and no, respectively. Gentrification, and geography in general, are both highly contextual no matter the scale, be it international, national, or even local on a neighbourhood level (Davidson, Lees 2005; Hayes 2020; Tulumello, Allegretti 2021). Context matters not geographically but also historically, as every city has its own story and path of evolution. The economic situations are different, the legislature is different, the sizes are different. There is an innumerable amount of variables that shape the way a city or a neighbourhood is and feels (Kovács, Wiessner, Zischner 2015). Seeing that gentrification is a process that happens in a place, the character of the place is bound to directly influence the processes happening within, or possibly even around it. As Tobler (1970, p. 236) puts it in his first law of geography, "everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things". It could be argued that in today´s globalized society the effect is lessened to a degree, nevertheless, space and proximity still play an important role.

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[1] In literature the cities (or countries) in question are sometimes referred to as post-socialist cities, sometimes as post-communist cities, or sometimes the term Central and Eastern European cities (CEE for short) is used. They can also be defined as cities that lie in countries that were on the Eastern side of the Iron Curtain, be it the USSR, Yugoslavia, or the Soviet sphere of influence (Kubeš, Kovács 2020).

The topic, definition, and context of gentrification will be discussed more in the following subchapters. I deem it important to concisely present these nuances to ascertain a mutual understanding between the reader and the text. Alas, that is not easy task as gentrification has proliferated colloquial language and it may sometimes not be clear, whether the process that is being observed is actually gentrification, physical upgrading of the neighbourhood, or simply neighbourhood change or population turnover. Gentrification is a term that has been widely debated and also politicized (Davidson, Lees 2005; Bernstein, Isaac 2021; Pastak 2021). The concept has also departed from the stereotypical inner-city, residential and renovation markers and has expanded to include rural, non-residential, and new-build areas (Clark 2004; Kovács, Wiessner, Zischner 2015). It has got to the point where in the study of Vancouver, Ley and Dobson (2008) are not asking where gentrification is taking place, but rather where has it not taken place.

The high proliferation of gentrification in many spheres of life and media brings back the question of a research gap that this thesis tries to answer with a path less taken. Namely, the way gentrification of a neighbourhood is perceived by its residents. Perception is a broad and vast concept encompassing many sciences from architecture, art, and geography to philosophy and the field of medicine (Tuan 1974c; Pearson, Richards 1994a; Ingold 2000b; Mast, Jäncke 2007). Due to the subjective nature of perception, at the fulcrum of it stands the individual, each one with a unique perceptive ability and experience. Perception is a necessary intermediate step, possibly a layer, that people use to interact with the world – we reconstruct the reality in our minds based on our senses and limitations and then act upon it (Tuan 1974b; Ingold 2000a).

The way a person perceives and experiences their neighbourhood is linked to their attachment towards the neighbourhood. If one is satisfied and has positive perceptions of their surroundings, the feeling of belonging is stronger (Jones, Dantzler 2021). Higher social capital, as a specific resource comprised of mutual relationships created in many different contexts, is another factor frequently associated with positive perceptions of one´s neighbourhood (Gosse et al. 2016). The way residents perceive public and open space, safety, services and more in their everyday life can be used to weave an image of the neighbourhood.

2.2 Gentrification

2.2.1 Where to begin?

Defining gentrification is not an easy task (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2010b), admittedly it may even be impossible to settle on a single definition that is specific enough to convey most of the nuances. Gentrification is a relatively new term in urban studies only dating back to the 1960s when it was first used by Ruth Glass in her work *London: Aspects of Change* (Glass 1964). She discussed the influx of the middle class (the so-called gentry) into neighbourhoods traditionally inhabited by lower-class residents, thus causing a displacement of these lower-class residents and a gradual changing of the face and character of the neighbourhood. Specifically, she speaks of working-class neighbourhoods with "shabby, modest mews" (Glass 1964, p. xviii) that have been remade into "elegant, expensive residences". However, some authors have called Glass´ definition of gentrification dated due to the plethora of mutations and forms of gentrifications that have sprung up since (Lees, Shin, Ernesto 2016a) thanks to gentrification´s adaptive nature (Erkan 2022).

Lees, Shin and Ernesto (2016) offer Clark´s more recent definition of gentrification wherein he stipulates that gentrification occurs when land-users of higher economic status displace the older ones of lower economic status, accompanied by a change in the built environment and capital investment. The greater the difference between the old and the new users, the greater the difference in the power that they possess, and the more striking the change in the built environment. Wealthier people replace poorer people and heterogeneity and diversity is replaced by social and cultural homogeneity (Lees, Shin, Ernesto 2016a).

Davidson and Lees (2005) speak of various co-occurring processes that signify the going-on of gentrification; firstly, they speak of reinvestment of capital into the locality, as localities that are (about to be) gentrifying usually are in need of some sort of investment. Secondly, a social upgrading of the locale by incoming high(er) income groups takes place, as these new residents are the replacers, and (thirdly and) thus directly or indirectly displace the original population of the neighbourhood. Fourthly, the physical landscape changes to accommodate all the other changes happening at the same time. According to Glass (1964), once the process of gentrification has started, it will not stop until all of the original inhabitants of the neighbourhood have been displaced and the social character of the locality has been transformed.

On the most basic of levels, the core idea of gentrification remains, yet the times, they are changing. And over time many things change, not only reality – societies, cities, countries, populations – but also our way of assessing this reality, our epistemological view, our current

paradigm, theoretical background. And, annoyingly perhaps, the change and evolution are different in different places at different times. These changes must be taken into account in all of research, but as urban systems (and thus urban science) have transformed so drastically over the past one hundred years, to disregard the importance of the ever-changing context would be a major mistake on behalf of the researcher. Over time, gentrification has gone through many changes (Davidson, Lees 2005) and it has reached a state where it has gone global, it has reached a planetary scale (Lees, Shin, Ernesto 2016b; Lees, Slater, Wyly 2023b). The is no clear "one gentrification" anymore, the lines are getting blurry, the barrier between the rural and urban is breaking down (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2023a), gentrification is not spatially bound to the centres and inner cities anymore (Davidson, Lees 2005). While gentrification as a broad process has been largely accepted by urban scholars, it is still highly dependent on context and looking for it in highly varied contexts can make researchers place more emphasis on outcomes rather than causal mechanisms and disregard an important part of the research (Tulumello, Allegretti 2021).

The idea of what gentrification is has not only spread organically, but has also been meticulously fabricated and modelled. Davidson and Lees (2005) argue that a gentrification blueprint is produced, marketed, and consumed on a massive scale. The idea of loft-living in a post-industrial setting has been imported into São Paolo, to a district with a commercial and residential past (Kalichman, Rufino 2021). Post- or ex- industrial aesthetics of gentrification that have their origins elsewhere are being fabricated in places which do not fit the "classical" gentrification template and timeline. Kalichman and Rufino (2021) speak of actors who import a narrative and then sell their product.

2.2.2   Dissecting the Concept of Gentrification

As previously mentioned, gentrification is the displacement of less-affluent original inhabitants by the more-affluent ones, that are accompanied by socio-economic power, physical upgrading, and different life values. Thanks to this relatively simple definition, gentrification has been used to study many a different process in a smorgasbord of environments and contexts, to a degree that Hayes (2020) mentions the danger of overextending the concept. Can gentrification as one concept be applied urban, rural, and suburban contexts (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2023a)? Here I shall attempt to give an overview of the different aspects of gentrification and how they are looked at.

Wave Goodbye to the Past – the Waves of Gentrification

In this subchapter I will summarise the chronological typology of five gentrification waves. Some of these might not be applicable to context of the selected case studies due to their past as the waves were formulated primarily using New York, they do however provide a good overview of the evolution of gentrification which can help understand its current form(s). Furthermore, Aalbers (2019) suggests that even though the process of gentrification started in different places with different local contexts at different times, we might be experiencing a synchronization of all the permutations of gentrification and its phases, the closer in time they started.

There are two main sources of this chapter. The first one is the vastly cited article describing the first three stages by Hackworth and Smith (2001) and the second one is a revisiting of the said article by Aalbers (2019) where two more stages are added. Almost everything about gentrification has changed to some degree, its global effect, the amount of involvement of the public sphere and big finance, personal involvement, the locations where it happens within the city, the type of city, the type people it affects the most, etc.

The first wave was concentrated into the Anglophone world and parts of Western Europe and spanned the later sixties and early seventies. It was highly localized and to a large degree financed by the public sector as a response to the free-market-led downturn of central neighbourhoods. The results of these interventions were class specific in that it was the working or blue-collar class that got the worse end – displacement. The 1970s crisis caused a reorientation in investment and capital flows from the unproductive to productive sectors, such as office and retail (Hackworth, Smith 2001).

After a short transition phase, the second wave picked up where the first one left off and lasted on until the late eighties. While remaining in the same macroregion, gentrification had started to spread into new cities and new neighbourhoods with great strength and vigour. Public support was focused on stimulating the private market rather than overseeing gentrification with the overall level of control being very hands-off. Gentrification did not expand only spatially but also started to include "a wider range of economic and cultural processes at the global and national scales" (Hackworth, Smith 2001, p. 468). This soft cultural factor helped attract new flows of capital (Aalbers 2019). The people had also started to challenge gentrification as it was connected to evictions, homelessness, and rising vulnerability of poorer residents. However these challenges and protests turned out to be incapable of stopping the process of gentrification (Hackworth, Smith 2001).

Third-wave gentrification begins in the nineties, again after a transition phase during a recession where a degentrification process was contemplated as gentrification had drastically slowed or completely stopped in some places. But gentrification had started to spread out from the centre and inner-city to areas further out that had been previously unaffected. Larger and larger developers and capital investors started getting involved in the process, gentrification became more corporate (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2008). Larger developers had also become the ones to kick-off gentrification, they did not wait for smaller projects to pave the path and secure the risk anymore. The displacement of the working class continued, its power lessened, and resistance declined. Some resistance groups transformed into providers of housing. The interest and involvement of public institutions was rekindled. This wave is sometimes referred to as state-led gentrification (Aalbers 2019), although it is frequently done so in the spirit of neo-liberalism (Hackworth, Smith 2001). During this period many countries in Europe and the world gain independence and go through ground-breaking transformations that change local conditions and allow for the (re)emergence of gentrification, gentrification-like, and other urban processes (Kubeš, Kovács 2020).

The fourth wave of gentrification beginning in the early 2000s and described by Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008) was spatially anchored in the United States as they have failed to identify it elsewhere (Aalbers 2019). It represents a continuation of the third wave´s characteristics, with the consolidation of pro-gentrification urban politics in favour of wealthier residents and the ever-growing financialization of housing being key components thereof (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2008; Aalbers 2019). The cities strayed further away from welfarist urban governance and towards conservative urbanism, that creates a city for business and the middle class, while ignoring or penalizing the poor (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2008).

Going into the fifth wave of gentrification – gentrification in the present day, we see a continuation or the dissemination of the previous waves yet again – the US based fourth wave gets generalized and globalized. The fifth wave can be described as the urban materialization of finance-led capitalism and the further generalisation of gentrification (Aalbers 2019). Housing that was already being inflated (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2008) is increasingly bought up as an investment by the upper-middle classes, local and transnational elites, and finance and investment companies (Aalbers 2019; Christophers 2022). The increasing power of finance is not displacing the role of state, rather it supplements it. The power of finance projects itself through mortgages like in the previous years, but also through the rise and the power of (global) corporate landlords backed by investments funds targeting middle-income and low-income housing with the goal of maximalising rent, and through platform capitalism that helps fuel touristification and the airbnbification of the artsy and cultural parts of the city

(Aalbers 2019). Regulatory curtailing of Airbnb and other short-term rentals has been attempted with varied levels of success (Bestakova 2019). Areas that have already been gentrified receive new waves of investment and regentrify or supergentrify (Lees 2003; Aalbers 2019). The unaffordability of housing plagues all parts of the city, not just the central or gentrifying parts, which causes an (in)direct displacement of former residents.

Finally, Aalbers (2019) offers an alternative view of looking at the evolution of gentrification throughout its waves and periods. It sees gentrification and its processes as an urban form of capitalism that absorbs, subsumes, and incorporates into itself practises and processes that used to be alternative or counter to urban capitalism. It took the do-it-yourself attitude and progressive values and transformed them into the bourgeois bohemian, the Bobo – a friend of the Yuppie (The Guardian 2000). The authentic attention given to arts and culture morphed into the creative class. Alternative consumption patterns such as organic or vegan foods were swallowed up by the new waves of gentrification. Finally in the fifth wave, even the democratization of the sharing economy represented by the likes of Uber and Airbnb was taken over by tech-solutionism and profit maximalisation (Aalbers 2019).

Setting the Stage for Gentrification – the Stages of Gentrification

Many authors discuss the possibility of gentrification taking place in several stages (Berry 2010; Clay 2010; Hayes 2020; Kubeš, Kovács 2020; Lin 2021) with Phillip Clay considered as one of the first ones to segment the process so. It is on his basis that I will describe these stages while adding more information from other sources. The number of stages varies from author to author but usually oscillates around four.

The first stage is led by a pioneer group, risk takers, people ready to go against mainstream housing choices, most often labelled as artistic and design-focused professionals, sometimes nicknamed young urban professionals or yuppies (Sýkora 1999; Berry 2010; Horňáková, Sýkora 2021) artists, and even students(Murzyn-Kupisz, Szmytkowska 2015; Kubeš, Kovács 2020). They start moving into small parts of the neighbourhood in small numbers. Little or no displacement takes place, renovation happens on an individual level, and in general, little attention is paid to the whole process (Clay 2010). This stage could be compared to a combination of Halasz´s (2021) pre-gentrification and approaching substantial gentrification types, where a neighbourhood is undergoing certain observable changes but is not ready to be labelled as full-on gentrification. Specifically for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Kubeš and Kovács (2020) differentiate between three possibilities – gentrification driven by students, by artist, and by young urbanites.

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As news of gentrification and renewal spreads, so does the area that is changing. In the second stage more gentrifiers discover and permeate the locality in part thanks to more media coverage of the locality. As empty and unused housing becomes scarce, displacement of original inhabitants starts to take place (Berry 2010; Clay 2010). In an ironic twist of fate, the gentrifiers who come into the neighbourhood at this (and the first stage) will later be regarded as "old-timers" (Clay 2010, p. 37). The neighbourhoods start to attract the interest of small developers and speculators that bring more capital and start non-individual renovations.

Going into the third stage, gentrification fully enters the spotlight and is discussed both by major media outlets and official institutions. The individual gentrifiers and pioneers are still actors in the process, but they are not the only ones (Clay 2010). Value of properties is rising, some purchases of real estate are not made for housing but rather as investments. The displacement of former residents, especially the more vulnerable ones, such as the elderly or minorities, is ongoing (Berry 2010). New-comers start organizing into community groups (Pastak 2021) and tensions between the original population and gentrifiers can start to arise (Lancione 2017) or sometimes not, as the problems and injustices perceived may be balanced-out by infrastructural and other benefits to the neighbourhood in the eyes of original inhabitants (Pastak 2021).

In stage four, more and more properties and parts of the neighbourhood are gentrified, even formerly non-residential buildings. Prices continue growing, former speculators are selling their investments. According to Clay (2010), even home-owners are vulnerable to displacement, but is the renters who suffer the most. On the other hand, due to more and more middle-class people coming in, the demand increases and the price range of offered housing also expands. The neighbourhood is visibly renovated and changed, media and governmental attention are at an all-time high. New services replace old ones to better fit the needs of the (usually more affluent) new-comers with different market preferences (Murzyn-Kupisz, Szmytkowska 2015; Pastak 2021). Berry (2010) and Clay (2010) both speak of a change in the incoming inhabitants, namely that "more are from the business and managerial middle class than from the professional middle class" (Clay 2010, p. 38) and that the stage-four incomers include "older and more affluent executives and administrators … they pay top prices" (Berry 2010, p. 44). The stages two, three, and four are the stages of classical gentrification. Kubeš and Kovács (2020) define yuppies and the wealthy, often foreign, gentrifiers as the main originators of the process in post-socialist countries.

This increase of wealth with each new wave ties nicely into Loretta Lees´ concept of super-gentrification[2] (Lees 2003; Halasz 2021), wherein the upper-class with a lot more economic power move into already gentrified neighbourhoods and start displacing the original gentrifiers. This group of upper-class citizens consist of "financiers" employed in banking, finance, and other high-income jobs such as corporate lawyers. It is gentrification, but the class levels have increased by one, i.e. the middle are not displacing the lower, but rather the higher displace the middle, and potentially some remaining original lower-class inhabitants as well. Super-gentrification is not lost on the cities of CEE, as it has been observed at least in Berlin (Kubeš, Kovács 2020).

One might ask, to which wave of gentrification can these stages be applied? In 1979 Clay (2010) had started formulating the stages based on evidence from the 1970s, Berry´s (2010) work was published a little later in 1985. This places the origins of the stages into the first two waves of gentrification, but since then, the process, the context, and the entities acting and being acted upon have gone through generational changes. The "classical" segmentation into stages might prove to be a rough guideline only, as the pioneer stage might be irrelevant in some cases, if it is the developer who kick-stars gentrification (Aalbers 2019).

Displacement Cannot Be Displaced

Displacement is inseparable from gentrification as it a part of the same process (Davidson 2009; Grabkowska 2015; Westin 2021), yet it remains the less studied part of the whole process due to the difficulty of research as the displaced have usually left or are in the process of leaving the neighbourhood (Davidson 2009; Pastak 2021). Just as there are many sides to gentrification, so too can displacement vary in its characteristics. The most frequently mentioned dichotomy is the difference between direct and indirect displacement (Beauregard 2010; Grabkowska 2015; Kovács, Wiessner, Zischner 2015).

Direct physical displacement is the removal of former residents *directly* through different means. Being evicted is the "simplest" form. For disclosed or undisclosed reasons, depending on the country or city and the time, former residents are evicted from their apartment which will either be renovated and taken over by a new household, torn down, or experience a different fate altogether (Butcher, Dickens 2016). When a property is renovated and eviction of former residents follows, the coined term "renoviction" can be applied (Westin 2021). Another form of direct physical displacement occurs under the pressure of increasing housing prices in the neighbourhood. As gentrifiers come into the neighbourhood, prices increase,

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[2] Sometimes also written without the hyphen as supergentrification.

which is manageable to a certain degree with consumption items, but not with housing, or more specifically rent (Beauregard 2010). Over time, former low-income residents are unable to keep up with the growth and leave, at first glance by their volition. It is important to distinguish between renters and homeowners. Owners are largely immune to direct displacement as they own their housing and rent increases need not concern them.

Indirect displacement is harder to grasp and quantify due to its less spatial nature. It also avoids legislation more easily (Davidson, Lees 2005). It has been discussed that the overarching opinion in research is that displacement is tied to the physical, spatial world; boiled down, displacement is involuntary out-migration (Davidson 2009; Atkinson 2015). This reduces our grasp of what displacement can be and helps obscure the process – if physical displacement is occurring, then the process is taking place, and analogously if it is not, then there is no displacement. However, other forms of displacement are possible, usually on a fuzzier plane of existence. Based on the aforementioned works of Davidson and Atkinson, Pastak (2021) speaks of symbolic displacement. This is mirrored by the concept of affective displacement researched by Butcher and Dickens (2016), which is also used by (Hom 2022) and is mentioned under the guise of sociocultural displacement by Davidson and Lees (2005). Via symbolic or affective displacement, researchers seek to understand displacement as something that can happen to one´s mental state, as a perceived change that impacts one´s feelings and the experience of living (in a given neighbourhood). Westin (2021) describes it as a tear between the self and the home.

Affective or symbolic displacement affects predominantly long-term residents, especially home-owners who have grown to associate their neighbourhood as a home (Pastak 2021). Atkinson (2015) suggests that by limiting displacement to the spatial we are also limiting our experience and understanding of what a home and a place is; there exists a feeling of home, a feeling of being at home. Westin (2021, p. 2) postulates, "An individual can be displaced with having moved a meter." When this feeling or perception starts to be subverted by the changes brought upon by gentrification and gentrifiers on the neighbourhood, on a place that was perceived as familiar and home, symbolic displacement can start to occur.

When this loss of one´s (feeling of) home occurs, many researchers describe it also as unhoming (Atkinson, Bridge 2005; Westin 2021). Unhoming can be thought of as an alienating process that reverses one´s settling in (Westin 2021; Nethercote 2022). It is hard to draw a clear line between symbolic/affective displacement and unhoming as both describe non-physical detachment, a sense of loss and not-belonging, confusion, etc. Their interchangeability can be useful as someone might understand one term more than the other but will still grasp the process that is behind these words.

As the original inhabitants´ home goes through changes, the newcomers who are more active in the local community bring about social and cultural changes and they mould their surroundings and create *their* new home. This new making of place binds the newcomers together while at the same time excluding the original locals whose community is intruded upon (Davidson, Lees 2005; Pastak 2021). Locals can get excluded from particular places or activities even based on physical appearance, not only on their socioeconomic situation (Temelová et al. 2017). Original inhabitants report not feeling at home and not fitting in, feelings of discomfort, shame, and embarrassment surface in their daily lives (Butcher, Dickens 2016). They start avoiding places and people that have become unfamiliar or that elicit those negative feelings (Butcher, Dickens 2016; Pastak 2021).

The economic factor is also present in symbolic thinking (Pastak 2021), where it is the "price tag" (Butcher, Dickens 2016, p. 19) of a changing neighbourhood that generates discomfort and signalises that one doesn't belong there anymore. But even though the world of the original residents gets shaken up, symbolic displacement is a selective process that is not going to affect everyone. Some of these residents do not feel the need the move, they do not feel a force pushing them towards displacement, they feel "faithful" to their district (Eszter Berényi, Szabó 2009, p. 210). Pastak (2021) offers another explanation for the sometimes surprisingly calm reactions from the old community; the perceived hurts and transgressions are outweighed by the objective physical improvement of the neighbourhood.

Displacement as an aspect of gentrification can be hard to accurately detect due to the nature of the process but also due to the people it targets. Starting with the victims of displacement, the first to go are the renters, and specifically minorities, elderly, transient groups, and generally socially weaker individuals (Berry 2010). These less dominant groups have less power and voice in the city which results in it being harder to for them to defend themselves, to let their voices be heard, and to shed light on the issue (Nicholls, Uitermark 2016). Furthermore, thanks to the way (census) data is collected, the physical aspects of displacement and gentrification are frequently looked at post factum (Antunes, March, Connolly 2020) which removes the displaced from the equation – they are already gone when the issue is studied and often it is impossible to tell where and into how many different directions they have gone. The displaced have thus evaded the statistics but also potential field research, with only the ones who are on the verge of leaving being available for research.

Supply and Demand, Production and Consumption

For quite some time there were two main ways of looking at gentrification that are graudally being replaced by a hybrid view (Grabkowska 2015; Zapatka, Beck 2021). They were the supply and demand or the production and consumption schools of thought, sometimes also referred to as capital and culture perspectives. In the consumption/demand/culture view it is the gentrifiers that move into the neighbourhood who later cause the increase in rents and facilitate the increase in demand for living in the neighbourhood for other gentrifiers who are more affluent than the original population. The increase in the value of residential property is a result of housing demand by the higher-than lower-class. Research in this perspective mostly agrees that demand comes before supply, i.e. first the gentrifiers come, then the housing prices increase (Zapatka, Beck 2021).

The production/supply/capital side of the debate puts more power into the hands of the capital. The government, institutions, or developers are the first ones to notice the neighbourhood. Developers seek to maximize their profit by investing in the locality with highest potential profits (Zapatka, Beck 2021), in certain contexts abusing the rent gap described by Smith (1979) where there is a sudden drop in rent value as one gets further away from the city. This drop corresponds to the inner city and is preceded and succeeded by higher land values. The run-down, dilapidated, (ex-)industrial, or otherwise disenfranchised inner city thus becomes a valuable investment. Once it is revitalized or has new buildings built, prices increase and gentrifiers start coming in (Zapatka, Beck 2021). In the production/supply/capital induced gentrification then, the increase in prices precedes gentrifiers.

The group referred to as "hybridists" by Zapatka and Beck (2021, p. 2349) have a way of dealing with the conflict. It is accepted that consumption and production happen concurrently, complementing the other, and that both are important in explaining the complex process of gentrification. The sequence is not important, as long as neither is ignored. For example in the case of Tallinn, whose inner city has been used in comparative studies with Prague (Kährik et al. 2015; Temelová et al. 2016), Pastak (2021) has observed a sequence in the case of commercial gentrification. In the early stages it was connected to the existing rent gap in the city and was supply driven, but after the initial (pioneer) phase, the ensuing commercial gentrification became demand driven.

2.2.3 The Different Faces and Sides of Gentrification

Commercial gentrification mentioned above is one of the many types of gentrification that have been studied and observed over decades. All the processes and types still fall under the umbrella of gentrification, but there is something in their nature which sets the individual types apart and calls for a specific framework of studying them. Below, I will showcase the scope of gentrification while focusing on the types most relevant to Smíchov and Karlín. It is important to keep in mind however that typologies are ideals and in many practical cases they cannot fully fit the case study. Furthermore, in the real world, two different types can co-occur in one locality – such as foreign-led and new-build gentrification.

Transnational and Foreign-led Gentrification, Touristification

Transnational or foreign-led gentrification as a subtype of gentrification also contains several transnational subprocesses or subtypes; there is airbnbification, the immigration of middle-class and wealthier foreigners, the (not always international) purchases of housing as an investment, touristification, and the fairly recently discussed zoomification that bypasses space altogether (Sýkora 1999; Hayes 2020; Lees, Slater, Wyly 2023a). The proliferation of transnational gentrification stems from capital flows, global inequalities due to capitalism, and gentrification´s status as a planetary process (Lees, Shin, Ernesto 2016b; Lees, Slater, Wyly 2023b). Even though transnational gentrification is a global process, it is shaped by local and regional variations which makes the specific context very important (Hayes 2020).

Much like with "general" gentrifiers, foreign-led gentrification is linked to higher-income foreigners who have different spatial practices, motivations and preferences and the power to impose them while displacing local lower-income groups (Bertocchi, Ferri 2021; Hayes 2020). Long-term migrants and short-term tourists form two ends of the wide spectrum with a lot of possibilities in between, they all however leave a strong spatial imprint in their specific contexts. Even though touristification and airbnbification are connected to international mobility, the gentrifiers themselves need not be the actual foreigners; locals who do business in various service sectors can also be complicit in gentrification and displacement (Hayes 2020). Just like with other nuances of gentrification, the position of touristification as a part of gentrification is contested by some scholars, namely Sequera and Nofre (2018) argue for a delinking or a decoupling of touristification and gentrification – a statement which of course has opponents arguing the opposite (Tulumello, Allegretti 2021).

Nevertheless, tourist gentrification or touristification causes a population turnover and is accompanied by a drastic functional change. The value that can be obtained from commercial or short-term residential use raises housing costs and displaces former residents (Bertocchi,

Ferri 2021). In some cases the touristification effect, that is a change from residential to short-term rental housing, has had a stronger effect on the urban fabric than the wealthier replacing the less wealthy (Tulumello, Allegretti 2021). The remaining residents have to cope with a city or a neighbourhood where their needs are put in second place. The area around their home becomes a place to visit, rather than a city to live in (Bertocchi, Ferri 2021). These changes can cause tensions between the tourists and the locals.

Prague hosts more than one third of the foreign population of the country and receives millions of tourists annually (six million in 2022), three quarters of which are foreign (ČSÚ 2023; Čermáková 2012). Already in 1999 Sýkora (p. 693) said of some Prague neighbourhoods that the "replacement of the original population by high-income people, especially foreigners, substantially contributed to a change in the social profile of the neighbourhoods". It is however important to note, that not all foreigners can be grouped together. At least in the case of Czechia and Prague, depending on their country of origin, incoming foreigners can be divided into the more wealthy professionals and specialists coming mainly from the West and foreigners from other countries with various, sometimes manual, jobs with lower wages (Sýkora, Špačková 2020).

Pioneer Gentrification and Studentification

Pioneer gentrification is a type of gentrification, but it can also be a stage in the "life cycle" of gentrification, a foreshadowing of the classical kind (Murzyn-Kupisz, Szmytkowska 2015). Pioneers usually accept housing in worse condition, take up renovations on their own and are more accepting and tolerant of the original inhabitants and the neighbourhood (Berry 2010). Various groups can be pioneers, but traditionally speaking they are artists or students (Kubeš, Kovács 2020; Lindner, Sandoval 2021). Students then breed a specific type of gentrification of their own – studentification, wherein students "take over" certain areas, are overrepresented in the population, and influence the type of services available in the neighbourhood (Murzyn-Kupisz, Szmytkowska 2015). For students, the presence of a "rent gap" is all the more important due to their weak financial position.

However, due to their relatively high turnover, the concept of a transitory urbanite is related to students, but also to young professionals, or some cohabiting couples who would eventually like to move (Haase, Grossmann, Steinführer 2012). Transitory urbanites live in more alternative living arrangements such as flat or room sharing or cohabiting and prefer the benefits of living in the (inner) city while also not being certain whether they will continue living there in the future (Haase, Grossmann, Steinführer 2012). This type of living

allows for a high residential mobility but is also hard to keep track of statistically. Since the 1990s the importance of transitory urbanites in shaping the city has increased (Haase, Grossmann, Steinführer 2012). Due to their lower incomes and uncertain future, some may hesitate to label transitory urbanites as culprits in the process of gentrification, but Kubeš and Kovács (2020) assert that the changes they cause may alert the attention of new investors. On the other hand, if the number of less-demanding transitory urbanites gets high enough, revitalization may get replaced by degradation once again (Murzyn-Kupisz, Szmytkowska 2015).

New-build Gentrification

Previously, gentrification was primarily used to describe renovation, revitalisation, and upgrading of run-down or somehow disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This has recently changed and areas with newly built housing are included in the process under the term new-build gentrification (Holm, Marcińczak, Ogrodowczyk 2015). Spatially, new-build gentrification can either mirror super-gentrification by happening in already gentrifying areas, for example as infill development, or by pushing gentrification to new areas, such as previously untouched working-class neighbourhoods or brownfields. As large vacant plots are required for large developments, brownfields with clear property rights are particularly attractive, as restitution and privatization can make ownership fragmented (Holm, Marcińczak, Ogrodowczyk 2015).

If a neighbourhood is still populated and housing is demolished, the original residents do get displaced. It does not have to be the case if the new development is built upon previously uninhabited land, such an old industrial brownfield. But even when no direct displacement is taking place, not only is indirect displacement present through pressures and processes of un-homing (Sýkora, Špačková 2020), it can also spill over into neighbouring areas (Holm, Marcińczak, Ogrodowczyk 2015). This creates a point of contention as there is debate among scholars whether new-build gentrification is indeed gentrification if it is not directly displacing residents, but as was mentioned in the subchapter on displacement, limiting displacement to direct physical displacement can obscure our understanding of gentrification and associated processes such as un-homing, symbolic displacement, the pressure of a changing neighbourhood and its services, etc. (Atkinson 2015; Holm, Marcińczak, Ogrodowczyk 2015).

New-build gentrification requires more capital investment than upgrading or revitalisation and is in line with the later waves of gentrification where pioneers are not needed to kickstart the process, rather it is the global capital and corporate developers who start and control the process (Holm, Marcińczak, Ogrodowczyk 2015; Aalbers 2019). Relatedly, one of the main

groups it attracts are high-class financiers and business executives who are also responsible for super-gentrification wherein they displace the previous generation of gentrifiers. In the case of new-build they are usually the more conservative ones with less support for socio-cultural diversity and social mixing. These high-class individuals are accompanied by the more "typical" type of gentrifier, the upper middle-class educated urban professional (Holm, Marcińczak, Ogrodowczyk 2015). Due to the nature of the sociodemographic compositions of CEE inner cities, a mixed social polarization sometimes occurs where the new wealthy residents live in striking proximity of the original lower-status inhabitants.

Incumbent Upgrading and More

While gentrification is or is not happening in a given place, other processes can either co-occur or simply happen instead of gentrification, such as reurbanization, various types of downgrading, population turnovers, etc (Sýkora, Špačková 2020). A possible umbrella term to cover these phenomena is gentrification-like processes. Seeing that a certain line has to be drawn because space is not unlimited, I have to tried to mention the different "gentrifications" that are related to the case studies analysed in this thesis. Another important gentrification-like process to single out is incumbent upgrading, a process that Sýkora and Špačková (2020) have identified as most common type of neighbourhood change in Holešovice, a district facing Karlín on the opposite side of the river. It is a gentrification-like process wherein processes similar to gentrification take place, namely the renovation and upkeep by long-term owners, that change the neighbourhood and improve it physically, but which cause no displacement, little population turnover and do not produce a change in social status. Incumbent upgrading is a bottom-up approach that uses private local capital to facilitate changes (Kubeš, Kovács 2020; Sýkora, Špačková 2020) as opposed to large scale investments mentioned further above.

2.3 Perception

2.3.1 What is perception?

It is understood that there is a real environment that exists independently of the senses and a perceived environment which is reconstructed in one´s mind by using the senses and ordering the data. The perceiver, a person, has to reconstruct the world before engaging in it (Ingold 2000a). People name, categorize, and give meaning to their physical environments and then act on these meanings. Through this process, we transform the general space into more specific places (Pearson, Richards 1994b). There is a dialectical relationship between humans and their surroundings (Westin 2021).

Put another way, perception is the mechanism humans use for contacting the outside world, for knowing it, and for acting in it. It is not limited to the visual, many senses are used at the same time. Perception is an active, selective, and creative process (Briceño Ávila, Gil Scheuren 2005). Active as it as an activity and is always taking place, creative because we create our own perceived reality, and selective due to the fact that the processed stimuli are always filtered and selected prior to being processed in our brains or blocked out (Tuan 1974a). However, even though all humans share common perceptions, no two people experience the same reality (Tuan 1974b). The causes for the differences in perception are not only individual but can be attributed to culture and upbringing (Pearson, Richards 1994b).

Similarly, the concept of home and of feeling at home changes with space, time, and language used (Pearson, Richards 1994b). In his book Topophilia, Tuan (1974c) uses the neologic term of topophilia (the love of place) to signify a lot of different meanings, one of them being loving the place that is home. Home is an attitude of being, it is a concept of order and identity. Being at home is knowing where one is, it is inhabiting a secure centre and being oriented in space (Pearson, Richards 1994b). "Awareness of the past is an important element in the love of place", as Tuan (1974c, p. 99) writes. As time passes, people invest bits of their emotional life into their home and into their neighbourhoods (Tuan 1974d), home becomes a familiar environment that one takes for granted (Pearson, Richards 1994b). But when this is taken away by getting evicted from one´s home or neighbourhood, a familiar layer that shields a person from the outside world is struck off (Tuan 1974d).

2.3.2 Perception and the Neighbourhood

The importance of one´s perception of their neighbourhood was already hinted at in the previous chapters, namely in the subchapter about symbolic displacement. The lifestyle and perceptions of the original inhabitants might influence gentrification (Erkan 2022). The way an individual perceives the place where one lives is greatly affected by their feeling of attachment to the place of residence along with demographic characteristics (Gosse et al. 2016), Fagg et al. (2008) specifically mention the way different age groups use and thus perceive the neighbourhood. The elderly are less apt to abandon their old neighbourhood and to move into a new development (Tuan 1974d). At the same time perception is tied to attachment – positive perceptions of the neighbourhood lead to deeper attachment (Jones, Dantzler 2021). Perceptions of the neighbourhood can offer insight into the subjective dimensions of gentrification (Todorić, Ratkaj 2011).

These perceptions and feelings are subjective and are subject to change over time. The longer a person lives in the neighbourhood, the more likely it is for them to be personally invested in said neighbourhood. Furthermore, as one´s personal investment increases, the less likely one is to embrace change in the neighbourhood. Unsurprisingly, ongoing neighbourhood change affects the way we see neighbourhoods and cities (Gosse et al. 2016; Jones, Dantzler 2021). Feijten and van Ham (2009, p. 2015) speak of three effects that might impact a person´s wish to move from their neighbourhood, they are as follows: "a change in the socioeconomic status of the neighbourhood population, a change in the ethnic composition of a neighbourhood, and a high population turnover in a neighbourhood". A moving wish can be connected to an absence of a feeling of belonging. The benefit of examining moving wishes from the perspective of perception is that unlike moving decisions, individuals need not concern themselves with various restrictions and the availability of (economic) recourses, their answer can be more honest and direct (Feijten, van Ham 2009).

When analysing people´s perceptions, two different kinds can be discerned. The first one is the perception of the social environment in the neighbourhood, the "software", which is represented by neighbourhood attachment or community involvement. The second one is the perception of the physical aspect of the neighbourhood, the "hardware", which would pertain to recreational facilities or the functionality of public services, like public transport or urban greenery (Fagg et al. 2008; Sacco, Blessi 2009; Jones, Dantzler 2021).

2.3.3 The Neighbourhood and Social Capital(s)

Positive perceptions in and of a neighbourhood produce a deeper attachment towards one´s neighbourhood (Jones, Dantzler 2021). The feeling of belonging to a neighbourhood is tied to a perceived satisfaction with an area and leads to a higher social capital. Higher social capital is one more factor associated with seeing one´s neighbourhood positively and wishing to remain there (Gosse et al. 2016). Social capital can be described as the potential resources stemming from having a network of institutionalized mutual relationships, with norms and trust, that bring benefit to both sides (Putnam 1994; 1995; Sacco, Blessi 2009; Todorić, Ratkaj 2011; Thi Mai 2017). It is a specific moral resource in that its supply increases through use and depletes if not used. Furthermore much like other forms of capital, social capital is productive as it allows for the creation of things that would not be possible were it not there (Putnam 1994). Crucially, it must be noted that social capital is a by-product of different social activities such as group dinners or visiting the church and cannot be created on its own, it is spontaneously created, not manufactured. Once it is created somewhere, it can then be transferred to a different setting. Unfortunately, the norms and networks of social capital are also capable of causing harm or hinderance to other groups, especially if they are discriminatory or segregationist (Putnam 1994).

Social capital is important not only for the individual but plays a great role in the functioning of a community, be it an ethnic or a neighbourhood community. This communal social capital has two forms; a bridging and a bonding one (Thi Mai 2017; Jones, Ram, Villares-Varela 2019; Putnam 2020). Bonding social capital supports reciprocity and mobilizes solidarity, it strengthens links within a group between the individual members but also helps create a sense of belonging to something bigger, to a community of a kind, be it an ethnic or a neighbourhood one (Gosse et al. 2016; Thi Mai 2017; Jones, Ram, Villares-Varela 2019; Putnam 2020). Thi Mai (2017) argues that bonding social capital can give birth to places where the native and the immigrant population can meet and start building bridging social capital ties.

This can be transferred from an ethnic perspective to a more neighbourhood-based one, where bonding social capital creates places that again foster bridging social capital ties with the native population (the inhabitants of the neighbourhood) and the passer-by population – regular or irregular visitors of the neighbourhood. Bridging social capital can help draw outsiders into the network (Jones, Ram, Villares-Varela 2019) and connect the insiders to the external world (Putnam 2020), as it concerns itself with the ties that individuals share with other people across various social groups. It is assumed that an increase in local diversity intensifies the weak bridging social capital ties and make them more important than the

stronger bonding capital ties (Gosse et al. 2016). Depending on the situation and context, one type of social capital can be more useful than the other. When looking for a new job, the weak ties of bridging capital connecting an individual to many acquaintances from different social bubbles can be of more use than the strong ties of bonding social capital. As is mentioned by de Souza Briggs in Putnam´s book (2020), bonding social capital is good for getting by, whereas bridging social capital is good for getting ahead.

Other authors operate with an even wider plethora of "capitals", namely economic, cultural, symbolic, and human (Putnam 2001; Sacco, Blessi 2009; Todorić, Ratkaj 2011). These capitals are indicated by different characteristics, perhaps most obviously, economic capital is indicated by people´s incomes. Social, human, and cultural can be tied to education, and the symbolic capital of the area, its reputation and image, can be encompassed by people´s perception and a qualitative assessment of the neighbourhood (Sacco, Blessi 2009; Todorić, Ratkaj 2011). Human capital may at a first glance seem akin to social capital, yet it differs in its individualistic nature – it resides inside of a person, it is their accumulated knowledge and experience, while social capital, as previously mentioned, describes the networks and relations one has with other member of society (Sacco, Blessi 2009).

2.3.4   Perceiving Space, Place, and Gentrification

I have previously stated that through the ever-present process of perception we process the world and transform general space into specific places (Pearson, Richards 1994b). The space typology that is used by Knipprath et al. (2021) and others and is presented below uses the term "space" to sometimes refer to specific places. I consider this to be in order with the line of thinking in the work as the specification is similar to our real-world experience where we perceive specific public places, but as a general group refer to them as public space.

There are three types of spaces where people can meet and interact, the private space, the public space, and the semipublic space. Private space is reserved for the most intimate relationships such as family and friends, it is not freely available to strangers. It is the public and semipublic space that are of more concern in terms of perceiving gentrification, they set the stage for the theatre of everyday urban life. Public space is unrestricted available space, in theory open to everyone, such as streets, parks, greenery, playgrounds, or the public transportation system. Semipublic space is open to the public but contains a certain private character by imposing stricter rules (fees, policies, dress codes, etc.) on individuals than public space does. It can be further broken down into consumption spaces (restaurants, caffes, shopping streets or malls), socialization spaces (sports or culture clubs, religious

meetings) and institutional spaces (schools, universities, workplaces) (Knipprath et al. 2021). The chances of encountering individuals or groups of a different status, class, or niche are much higher in public spaces, rather than in semipublic due to their less exclusionary nature.

Even though people usually form opinions of places where they live on their personal experiences, this formation process is not linear and clearly discernible as individuals may not see or perceive things that they do not come into direct contact with or that do not concern them personally. The information one is able to receive is then limited not only internally, but also externally by the representations they are surrounded by in everyday life, such as media images and interpretations given by powerful groups and institutions (Temelová et al. 2017; Hom 2022). Not unlike individuals, different communities can share similar perceptions and yet perceive and experience gentrification differently (Tuan 1974b; Hom 2022). An example of such top-down images being projected is the importing of a post-industrial "western" gentrification image within a framework of neighbourhood transformation in the commercial/residential district of República in Sao Paolo (Kalichman, Rufino 2021).

2.3.5 Measuring, Estimating, and Using Perception

Perception is strictly subjective and individual, everyone´s story is somewhat different. This offers a massive resource for studying gentrification, and other urban processes in "real time", as they happen and unfold. It can be one of the ways in which the geography´s retrospective lens can be focused on the present and the linear urbanization model understood as an active phenomenon (Antunes, March, Connolly 2020). In positivist language, it´s a chance to observe the organism that is the city not as a specimen preserved in a glass slide and frozen in a specific a moment, but as a living entity by submerging the microscope into the puddle and seeing what is happening. Furthermore, the inhabitants can become mappers and reveal hidden places and spaces and help uncover new perspectives previously unconsidered and possibly even undiscoverable by quantitative means. Not to confine perception into the qualitative realm only, quantitative research with questionnaire or census perception data is used as well (Burlando, Ivaldi, Ciacci 2021; Jones, Dantzler 2021).

When studying the residents´ perception of gentrification and touristification on the island of Murano near Venice, Bertocchi and Ferri (2021) used a resident survey in the form of a questionnaire to look for perceptions of residential, commercial, and place-based displacement. Similarly, the aforementioned paper of Antunes, March, and Connolly (2020)

had also dealt with the combined effects of touristification and more "classical" gentrification in Vallarca, Barcelona. They have chosen to collect information about perception using semi-structured interviews with residents of various backgrounds. When conducting these interviews, text/speech was not the only type of information recorded – residents were asked to mark down their perceptions on empty maps of the neighbourhood and its area. Fagg et al. (2008) and Jones and Dantzler (2021) used already pre-existing surveys to figure out perceptions about some specific things or more generally – perceptions about the safety and satisfaction in the neighbourhood.

Being aware of people´s perception is extremely important in understanding the urban environment as "perceptions of neighbourhood context matter more than the actual neighbourhood setting" (Jones, Dantzler 2021, p. 1792). These subjective perceptions and meanings that one has given to the spatial environment influence how a person acts (Pearson, Richards 1994b). Researching people´s perception can unearth and solidify information that may be known and felt by residents even of other parts of the city but is left hanging and is hard to use in future research and planning. And as was mentioned in the beginning of this thesis, one of the major pillars of the Prague´s development strategy is an active participation of Praguers combined with the support of development that follows the growing trends of local, community, and cultural life and engagement (IPR Praha 2021).

3 Methodology

This chapter is made up of two main parts, in the first one the two case studies – Smíchov and Karlín – are contextualized, both historically and geographically. In the second part, the methodology of the thesis is described, namely the interview process and the analysis of data obtained from the interviews.

3.1 Contextualising the Case Studies

3.1.1 Prague, Smíchov, and Karlín up until World War II

Prague as a settlement was most probably established around the beginning of the first millennium AD. In the next centuries it grew and incorporated smaller settlements into its walls (Boháč 1923). Its growth experienced ups such as the development of New Town by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, and downs such as Hussite wars and the Thirty Years´ War. A major year in Prague´s history was 1784 when the districts of Old Town, Lesser Town, New Town, and the Castle District were united under as one administrative entity named Royal Capital City of Prague. These districts form the majority of what is now considered the centre.

Not too long after, in 1817 the construction of the first suburb called Karlín begins (Míka 2011). At a similar time on the other side of the river, Smíchov was becoming a major industrial centre (Klsák et al. 2020) which earns it the moniker "Czech Manchester" (CAMP 2017). Prague may not have been the most attractive city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as Vienna and Budapest were pulling in more people, yet the industrialization and ensuing urbanisation caused Prague to be a major draw especially for the region of Bohemia (Cohen 1987). Even though Karlín and Smíchov started off as small settlements, they became towns, which later evolved into industrialized autonomous suburban cities, that were ultimately swallowed up by the ever growing Prague around the beginning of the 20th century (Klsák et al. 2020). Right up until the moment when they became neighbourhoods of Prague, Smíchov and Karlín were sizable cities in their own stead. In 1890 Smíchov was the 6th biggest city in the area of present-day Czechia, boasting 32 646 inhabitants and beating out today´s regional centres like Liberec, České Budějovice, and Olomouc. Karlín was a little more behind at number 13 with 19 054 inhabitants (Růžková, Škrabal 2006). Prague stood at 182 530 inhabitants.

 The still independent suburbs of Prague were growing rapidly as the old centre and then administrative region of Prague could not accommodate the increase in population, Smíchov and Karlín served as spatial reserves (CAMP 2017). The growth and planning of the suburbs were more organized in some and more haphazard in others (Míka 2011). Smíchov, Karlín,

and others became worker´s towns/quarters (Boháč 1923) as industry needed workers and tenement houses were built for them (CAMP 2017), however both neighbourhoods also had instances of emergency/temporary dwellings (Klsák et al. 2020; Ouředníček et al. 2020). The combination of existing settlements industrializing and urbanizing resulted in a combination of various land uses and building types ranging from farmsteads, factories and plants, newly built tenement houses and railways, especially in Smíchov (Temelová, Novák 2007). Karlín even had an old military infirmary (Invalidovna) that predates the founding of the neighbourhood (Míka 2011; Ouředníček et al. 2020; Klsák et al. 2020).

The creation of Greater Prague in 1922 marks another important milestone – Karlín, Smíchov and 30-odd neighbouring municipalities are united thus consolidating their future and development (Boháč 1923). Luckily enough, World War II causes relatively little material damage to Prague (compared to Warsaw for example), but the sociodemographic structure changes drastically, namely the Jewish (killed or emigrated) and German (deported) populations all but disappear (Praha 7 2016; Paměť národa 2021).

3.1.2 Growth or Stagnation? Smíchov and Karlín in the Socialist Period

During the socialist period urban growth and planning took a different turn and was, directly or indirectly, but strongly influenced by the ideology of the ruling government, be it the Soviet Union itself or countries under its sphere of influence. Physical planning existed as a subset of economic planning (Musil 2005a). Industrialization continued but the levelling tendencies of the regime tried to close the urban-rural gap and thus investment into and the development of major cities was held back (Musil 2005a; 2005b). These hierarchical decisions were enabled by the top-down organised, not market driven, economy that through collectivisation and nationalisation regulated prices and removed the property market which resulted in making the location within the city economically irrelevant (Musil 2005a; Špačková, Pospíšilová, Ouředníček 2016). In this period the administrative area of Prague was expanded to its present state by taking up dozens of neighbouring municipalities and cadastral areas (Chodějovská 2013).

When looking at the smaller, intra-urban scale, the situation differed greatly from the western neighbours, as due to the nonexistence of the land and property market, coupled with regulated rent, the location within the city became economically irrelevant (Musil 2005a). Immigration into cities and other settlements was generally dealt with, apart from being limited, by building new housing in the form of panel block apartments in housing estates,

generally in the outer city as new greenfield developments supported by accompanying infrastructure (Temelová et al. 2011; Ouředníček, Špačková, Pospíšilová 2018).

At the same time, the trajectory of the inner city was headed towards an altogether different fate. In the socialist period, deterioration, decay, and dilapidation took hold of the inner city, both in terms of its physical appearance and social capital thanks to the disregard and lack of investment (Kährik et al. 2015; Temelová et al. 2016). With some exceptions, lower-status groups and the elderly formed a significant part of population in inner cities (Kährik et al. 2015), where larger housing units were broken up into more smaller ones (Sýkora 1999; Musil 2005a), while younger families with children were moving into the newly constructed housing estates (Špačková, Pospíšilová, Ouředníček 2016).

Both Smíchov and Karlín followed this path, but due to its size and heterogeneity Smíchov retained some prestige in the form of villa quarters on the hills of the western bank of the Vltava river. What set Karlín apart was the construction of a small scale (circa 4000 inhabitants) "experimental" housing estate which contrasted the social and physical degradation in the older, tenement housing (Míka 2011). During this period, the construction in Smíchov was rather spotty and individual, however one housing estate Podbělohorská, albeit of smaller scale, was built (Klsák et al. 2020). As it was the socialist middle class that had access to new housing, Smíchov and Karlín were both predominantly left with the less wealthy strata of society, with exceptions in the areas mentioned above (Sýkora 1999).

Both neighbourhoods boasted relatively significant Roma populations (Špačková, Pospíšilová, Ouředníček 2016) and even though socio-spatial differences in Prague did exist, due to the "communist income and housing policies" (Sýkora 1999, p. 680) they were lower than what would be typical for capital cities. Just as the rest of the country, international migration was nigh non-existent and thus Prague was fairly ethnically homogeneous, with the exception of the aforementioned Roma people (Sýkora 1999). One´s housing was not chosen per se, but rather centrally allocated (Špačková, Pospíšilová, Ouředníček 2016) with rent (Kubeš, Kovács 2020) and migration (Musil 2005a) being regulated. Contrary to popular belief, not all housing was nationalized, and different types of ownership persisted. For example, single family housing was never nationalised.

The industrial function of Smíchov and Karlín continued onwards, but the factories and businesses were now collectivised and nationalised. In this period, the construction of several large infrastructure projects in Prague was undertaken, some of which resulted in larger-scale demolition, such as the subway system in Prague or the Strahovský tunnel (Míka 2011; Dvořák 2017).

3.1.3 Transformation and the Post-Socialist Heritage

What came about in Central and Eastern Europe in the nineties and early two-thousands can only be described as a complete paradigm shift. In a very short time span, the centrally planned society was to become a market society (Sýkora 1999; Temelová et al. 2016). The reappearance of the housing market coupled with privatization and restitutions caused turmoil and upheaval in the housing situation. Many urban processes (re)started, people´s incomes differentiated, unemployment and homelessness sprung up, mortgages became available, migration increased, and so did socio-spatial differentiation (Kubeš, Kovács 2020), even though privatization to sitting tenants and the continued existence of regulated rents helped lessen the widening gap. The privatization of housing in Prague still continues on to this day, albeit a tendency of slowing down is becoming apparent. Nevertheless, new public housing construction cannot even compare to the number of units being privatized (Němec 2019; Brabec 2021). According to (Sýkora 1999), the growth of income disparities was the strongest factor behind socio-spatial differentiation in Prague.

The processes listed above, supported by the sorry state of the inner city turned out to be the conditions which allowed for gentrification and similar processes to start (Kubeš, Kovács 2020). Compared to the non-existence of gentrification in the socialist period, even a slow start was significant. Yet still, as large numbers of the wealthier residents were moving to suburbs or the city centre (Sýkora 1999; Špačková, Pospíšilová, Ouředníček 2016), the groups traditionally associated with gentrification in the West such as yuppies, financiers, or some ethnic minorities, were absent in the inner city (Kubeš, Kovács 2020). Instead, more alternative and less wealthy groups (students, transitory urbanites) took the lead as actors in (marginal forms of) gentrification in post-socialist cities (Gentile, Salukvadze, Gogishvili 2015; Murzyn-Kupisz, Szmytkowska 2015; Kubeš, Kovács 2020).

Over time, many of the brownfield areas present in Smíchov and Karlín became available as plots of land to be reused. As an inspiration from the Western countries, the push for renovations and regeneration often came at the behest of local governments as a way to fix "physically neglected and socially problematic" neighbourhoods in the inner city (Kubeš, Kovács 2020, p. 12). It could be said that the push for regeneration and change reached an all-time high when both neighbourhoods, but especially Karlín, struggled to get back on their feet after the massive flooding of 2002 (Prokeš 2022). The transformations of the neighbourhoods resulted in price increases and displacement, namely of the minority Roma population. Karlín

was often described as a unique place where the Czechs and the Roma co-existed peacefully (Medková 2020).

3.1.4   Presenting Prague in the Present
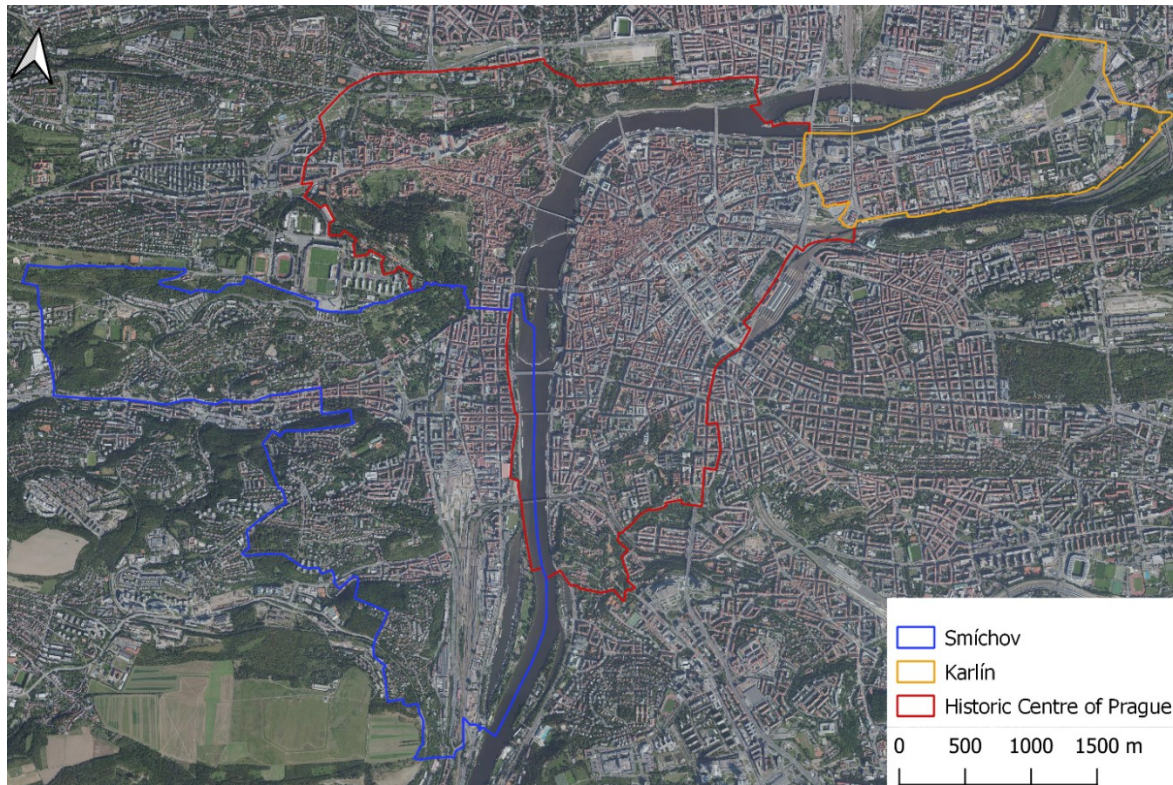
Figure 1 - Smíchov and Karlín in relation to each other (Source: ArcData Praha 2018; ČÚZK 2022)

Prague is by far the largest city in the country with a population of almost 1,3 million (ČSÚ 2022). Another thing that sets it apart is its large foreign-born population. When considering both the temporary and permanent foreigners, they comprise 27% of the population of Prague, whereas they only make up 10,5% of Czechia´s population (ČSÚ 2022, MVČR 2022). Similarly, the housing situation in Prague has been very turbulent. During the transformation and the following years, privatization of public housing was rampant and still continues to this day, albeit at a much slower pace (Brabec 2021). Between 1991 and 2019, Prague´s municipal housing stock was reduced by 84% (Němec 2019). Today, it sits at roughly 5% (23 080 units) of the total housing stock, with roughly a quarter being in the hands of Prague and rest in the hands of individual districts (Němec 2019). Compared to some other European metropoles, Prague´s position is not the greatest. There are 42 people per one municipal apartment. In Vienna it is 9, in Brno 13, in Warsaw 22, and Budapest 44. The abysmal "victor " in this comparison is Bratislava with 217 people per one municipal apartment (Němec 2019).

Owning such a small portion of the housing stock results in limited power and control over the housing market, especially with regards to affordability and social equality (Kährik, Kõre 2013). Furthermore, even though the prices have been reaching all-time highs, the demand for housing in Prague is ongoing and is unlikely to drop (Kain 2022). Prague has a positive migration net-balance which coupled with decreasing household size and an increase in "singles" further stretches the situation (Bestakova 2019).

Gentrification and similar processes have been studied in several neighbourhoods of Prague (and in other cities too) for almost 30 years (Sýkora L. 1996; 2005; Sýkora J., Špačková 2020; Sýkora J. et al. 2022)[3]. Smíchov and Karlín have also been targets of scholarly gentrification research (Ilík, Ouředníček 2007; Temelová 2007; Richterová 2015), but the turbulent nature of changes taking place in both neighbourhoods warrants a revisit after some time, especially when one considers that both neighbourhoods are slated for more growth in the future. Karlín´s Rohan Island is slowly but steadily filling up, but the southern part of Smíchov has yet to reach full "potential" with its myriad of development projects spearheaded by the massive Smíchov City and Terminál Smíchov projects (CAMP 2017).

Although Smíchov and Karlín share many similarities, there are also differences. They are both inner-city ex-industrial neighbourhoods and contain brownfields either already renewed or ripe for rejuvenation. They had both undergone a massive change in the last 30 years. The 2002 floods hit both neighbourhoods, but damage to Karlín was devastating. Both Smíchov and Karlín are heterogeneous in terms of inhabitants and housing stock. Both have also been known to have a "shady" reputation – best described by the popular saying (that unfortunately does not refer to Smíchov) *"Karlínu a Libni zdaleka se vyhni"* which loosely translates to "*Avoid Karlín and Líbeň at all costs"*. When comparing the differences, Karlín was master planned, Smíchov grew more organically and haphazardly. Even though it is inner-city, Karlín has a housing estate, Smíchov has villas. Karlín is rather small, Smíchov is one of the bigger cadastral units, Karlín´s main axis is West to East, Smíchov´s goes from North to South, and so on (Míka 2011; CAMP 2017; Klsák et al. 2020; Ouředníček et al. 2020).

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[3] Initials added to differentiate the two different Sýkoras.

3.1.5 Present Day Smíchov

With an area of 705 hectares or 7 square kilometres, Smíchov is quite a large neighbourhood. In this thesis it is defined as the cadastral unit of Smíchov that lies within the bounds of the Prague 5 municipal district, administrative district, and municipal part. I stress this because not all cadastral units are placed into one higher-level administrative unit – sometimes they are split into several, which can theoretically produce a situation where different local governments administer the same larger, traditional neighbourhood (without overlap).

Roughly twenty to thirty years ago, Smíchov could still have been described as a traditional inner-city working-class neighbourhood with a dying industry and a broken-down housing stock (Temelová 2007). It started changing right after the transformation in 1989/1990 when vast industrial areas ceased their function and swathes of brownfields became available (Temelová 2007; CAMP 2017). The close proximity to the city centre and overall good location within the city served as magnet that drew attention and helped start the process of renewal (Temelová 2007), especially on and around the crossroads of Anděl which became an important public space (CAMP 2017) and is labelled as central Smíchov by Temelová and Novák (2007).

Looking the areas with villas and family homes and the areas with tenement housing in Figure 3 one can see an overlap with areas with higher, and respectively lower, shares of secondary and university education and lower numbers of labourers in Figure 2. With less stark differences among the neighbourhoods, the overlap persists to this day, i.e., to 2011 which was the last available census at the time of the research (Klsák et al. 2020). This paints a good picture of the duality of Smíchov that is present not only physically, but also socially. The removal of old housing and new developments go hand in hand with population change, such as a growing foreigner population and the displacement of the socially weaker population (Klsák et al. 2020).

Figure 2 – Population structure in Smíchov in 1970 (Source: Ouředníček et al. 2020b)
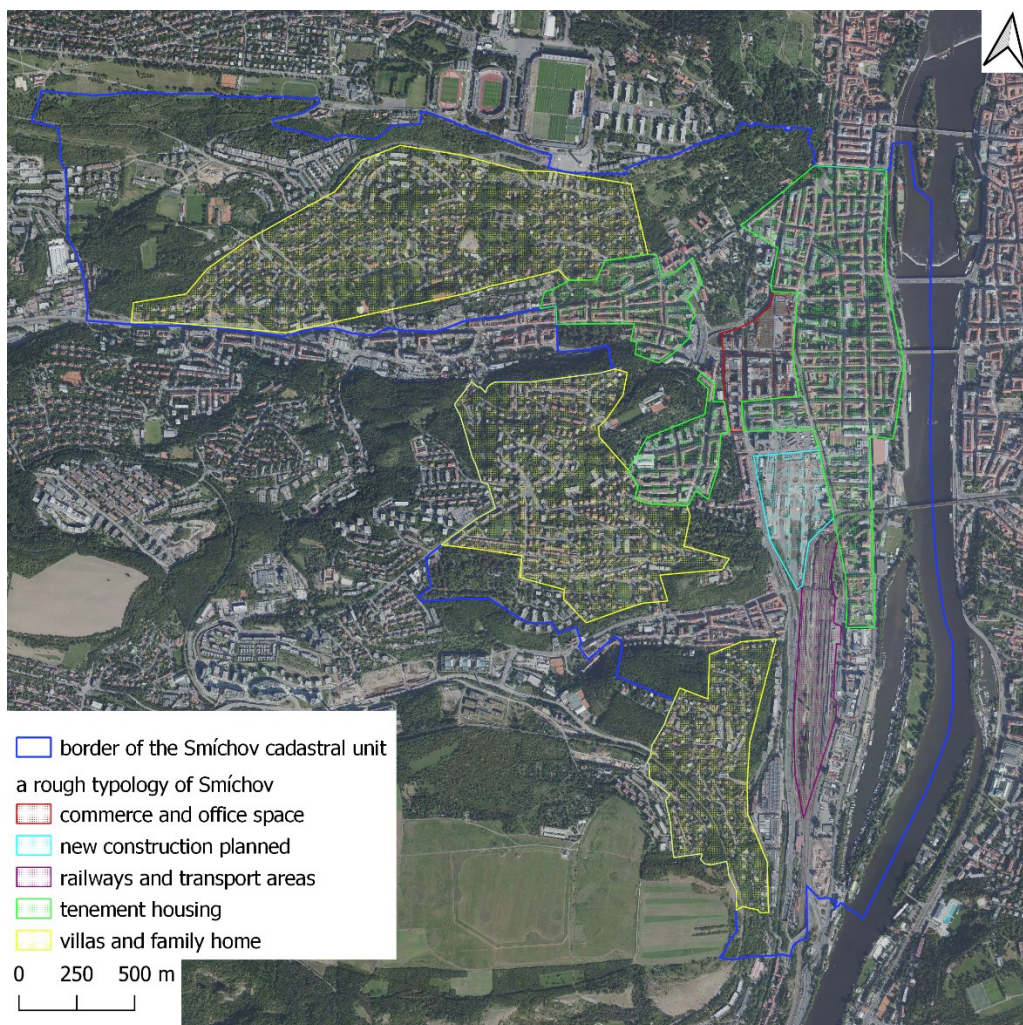
Figure 3 – Typology of Smíchov in 2023 (Source: ArcData Praha 2018; ČÚZK 2022; Author)

3.1.6 Present Day Karlín

The story of Karlín is similar to that of Smíchov, the difference being the more methodical and planned nature of its growth which is still visible today in the grid-like street and block structure with three main east-to-west axes in the form Sokolovská, Křižíkova and Pernerova streets (Míka 2011). This grid-like structure was and is what sets it apart from the neighbouring Old Town. Industry and residence in the developing Karlín were partially separated with industry being placed closer to the river and residence further away. At the time, the Rohan Island (Rohanský ostrov) - an area of turbulent development in the recent past and near future, was an island in function, not just in name, and was of great logistical importance. It has since become a part of the mainland, but plans for the "re-islandification" and transformation of its north-eastern part into a flood-protection measure and public park have already been laid out (IPR Praha 2023).

Karlín´s physical structure is a collection of various architectural styles interwoven with main arteries and greenery which form distinct smaller neighbourhoods. Post-flood construction was mainly focused on the Rohan Island, but several other projects in other parts of Karlín have been built or "hidden" inside former industrial buildings (Ouředníček et al. 2020).

Unlike Smíchov in Figure 2, we do not see areas that had significantly higher education levels than others in Karlín on Figure 4. Notice also the different scale on the choropleth map gradient indicating that Karlín´s darkest – most educated areas, are on par with Smíchov´s middle greens. On Figure 5 we can see the newly built Rohanský ostrov section with rather expensive housing that has been receiving a lot of immigration (Petrović, Ouředníček 2023) warranting a drastically different social structure situation in conjunction with a plethora of other processes.
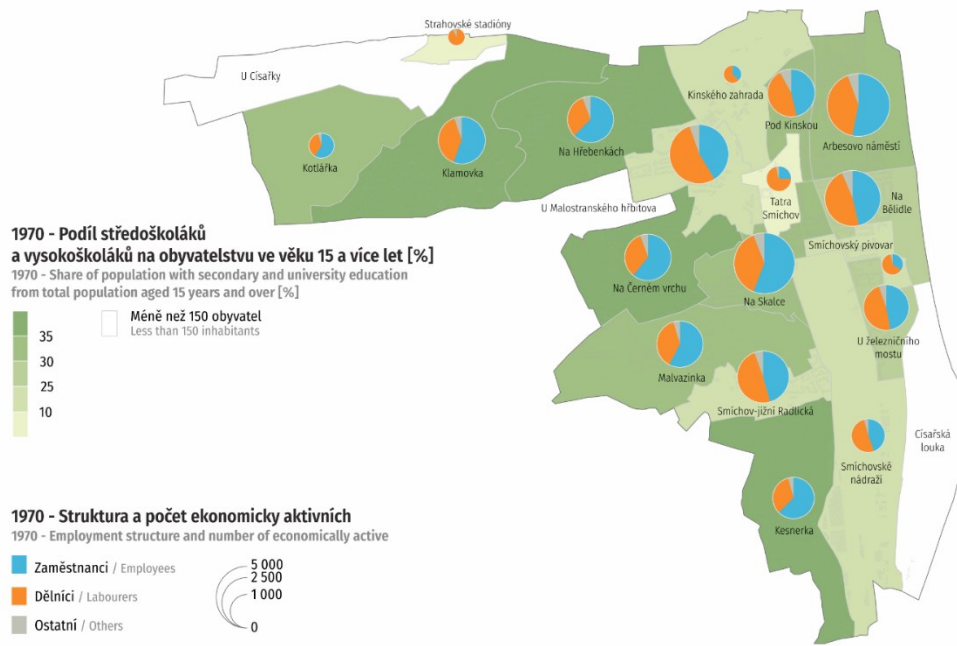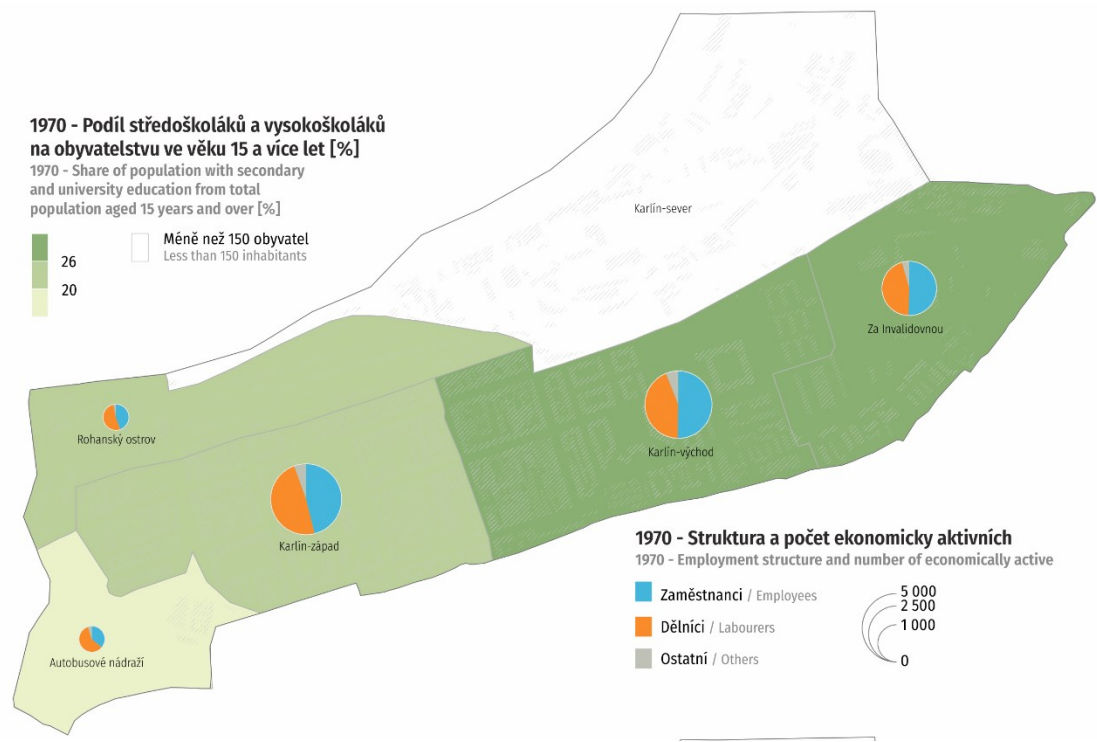
Figure 4 - Population structure in Karlín in 1970 (Source: Ouředníček et al. 2020a)
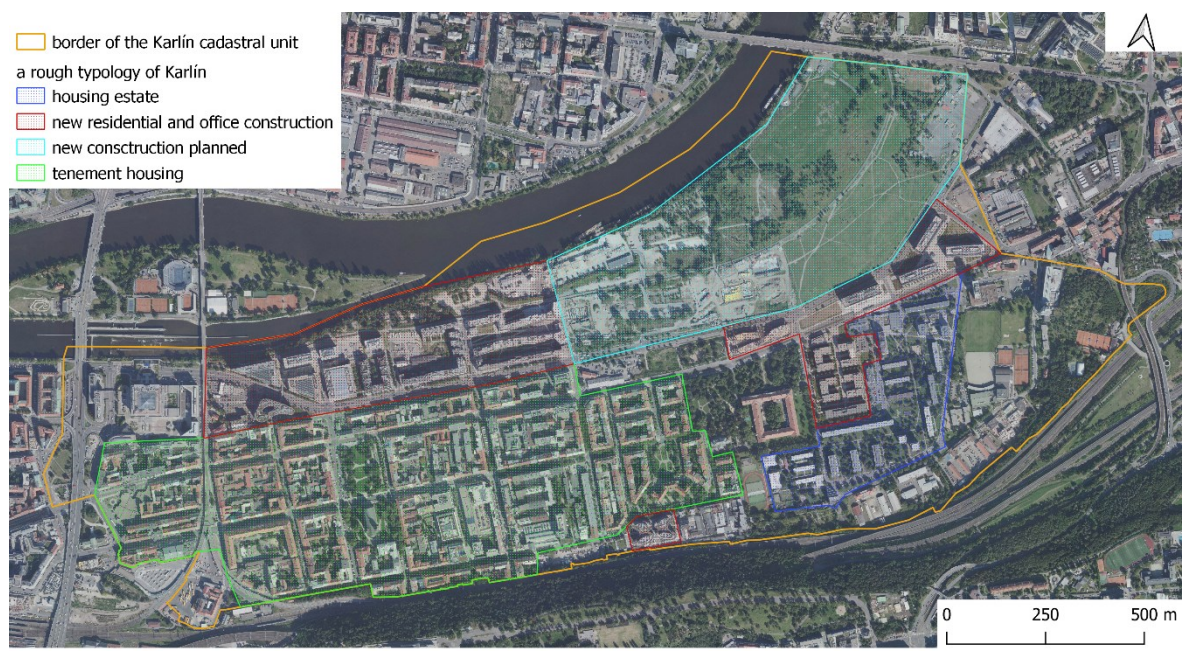
Figure 5 - Typology of Karlín in 2023 (Source: ArcData Praha 2018; ČÚZK 2022; Author)

3.2   Using the Qualitative Method

3.2.1   The Interview

Before the Interview

Qualitative research discovers, more so than verifies, and to do so, one must be open (Fossey et al. 2002). To allow for wiggle room and unexpected information, the main method of data collection that was chosen for this research are semi-structured interviews with the residents of Smíchov and Karlín. The questions for the interviews were designed based on a literature review and an assessment of the research questions. The questions follow a clear path but divergences are possible and accepted. The interviews and portions of their content are utilized not only for this thesis but also serve as one part of the methodology of a PhD dissertation being written by Adela Petrović.

When choosing the respondents, "regular" residents were chosen as that is whose perceptions the research is trying to uncover, if there is an expert or a key actor in the anonymous group of respondents, their position is not why they were chosen. As Rochovská, Blažek and Sokol (2007) state, in qualitative research it is not the representativeness of respondents but that of data that we strive towards. Nevertheless, when choosing the respondents an effort was made to include people of various backgrounds and lengths of stay to facilitate hearing different opinions and documenting different perceptions easier. The respondents were sourced through our personal networks, (a friend of a friend lives in Karlín) and through Facebook, namely the groups LIBEŇ, KARLÍN, Praha 8 - Libeňáci a Karlíňáci sobě, Smíchovská parta, and EXPATS in PRAGUE. The snowball method was also used when some respondents offered the contacts of people they knew.

Prior to starting with the interviews, pilot interviews were conducted to make sure the questions are understandable and that there is a flow throughout the interview. One of these pilots (the first one) was not used, as the neighbourhood discussed was neither Karlín, nor Smíchov, but a different quarter of Prague in a somewhat similar situation as the two neighbourhoods in this thesis. The first pilot warranted several modifications in terms of phrasing and question order. Ensuing interviews were all used in the research.

During the interview an empty or a blank map was used. The map contained the cadastral units of Karlín or Smíchov along with a 250 to 300 metre buffer around the neighbourhoods to give respondents living at the edges more familiar space. Its intended and main purpose was to collect residents´ perceptions about changes in a spatial manner. The inspiration for this type of gentrification mapping came from Antunes, March, Connolly (2020). Four

categories of change were prepared: complete change, incremental and continuous change, some improvements, and (almost) no change, along with a category for predictions of future change. Once these categories were explained to the respondents, they were asked to start marking down their perceptions with differently coloured pens. The resulting mental maps are not the maps of individuals but represent all the markings that were drawn (Holmén 2018). An unexpected benefit of having the map present at the interview was the way it served as a handy tool for orientation for both the interviewer and the respondent and how it (seemingly) helped the respondents organize their thoughts and remember bits of information.

After the Interview

The total number of interviews is 17, unfortunately only 5 were conducted in Karlín, 2 of which were with non-Czechs, and 12 in the larger Smíchov, 3 of which were with non-Czechs. I conducted 12 of the interviews, Adela Petrović 5. Their length varied greatly from 35 minutes to almost 2 hours. Figure 6 shows where respondents live. A table with respondent´s sociodemographic and other information can be found in

Prior to starting the actual interview, the respondents were informed that these interviews serve no commercial and a purely academical purpose, that if there is anything they do not want to answer, they do not have to, and that if they wish to stop the interview at any time, they have the full right to do so. I asked if I could record the interview and let them know that the interview is recorded only to make transcription possible and that their voice will not be published anywhere. Furthermore, they were also told that the whole process will be anonymized and that pseudonyms will be used to refer to the individual respondents to make tracing the information back to an individual impossible. The key to these pseudonyms was stored on a different disk.

The interviews were transcribed using software, namely the MS Word function Dictate/Transcribe which supports transcription in English but also in Czech. This transcription however warranted detailed proof-reading and control due to the inaccuracy of the software. Six of the interviews that were conducted in Czech were professionally transcribed by a third party, these required no proof-reading as the transcriber had already done that along with making the text more cohesive and removing filler words. Unfortunately, only 6 interviews were done, due to several professional transcriber´s schedules not aligning with the schedule of this research.

Figure 6 - Approximate locations of respondents´ homes[4] (Source: GEOPORTAL Praha 2023, Author)

Once the Czech version of the transcribed interviews was satisfactorily checked, they were translated into English using DeepL Translator, namely the Translate files function which does not require a Pro subscription if a workaround is used. DeepL was chosen based on previous experience where it proved more accurate than Google Translate. However, before work on the interviews could begin, more proof-reading was necessary as some respondents were using colloquial language, anglicisms, and other types of non-standard (Czech and English) language, which along with Czech toponyms produced mistakes that could easily shift the meaning of the discussion or just plainly confuse the reader.

Upon the completion of an interview, the map was scanned, georeferenced, and the respondent´s drawings and markings were vectorized using the open-source QGIS. The respondents´ markings were sorted into five layers, each corresponding to one category and containing the same category from all the respondents. The layers were set to a certain level of transparency which allows for stacked polygons, i.e., change perceptions of various

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[4] Smíchov and Karlín are to scale but their relative geographical location does not reflect reality

respondents that coincide in space, to become darker the more polygons there are on top of each other. This was done to assess whether there is any agreement about the changes, that is whether the respondents share similar perceptions about the past and future changes within the neighbourhood.

3.2.2 The Analysis

The type of analysis chosen for this research is thematic analysis, where the researcher seeks to identify common threads and analyse patterns and themes within data. It is a flexible and useful tool that is able to provide detail and complexity at the same time (Vaismoradi, Turunen, Bondas 2013). It is a method that can be suitable for exploration and is good for opinions, perspectives, and experiences. The analysis was of hybrid nature, meaning both a deductive and an inductive approach were utilized. Due to the research questions being set a priori the interviews, even though specific codes were not set, there was a rough path that the analysis would follow. However, there being a lot to explore, the final common themes were established while reading the transcripts.

As the interviews had been conducted personally and had also been proof-read, I was already quite familiar with the text and themes recurring throughout the interviews. In the first phase of the analysis several "pre-codes" were chosen, and interesting and relevant parts of the transcripts were highlighted or marked. Some of these initial codes in the beginning were "wealth of new residents", "weird people", "new construction" and more. Afterwards, based on this initial coding phase, a working set of codes was devised. Most of the codes relate to the thematical subgroups of the questions in the semi-structured interview, the template of which can be seen in Appendix B. They are as follows: Gentrifiers, Displaced, Social Capital, Positive Identity, Negative Identity, Public Spaces, Future, Past, Safety, Perceiving Change (positive and negative), Reference to the other neighbourhood, Functions, and lastly a code with which we tried to align described processes with types of gentrification or other urban processes. Expectedly, some excerpts fit more than one code, usually two, sometimes three. This was not an issue and the excerpts were coded as such.

Once these codes were decided upon, line-by-line coding took place in which the transcripts were carefully read through, and the codes were applied. At the same time, whenever a code was marked, the quotation it referenced was copied into a large table in Google Sheets. Each row in this table corresponded to an anonymized respondent marked as k_n or s_n, where k and s represented Karlín and Smíchov respectively, and n was the order the interviews were conducted in. k_03 thus represented the third person interviewed in Karlín. The columns in the coding table represented the codes mentioned a few lines above. The table was thus filled

with a scatter of excerpts that clearly belonged to a specific respondent and a specific code. This was a useful tool as it allowed for an easy way of reading the selected excerpts by code or by respondent while having everything at hand in no time. When line-by-line coding was complete it was decided that the codes need not be modified as they were working well. All the information was then taken and distilled, code-by-code. The results of the analysis follow below.

For the analysis of the mental maps, no particular tool was used in QGIS. I overlayed the perceptions of the different changes on top of each other in various ways to find the most optimal design for analysis and presentation. Ultimately, I decided that no overlay would be used and that presenting them side by side is clearest way of conveying the most information. As the categories (complete change, incremental and continuous change, some improvements, (almost) no change, future changes) suggest, I was mostly searching for physical changes, however while filling them out the respondents still talked, albeit less, and commented on what they are marking – the physical changes were sometimes accompanied by other types of changes too, mostly functional or "atmospheric", i.e. how the places make the respondents feel or what "vibes" they give off.

4   Relaying Research Results

Even though there are three quasi-separate sources of data, the results will be presented in a unified manner, the base of which will be the research questions while the main structure is being upheld by the more important codes and supported by the maps and less worthy codes. For the sake of clarity, I will repeat the research questions once again.

I.   How are residents perceiving gentrification and gentrification-related changes in Smíchov and Karlín? What feelings or emotions does the changing neighbourhood evoke? Are there feelings or pressures of displacement and unhoming?

II.   Where are residents placing gentrification as happening or about to happen? Is there an overlap or a discernible difference between different groups of residents, namely old-timers and newcomers or renters and owners?

III.   Are these findings the same in Smíchov and Karlín or are there differences in perceiving gentrification?

4.1   Code: Past

To understand residents´ perceptions about the changes and the present state of Karlín and Smíchov I will start with the code "Past" and present their perceptions of the past, of how the neighbourhoods used to be (seen), of what their identity used to be and of how they remember them. When discussing the results, I will alternate between Smíchov and Karlín and at the end provide a summary in line with research question III.

There are several recurring themes when describing the historical identity of both neighbourhoods. One of the prevailing ones was the industrial past and the image a worker´s neighbourhood. This was more palpable in Smíchov, where even the newly-moved in residents and foreigners recalled some of the specific factories, namely "Tatrovka" (Ringhoffer Works), neighbouring "Waltrovka" (Walter Engines), "Lihovar" (the distillery in Smíchov´s southern part) and the Staropramen Brewery, which remains as the only still operational industrial facility and potentially serves a landmark of the past. For respondent s_05, the Staropramen brewery is one the characteristics that makes Smíchov what it is.

> *"It (Smíchov) smells like a brewery. We know when there will be a change of weather".*

Connected to this was the labelling of both neighbourhoods as a "ghetto" filled with Roma or a "Cikánov" (a derogatory toponym meaning Gypsytown) in the case of Karlín. Sometimes this sentiment was perceived neutrally by simply commenting on their presence, sometimes more

negatively, either by labelling them using the word gypsy ("cikán" in Czech) or alluding to the colour of their skin, as one respondent of Smíchov put it:

Around and above Plzeňská (a street), it was a... what should I call it, a dark neighborhood.

Furthermore, both neighbourhoods were described as run-down, in need of fixing-up and overall physically unpleasant. This formed a picture of Karlín and Smíchov as not being good places to live in. These perceptions are in line with the dominant opinion about inner-city neighbourhoods of CEE cities as undesired places with lower-status social groups, a dilapidated housing stock, and industry (Kährik et al. 2015; Temelová et al. 2016). Smíchov´s heterogeneity and size allowed for the co-existence of a contrasting image, specifically of the hilltop villa neighbourhoods on Smíchov´s western side as physically and architectonically pleasing places where higher-status individuals lived, like Malvazinky, Kesnerka, or the area around Na Hřebenkách, which to this day retains this higher status (Klsák et al. 2020). A long-term resident born in Smíchov in the 1940s near Na Hřebenkách summarizes it thusly:

s_11: I think Smíchov was considered a bad neighborhood, but Hřebenka has always been a villa neighbourhood, so it's always been considered a better place to live.

A pleasing aesthetic was also praised in Karlín in the context of "old" Karlín, the tenement housing portion and its wide boulevards – Sokolovská, Křižíkova, and Pernerova. The Elementery school Lyčkovo náměstí and its (according to the respondent) Empire-style architecture was upheld. So were the Karlín barracks, the Invalidovna (Infirmary) building, and the church of St. Cyril and Methodius. One respondent repeated several times throughout the interview how much the combination of new and old means to them and how nicely it is felt throughout Karlín.

In more recent history, the devastating floods of 2002 caused a major breaking point for large swathes of Prague, Smíchov and Karlín included (Prokeš 2022). Every single respondent from Karlín and one from Smíchov (in reference to Karlín) mentioned the floods not purely as a disaster that occurred but used them as a temporal breaking point in Karlín´s history, speaking of a Karlín before the floods and a Karlín after the floods. Ilík and Ouředníček (2007) write about new construction and the intensification of commercialization and gentrification on post-flood Karlín. No such breaking point was mentioned with regards to Smíchov.

4.2   Codes: Perceiving Changes and Neighbourhood Identity

As the flooding changed Karlín´s (and Smíchov´s) trajectory, so does it also shift this text´s focus on resident´s perceptions of the changes in approximately the last 20 years. The way respondents have localized the changes clearly depicts three distinct regions in Karlín in Figure 7. The "new" Karlín in blue, the "old but revitalized" Karlín in green and the "unchanged" Karlín in brown. Furthermore, the consensus among respondents can be seen thanks to the overlapping polygons, with the exception of the "Some improvements" category.
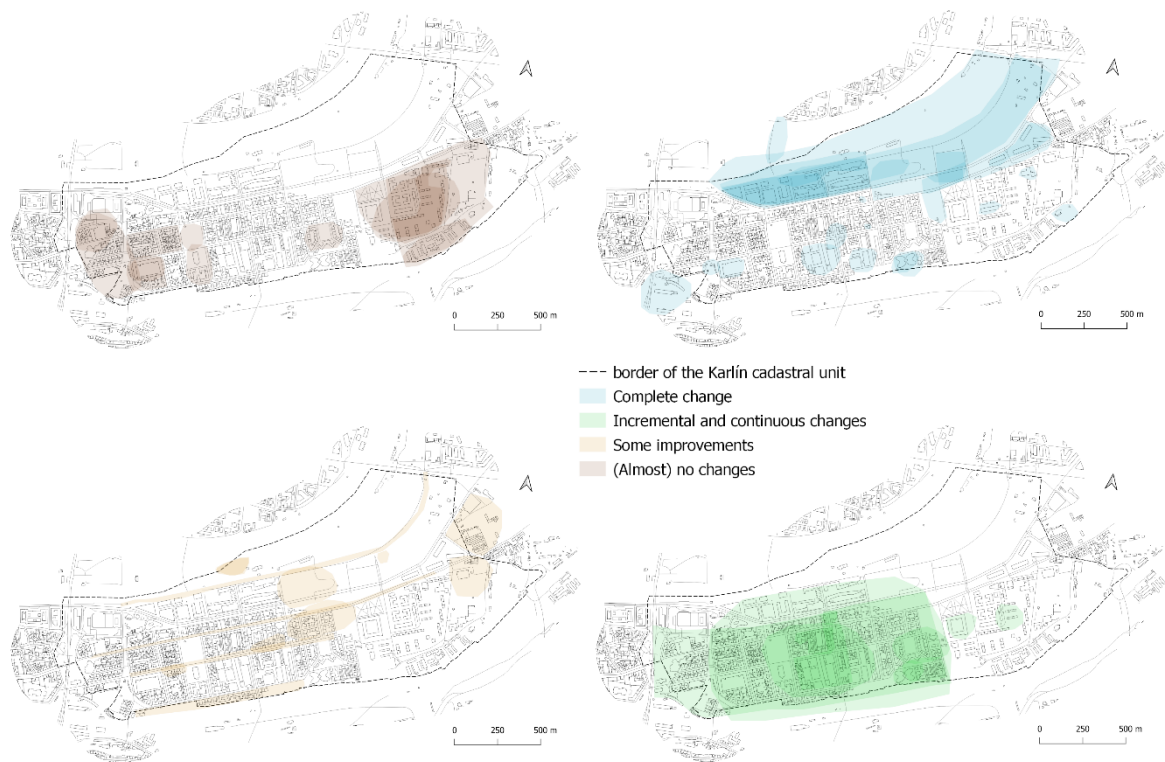
Figure 7 - Residents´ perception of changes in the last +-20 years in Karlín (Source: GEOPORTAL Praha 2023, Author)

Karlín´s transformation is perceived as much more complete. Unchanged areas are mostly contained within two regions – the housing estate Invalidovna in the east and the area around Florenc in the west, which sits partially outside of Karlín´s cadastral unit. An explanation for why they are not too present in resident´s perceptions might be that they simply have very little experience, especially Invalidovna – it mainly serves a residential function whereas the bulk of the services and commerce is in old Karlín. Rohan Island clearly attracts the bulk of the attention in terms of monumental change with several respondents pointing to some of the post-industrial renovations or new construction in the old part of Karlín such as Palác Karlín, Forum Karlín, or the Butterfly. The new buildings and their modern architectural style are received with mixed views. The dynamic nature of change on Rohan Island is described

by respondent k_03. Even with little experience, not having lived in the country prior to moving to Karlín, the respondent still perceives the area as having changed a lot.

k_03: It's been just three and a half years since we moved here. Most of these buildings did not exist at all, especially that part on the other side. Caroline, I think is the complex' name. This part next to the river was empty. So I think at least this part got more people.

Leaving the physical aspect behind, the respondents also commented on the changes in terms of Karlín's atmosphere or "vibe", as described by k_04. Karlín is now a fancier, vibrant, modern, urban, and expensive neighbourhood where respondents cherish its abundant greenery and the riverside. These can all be described as telltale signs of neighbourhood upgrading (Antunes, March, Connolly 2020), which one might label as gentrification without the displacement (Elliott-Cooper, Hubbard, Lees 2020). Previous associations to an industrial and dirty neighbourhood are shed and not perceived as much as in Smíchov. But looking at Karlín through the eyes of Smíchov revealed an interesting finding. Notwithstanding the fact that nearly all the respondents were unfamiliar with the term gentrification, several respondents from Smíchov referred to Karlín unprompted. Or, after having the term gentrification explained to them at the end of the interview, s_03 said:

It´s like in Karlín, isn't it?

They described it as also having changed, having changed more than Smíchov, especially in reference to the floods of 2002. They called it cool, said it has a hipster vibe and, and saw it as something Smíchov might achieve in approximately 10 years. In in this microcontext, if one uses Halasz´ (2021) model of the transformation process, Smíchov could be labelled as either approaching substantial gentrification or being in a state of pre-gentrification, whereas Karlín would be substantially gentrified and awaiting future development. Respondents from Karlín felt no need to mention Smíchov, but a few of them did refer to neighbouring Palmovka as something that Karlín probably looked before it underwent change.

Rather surprisingly the respondents who have lived in the neighbourhood for longer, even the elderly with long years of experience, did not mention any changes to their everyday life. Or if they did, these changes were not gentrification-induced, rather, in the case of older residents, they were the results of societal shift in the early 1990s (Sýkora 1999).
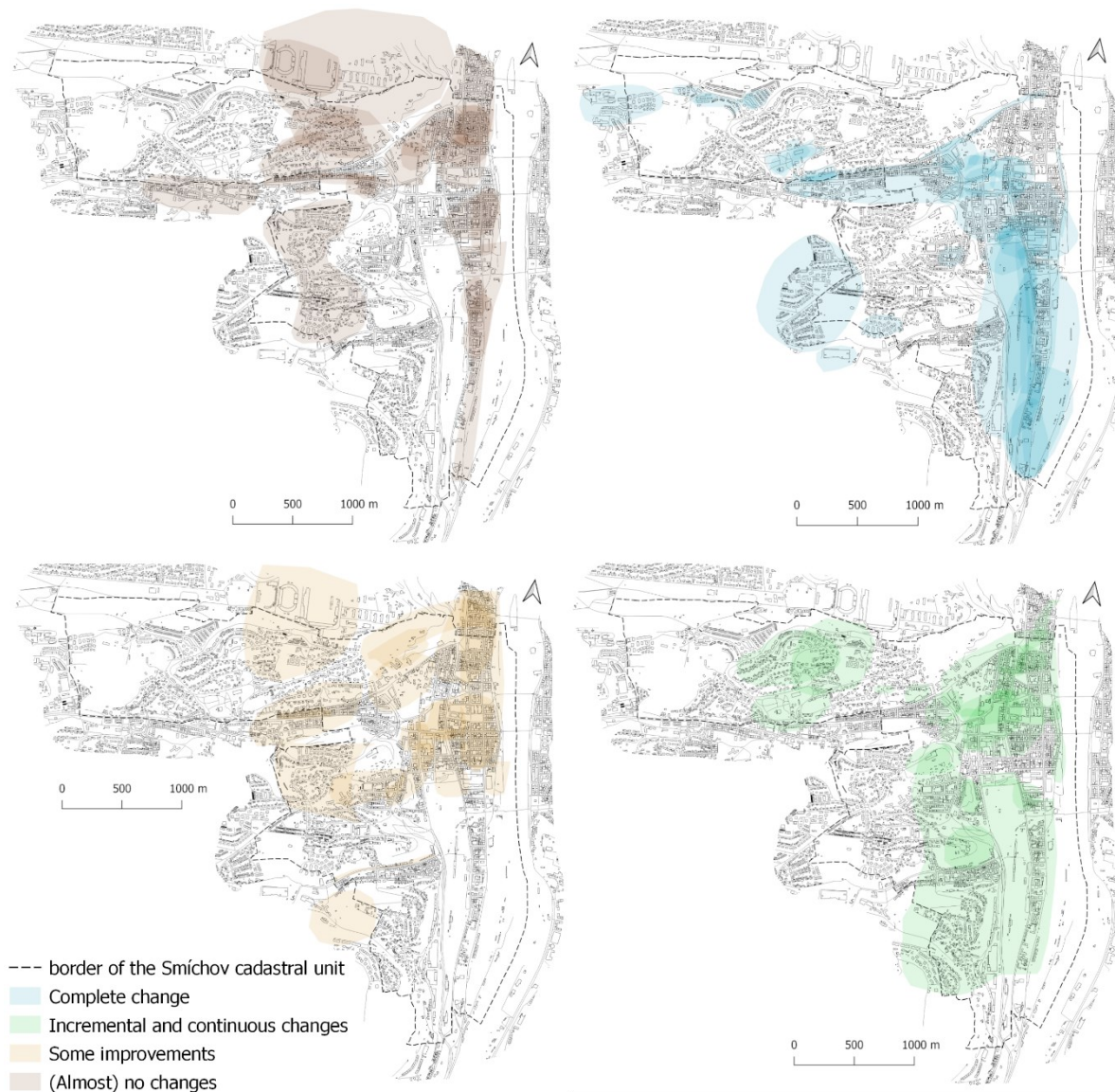
Figure 8 - Residents´ perception of changes in the last +-20 years in Smíchov (Source: GEOPORTAL Praha 2023, Author)

Smíchov, in part probably thanks to its size, is perceived to have gone through changes in a more fragmented manner. The size plays into the perceptions about Smíchov overall in that rarely was there a person familiar with all of Smíchov. Respondents knew the area around their home and the generally well-known places such as Anděl or the Smíchov railway station. This ignorance was most apparent when I asked about the residential areas in the western parts of Smíchov if the respondent did not live in one. As can be seen in Figure 8, Agreement about what type of change is taking place is not too uniform, sometimes the perceptions are in direct opposition, for example the Smíchov railway station and Na Knížecí area in the southern tip of Smíchov are both marked as having gone through complete (physical) change and almost no change at all by different respondents. This could be explained by how frequently the respondents visit these places or by how they use them.

Much like Karlín, Smíchov is also thought as a neighbourhood that is modernising, albeit not so holistically. The perceptions were hard to untangle but it can be said that the industrial, ghetto, run-down stigmatisation of Smíchov as a whole is gone. Nevertheless, the stigmas and Smíchov´s troubled identity are concentrated into smaller pockets of negativity that have enough power and meaning to represent the neighbourhood. This is best exemplified by Anděl. New construction and post-industrial reuse on Anděl, namely the Golden Angel project, and its surroundings have been studied by Temelová (2007) as an example of flagship development that increases the attractiveness of the locality and kick-starts the physical revitalization of a neighbourhood. Real estate agents and city government representatives agree that Smíchov was shifting from being an industrial periphery to a local centre with great potential (Temelová 2007).

To a certain degree, the respondents in this research agree, Smíchov has been called a centre, a well-connected and a well-serviced neighbourhood, and Anděl has been all but crowned the centre of Smíchov. Many respondents refer to it that way, use it as a proxy to talk about Smíchov in general, and believe that people outside of Smíchov (unfortunately) view Smíchov through Anděl. But unfortunately, nearly all the respondents lamented the non-physical deterioration of Smíchov. They complain of drug problems – "junkies and needles", the homeless, dirtiness, and feelings of queasiness and unsafety.

S_02, aged 26: The situation on Anděl has gotten a lot worse in terms of drug addicts and stuff.

S_05, aged 84: Or on Anděl. They say it's a terrible problem there now, that the police have a problem with the homeless.

The issue of safety was more prevalent in female respondents, however studies on who is more fearful in the city do not give a clear answer (Ogneva-Himmelberger et al. 2019).

More than fifteen years have passed since Temelová (2007) published her article and it seems that Smíchov, or at least Anděl has managed to go through physical upgrading while at the same time, or a little bit later, experiencing social downgrading or degradation, possibly akin to what is described in connection to housing estates after socialism (Temelová et al. 2011). Other parts of Smíchov have fared even worse than Anděl. Plzeňská street takes the spotlight as can also be seen on the brown and orange maps (Figure 8), it is the west-east oriented elongated polygon in the middle of the map. It is described as disgusting, dark, and rotting away. Respondent s_06 mentioned several houses near the Malostranský cemetery being bought up by Italian investors in the 1990s as investment apartments that were left to fall apart.

4.3 Codes: Gentrifiers and Displaced and Functions

This section will get to what the two previous subchapters have been hinting at. One of the banes of gentrification research is the difficulty of documenting, finding, and researching the displaced (Pastak 2021). This research has also failed at procuring a displaced person to interview. However, the respondents in both neighbourhoods did describe two main groups at risk of displacement or already displaced. Primarily the Roma and secondarily the elderly, and possibly the working-class.

The respondents have all acknowledged that the neighbourhoods no longer have an industrial function and are not working-class neighbourhoods with the occasional emergency workers´ colony (Klsák et al. 2020). Considering what the coiner of gentrification (Glass 1964) writes, the displacement of the working class might be one of the clear clues for gentrification. However, in this context the argument for the displacement of the working class as part of gentrification holds less water as it can be attributed to larger societal shifts, namely deindustrialisation, in CEE countries in the transformational 90s (Sýkora, Bouzarovski 2012). The products of (de)industrialisation can lay groundwork for future gentrification, for example in the abundance of brownfield sites (Temelová, Novák 2007; Kubeš, Kovács 2020).

The elderly are one of the vulnerable groups with less (financial) power often talked about as at risk of displacement (Berry 2010). Respondents have noticed seeing fewer elderly people in their day-to-day activities. It may be that the elderly are in fact being displaced, but it can also mean that as the population ages (Sýkora et al. 2022), not only do people eventually die but their daily schedule changes. Furthermore, it is safe to assume that the elderly are additionally protected from displacement due to the high ownerships rates (Sýkora et al. 2022; Eurostat 2022).

The group discussed most were the Roma. The Roma have a complicated relationship with Czech society, both on a personal and on a structural level, facing many hardships and discrimination (Fawn 2001; Vermeersch 2003). This negative sentiment sometimes made it hard to understand, whether the respondents managed to separate the Roma, sometimes referred to as Gypsies, from the homeless, junkies, bums, etc. that were frequently mentioned as issue plaguing Smíchov. When one older respondent didn't mention the Roma as a group that was leaving Smíchov, I asked directly and they responded by drawing attention to a park with lots of homeless and junkies. This stigmatization, minority status, and a usually less wealthy background marks the Roma as a group especially vulnerable to discrimination (Berry 2010).

In general, however, when speaking of vulnerable groups, the Roma came up naturally and several respondents in both neighbourhoods have commented that they saw fewer of them around their homes, in public places, and in areas more traditionally associated with the Roma. In Karlín, their continued, albeit smaller presence, is noticed on the edges of Karlín in the areas perceiving little to no change in Figure 7, such as around the Albert supermarket on Invalidovna, and by sometimes meeting them on streets. Respondent k_01 mentioned Roma in connection to investors and speculations at turn of the millennium twice, firstly simply stating that the floods were responsible for the eviction of socially vulnerable groups, and secondly:

k_01: I do remember, it was a very, very run-down neighbourhood. And the flooding, if I'm being racist, it was said it was washed out/ washed clean. I didn't make that up, that was really the talk amongst investors at the time.

In Smíchov, the situation is perceived similarly, several younger respondents remember seeing more Roma and Roma families in Smíchov during their childhood. The Plzeňská and Grafická streets (and the Grafická school) and their surroundings are mentioned by several respondents as (having been) Roma areas, so is the Arbesovo square. An older respondent s_11 recalls it being especially lively, filled with Roma, and "gypsy-like" in the evenings from spring and to autumn, due to the Roma being more "outdoors-people".

Turning to the other side of the coin, potential gentrifiers were more diverse. When talking about who the respondents perceive as moving into Karlín, overwhelmingly it was young people. However, it was not just any type of young people. The possibility of students as pioneers of gentrification (Murzyn-Kupisz, Szmytkowska 2015) does not seem likely, not only because Karlín is considered expensive and students were not one of the subgroups mentioned, but also because already almost twenty years ago, Sýkora (2005) had already rejected the idea of gentrification starting with a pioneer stage in Prague. The most frequently mentioned culprits are the upper-middle class, the young urban professionals (yuppies), and corporate employees, all of which are the traditional harbingers of gentrification (Sýkora 1999; Holm, Marcińczak, Ogrodowczyk 2015; Halasz 2021).

Furthermore, younger families and foreigners are spoken of as well. Due to the limited social circles and sometimes a language barrier, self-identified expats perceive foreigners much more than the Czechs, and additionally, perceive foreigners/expats as wealthier than middle class thanks to their corporate backgrounds. Lees, Slater, Wyly (2008) write about expats (usually from the West) being gentrifiers in Asia and post-socialist Europe. Additionally, Karlín and Smíchov are perceived as getting more international. These findings are confirmed

by Petrović and Ouředníček (2023) in their soon-to-be published article in which they analyse migration flows in Karlín with regards to gentrification.

Younger families or couples trump singles due to having more financial power, not only because they might be a bit further along their life path and thus be economically stronger, but also because two salaries go a long way in Karlín, as two respondents testified:

k_03: My hunch is that they are couples or older people who have money. Like, singles will rarely have the money to buy a flat here. Rent yes, if they have good salaries. For couples it´s easier.

Especially in Karlín, the people moving are frequently associated with new construction, predominantly located on Rohan Island, either as new residents, as employees of the myriad of offices, or as both. A palpable shift is also noticed in the shops and services operating in Karlín. They are described as catering to this new group whose main defining characteristic is wealth and the ability to afford the plethora of new caffes, restaurants, and more. These places, along with the new residents, and even Karlín as a whole are depicted as hipster, cool, or posh. This is not only the belief of the residents, but the opinion of their friends and acquaintances not residing there. Hipsterfication and the hipster identity are an important part of the gentrification´s aesthetic (Lin 2021; Summers 2021). Hipster was not used to describe Smíchov as a whole but was applied to some caffes.

The overall feeling of Smíchov gentrifying is less present than in Karlín but the perceptions are very much similar. What sets it apart is the more fragmented view of the whole neighbourhood and which lends itself to perceptions of Smíchov as more socially mixed. The previously mentioned villa districts are one of the few places where little change was noticed and where perceived or real high social and economic status was and is felt. Interestingly, one respondent described the following situation in their neighbourhood nearby Na Hřebenkách – one of the nicer villa parts of Smíchov:

s_04: There are companies that are watching to see who dies, or who will eventually sell, and then they buy those houses and turn them into the absolute most luxurious houses now. So people who can't afford to pay are being pushed out of this part of Smíchov where I am.

This observation is not out of place in the current state of affairs where housing is financialised and costs of living are rising (IPR Praha 2021; Christophers 2022; Lees, Slater, Wyly 2023b). Even though the new clientele for this type of housing would be the upper-middle class at the very least, labelling this as a sign of supergentrification (Lees 2003; Halasz 2021) is not in place due to supergentrification happening on top of existing gentrification. A classical gentrification raised by one level might be more apt – instead of the middle class

displacing the lower class, it is the upper-middle/higher displacing the middle, accompanied by physical change in the neighbourhood. One respondent has expressed displeasure at some villas under the Strahov hill being torn down and replaced by modern houses or renovated not accordingly to the surrounding style.

4.4 Codes: Social Capital and Identification

While preparing the research, it was hoped that social capital, i.e. the formal and informal relations amongst people, could be used to partially express peoples´ attachment to their neighbourhood (Putnam 1995; Todorić, Ratkaj 2011). Unfortunately, be they young or old, the old-timers or new-comers, Czechs or non-Czechs, no matter who we talked to, neighbourly relationships were distant and insignificant. Even respondent k_05 who was active in the community and local politics maintained that those relationships were "formal", did not carry over into his personal life, and that he hardly harboured friendly relationships with his neighbours. Most typically the relationships were described as saying hello to each other or holding the door open for someone. Not a single respondent had made a friend because of being neighbours. There were exceptions of course, one respondent knew the names of people on their floor and even helped an elderly neighbour from time to time.

When the demonyms Pražák or Pražan (Praguer), Karlíňák ("Karliner"), Smíchovák ("Smichovian") or other, were offered to the respondents they overwhelmingly preferred to identify themselves with Prague. Two respondents who had moved to Karlín fairly recently gave an interesting response:

k_02: Because when I say Karlíňák, I want to think of exactly that kind of person, a little bit more financially well-off, a little bit - not necessarily in a negative connotation - into snobbery, in short, a person who can afford quality and luxury and maybe even knows it about himself. I think this is quite fitting for a typical Karlíňák.

k_03: To be honest I wouldn't identify myself as either Karlíňák or Praguer. But if I had to, I would lean towards Praguer more. Karlíňák sounds too posh, it's something special that I'm not.

The demonym for Karlín was rejected because it was seen as denoting more meaning than just belonging to a part of Prague. In the respondents´ eyes, being a Karlíňák evokes an image of a new, gentrified, expensive, and snobby Karlín.

Identification with Smíchov is not as polarizing but is similarly attractive to its residents. In Smíchov´s defence however, its size might be putting it at a disadvantage. During the interviews the vague and personal term neighbourhood (Hipp 2020) was used and residents were generally left with defining the neighbourhood for themselves (Gosse et al. 2016). What

came about was the finding that Karlín managed to fit the criteria of a neighbourhood in respondent´s minds, whereas smaller parts of Smíchov were identified with more such as Na Hřebenkách, Kavalírka, under Ladronka, Malvazinky, around Nikolajka and so on.

Curiously enough, even though foreigners found it harder to identify with both Prague or Smíchov, they seemed to have a better of view of Smíchov than the locals, a more optimistic one. It could be that their shorter experience of living there combined with them being ignorant of some aspects of Prague´s history and the functioning of the Czech society[5] produces a view of Smíchov that is not as burdened by the past. One elderly respondent from Smíchov described this situation almost to the word:

s_11: I think that Smíchov today, for a lot people who don't have their minds burdened by the old image of what Smíchov was - a smoky, working-class neighbourhood, I think they consider living in Smíchov good and pleasant.

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[5] An interesting side note is that not one of the foreign respondents referred to the Roma as Gypsies.

4.5 Codes: Future and Identifying Gentrification and Gentrification-like Processes

With gentrification being so varied in shape and form (Lees, Slater, Wyly 2010a; Lees, Shin, Ernesto 2016a) looking for various traces or potential sparks throughout the analysis proved to be a fruitful task. Many (potentials for the) types presented in the literature overview were indeed discovered. One such example was already mentioned in the case of middle-to-higher gentrifying villa neighbourhoods. Based on the findings already listed in this chapter, it is safe to call Karlín overall a (classically) gentrifying neighbourhood (Petrović, Ouředníček 2023).

Commercial gentrification (Sýkora 2005; Atkinson 2015) was present throughout the interviews with respondents alluding to new services and shops that cater to the gentrifiers. Some examples that were given are organic shops, luxury kitchen showrooms, Jaguar salespoints, or pricey caffes and restaurants. Overwhelmingly so in Karlín, but Smíchov was not forgotten. Two respondents from Smíchov in their 20s actually welcomed some of these new services, namely the caffes, as they felt it to be a market segment that was underutilised in Smíchov and was something they would have liked to have more of.

The next two typologies can be observed as happening separately but also in conjunction, they are new-build gentrification (Davidson, Lees 2005; Holm, Marcińczak, Ogrodowczyk 2015) and foreign-led or transnational gentrification (Hayes 2020). New-build gentrification is sometimes criticised as not being gentrification due to it being newly built, especially if the construction happens on brownfields. However the idea of displacement being limited to involuntary migration has been criticised as well (Atkinson 2015; Pastak 2021) and spillover effects to neighbouring areas are possible (Davidson, Lees 2005). The two biggest sites of new construction are the already functioning Rohan Island in Karlín and the newer Smíchov City in Smíchov that can be seen as the pinkest regions in Figure 9. Many respondents associate this, existing or future, housing, and office space to be expensive and to attract and produce wealthy users who then have the services in the neighbourhood shaped to their needs and thus raise the costs of housing and living for the other residents. This sentiment was more prevalent in Karlín, but Smíchov´s Anděl with many a new office building and expensive caffes did not escape residents' attention.

Transnational gentrification is gentrification produced by the globalised world (Hayes 2020). Purely the fact that several respondents in this research were middle to upper-middle class foreigners living in the inner city was a slight confirmation. One such case was a "double double hit". Respondent k_04 was a Serbian expat living in Karlín´s new-build on Rohan Island. They were renting their apartment through an agency from Italians who never visit

the country and only purchased it as an investment. Double for the two gentrification types, double for the two layers of foreign influence, and a bonus for the apartment being an investment apartment in the spirit of the financialised fifth wave of gentrification (Aalbers 2019).

Additionally, transnational gentrification is connected to tourist-related development, touristification and airbnbification (Sýkora 2005; Bestakova 2019; Hayes 2020; Bertocchi, Ferri 2021). The respondents have oftentimes mentioned the good intra-city location of both Smíchov and Karlín as being close to the overrun centre but not in it, thus being safe from tourists and the "destruction" they bring. Respondent s_07 was worried about this destruction entering Smíchov from the north, where Malá Strana and Újezd have already succumbed.

Many respondents were aware of Airbnb apartments either in their building or in their vicinity in Smíchov and in Karlín. Those that have them in their building commented on the high turnaround of people. S_06 was happy that there were no Airbnb apartments in their building as it allowed for a stability of tenants and a made some sort of neighbourly relations possible. Airbnbs have been identified by the Prague Institute of Planning and Development as a risk and detriment to Prague´s housing situation (IPR Praha 2021). S_09 commented:

Well, I don't really know my neighbours, to be honest, it seems like they're always different as there are some Airbnbs in my building.

A rather niche phenomenon was described by respondent s_11. Sometime around the 1970s or 1980s the Jižní město (South City) housing estate was being built which coincided with the tunnelling of the Strahov tunnel that forms a part of Prague´s inner ring road. Parts of the tunnel in the vicinity of Holečkova and Švédská were not bored through the ground but rather done in the cut and cover method – constructing the tunnel and then covering it. Several houses had to be demolished and their residents evicted, some of them Czech, some Roma. The replacement apartments they were offered were in the new Jižní město. However, the respondent described families that have had a long history of residing in Smíchov and not wishing to move to out.

Many made agreements with Roma families that were living in Smíchov to exchange their new housing estate apartment for an older one in Smíchov. The Roma families were thus awarded newer apartments, albeit in the periphery, and the Czech families were able to remain in more run-down apartments in Smíchov. Additionally, the respondent spoke of how the Czech families would fix up and renovate their apartments, either through their own labour or finances or by pestering the public housing company to fix it for them.

The financial situation of the families involved might be hard to judge as they were all residing in a run-down industrial neighbourhood (Temelová, Novák 2007) in a system with levelling tendencies and regulated rent (Musil 2005b), but due to the Roma´s unfavourable position in the society (Fawn 2001; Vermeersch 2003) it is safe to assume they held less power than the Czech families. And due to all these factors, including the (presumably) voluntary displacement, I am fairly confident to label this as a specific type of gentrification in a socialist city.

Concluding gentrification with supergentrification seem only appropriate. In Karlín the respondents expressed a fear that in the future Karlín with continue getting more expensive and eventually reach a luxury, upper class status. Respondent k_02 specifically mentioned that if there were a crisis, many people residing there now might not be able to sustain a life in Karlín and would have to move out, only to be replaced by the ones who will be able to afford it. Respondent k_01 hypothesised:

In the future, Karlín will turn into a much more upscale neighborhood. Now it's somewhere in between, I mean, now it's middle – upper-middle class, I think within ten years it will be upper middle to luxury. And we'll see where the ceiling will be.

This replacement of original gentrifiers by an even stronger group has been named supergentrification by Lees (2003). The stronger group with high economic power swoops in and displaces not only the gentrifiers but also any still remaining pre-gentrification residents.

Moving onto gentrification-like processes, a possible occurrence of incumbent upgrading, in which long-term residents upgrade their housing and no displacement occurs (Kovács, Wiessner, Zischner 2015), was found especially in Karlín, where k_05 mentioned their cooperative insulating their building in the Invalidovna housing estate. K_01 also spoke of renovations to tenement housing being done by the owners.

Figure 9 - Residents´ perceptions of potential future changes Smíchov and Karlín[6] (Source: GEOPORTAL Praha 2023, Author)

As the map on Figure 9 shows, there is an agreement amongst respondents where they think future changes might happen. Both neighbourhoods have two areas of future change – new construction and renovation/revitalization. In Smíchov nearly everyone is aware of the massive project Smíchov City in the South, even if they do not mention it by name. Respondents speak of it as being able to change the perception of Smíchov and help make the southern part a better neighbourhood. On Rohan Island in Karlín the future expansion eastwards in the northern tip is expected by three out of the four respondents that marked down future changes. Other areas with some overlap are the Plzeňská street (northernmost pink polygon) in Smíchov and the Invalidovna housing estate (polygons in the southeast) in Karlín. These were associated with not being as changed as other parts of the neighbourhoods and still reminding respondents of the negative or unsafe identities. The changes here are then expected, but also hoped for by the respondents.

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[6] Smíchov and Karlín are to scale but their relative geographical location does not reflect reality

5 Discussion

This thesis has tried to build upon gentrification research in general from many "classical" anglophone researchers such as Atkinson, Lees, Davidson, and more but has also tried to relate to the Central/Eastern European context which is rather distinct from its Western counterpart by studying the works of Kährik et al. (2015); Špačková, Pospíšilová, Ouředníček (2016); Kubeš, Kovács (2020); Pastak (2021), and again, many more. I have also wanted to explore the depth and details of gentrification using a qualitative way of analysing it using residents´ perceptions of changes in their neighbourhoods. I drew on international research studying perception as is but also perception in connection processes (Tuan 1974c; Todorić, Ratkaj 2011; Antunes, March, Connolly 2020; Jones, Dantzler 2021; Sýkora et al. 2022).

When studying resident´s perception of gentrification, two inner-city neighbourhoods of Prague were compared, Smíchov and Karlín. The neighbourhoods share a similar past and a similar position in relation to the rest of the city, however, their paths have not been the same which is illustrated by differences in the findings. The industrial and unattractive characteristic was felt in the past of both neighbourhoods. Respondents recalled them, either personally or through hearsay, as workers´ quarters and Roma neighbourhoods. Through the regime change and under the globalising effects of the world, Smíchov and Karlín changed (Sýkora 1999).

Be they Czech or foreign, long-term resident or a newcomer, the respondents recognised this change. And through the perception of change a divergence comes into view, whereas Karlín is now seen a post-industrial, modern, urban, cool, and a desirable neighbourhood to be and live - almost in its entirety, not just by respondents from Karlín, but also from Smíchov. Smíchov is not perceived as such. It is more polarising. Some of its areas (villa neighbourhoods) have retained a higher status through the socialist period, some areas have changed for the better (some tenement housing), but many areas (Plzeňská street) are to this day still perceived as unsafe, undesirable, dirty, and troubled with homelessness and drugs. Perceptions of varying degrees of change were mapped by respondents and help anchor these ideas in space.

The displacement of Roma is felt in both neighbourhoods, their numbers have decreased but the respondents still mention meeting them on streets or in other public places. Sometimes the sentiment around the Roma was negative, but this status of persona non grata has been largely handed over, more so in Smíchov, to the homeless and "junkies" who are viewed as instigators of problems and a dangerous atmosphere, especially on Anděl. Anděl is perceived as both a real and a metaphorical gateway to Smíchov that changed for the better once it

became a commercial and business hub (Temelová, Novák 2007; Temelová 2007), but that has started to downgrade in recent years. The departure of elderly is somewhat mentioned, but no clear conclusions can be drawn in regards to displacement due to other possible concurrent demographic and migratory processes.

Switching over to gentrifiers, various were found and unbeknownst to them, they were also talked to. In accordance with literature (Lees, Shin, Ernesto 2016b; Kubeš, Kovács 2020), the gentrifiers were perceived to be wealthier, young professionals, sometimes foreign, oftentimes mentioned as employed in supranational companies. In the view of respondents from Karlín, they could be either Czech or foreign, but more importantly they were couples and young families due to the increasing costs of housing and living. If a single person wanted to live in Karlín, they would need a very good salary, respondents agreed. In Smíchov the consensus in terms of who was moving into the neighbourhood was rather similar to that of Karlín.

Social capital, identification with and attachment to the neighbourhood was studied to try and draw conclusions about whether a stronger attachment and identification with one's neighbourhood influenced residents´ opinions and perceptions of the changes and would thus offer more insight into how residents perceive gentrification (Fagg et al. 2008; Todorić, Ratkaj 2011; Gosse et al. 2016; Erkan 2022). This endeavour was not too successful, as even though certain differences in levels of attachment to the neighbourhood amongst respondents could be discerned, not much could be drawn from it with regards to differences in perceiving gentrification. Formal or informal relationships in the neighbourhood were reported to be rather weak and not too important to respondents. An interesting finding was that the demonym for Karlín, Karlíňák in Czech, seemed to carry with it the idea of a gentrified Karlín – a posh, slightly snobby person with money.

Gentrification and its related processes were identified in residents´ perceptions proving that as long as one lives and pays attention, they are aware of urban processes happening around them. Many possible types of gentrification other than classical were discovered, some occurring in both neighbourhoods, some being more tied to Smíchov or Karlín. It should be noted that rather confirming the existence all these processes, this thesis has shed a light on them using residents´ senses and opened the door for further research to prove or disprove these suggestions. Nevertheless, the "gentrifications" discovered were commercial, new-build, foreign-led or transnational, airbnbification, supergentrification, a specific case of socialist gentrification in the past, and incumbent upgrading.

These findings are limited by several different factors with the bulk of them stemming from the respondent selection. More can be better and in this case it is very applicable. Seventeen interviews were enough to lift the curtain and reveal so much information but at the same time it showed how much more there is to research and uncover. The perceptions presented are only the tip of the iceberg. As with many gentrification studies, researching the displaced is incredibly hard as they have usually left by the time the issue or process is noticed (Pastak 2021).

Even though I have talked to a wide array of people, due to their status and background they were either complacent in the gentrification process or not at risk of being physically displaced. The elderly were owners, the foreigners were financially stable, and the Roma were not even talked to. While managing to uncover much of what this thesis set out to uncover, it was all done from the perspective of privilege and power. Having groups that are at risk of displacement, be it symbolic or direct, would have brought so much more to table. As such, even though displaced groups were talked about and analysed, the displacement process itself, namely symbolic displacement and unhoming in Karlín and Smíchov remain a mystery. Moreover, the low number of respondents, in Karlín especially, did not allow for much comparison along the lines of renter vs owner and long-term resident vs newcomer.

6 Conclusion

To conclude this body of work, I will restate my research questions once again and ponder how successfully they have been answered.

   I.   How are residents perceiving gentrification and gentrification-related changes in Smíchov and Karlín? What feelings or emotions does the changing neighbourhood evoke? Are there feelings or pressures of displacement and unhoming?

  II.   Where are residents placing gentrification as happening or about to happen? Is there an overlap or a discernible difference between different groups of residents, namely old-timers and newcomers or renters and owners?

 III.   Are these findings the same in Smíchov and Karlín or are there differences in perceiving gentrification?

Ad I., in Karlín the changes were perceived as stronger and more definite; overall there was agreement that Karlín was gentrifying and that its identity has shifted from what it once was. In Smíchov, the heterogeneous perceptions mirrored the heterogeneous neighbourhood. Some parts have changed, some are gentrifying, some are however changing for the worst. These changes are thought of as having done good to both Smíchov and Karlín. In Karlín, further changes are met with worry over the neighbourhood becoming too expensive. Some respondents from Smíchov sounded hopeful as they see a potential in Smíchov to fix its remaining issues and become a better neighbourhood. Overall the feelings about the changes leaned more towards the positive, but as was mentioned in the previous chapter, there was a lack of voice from the displacement side of the discussion. Connected to this is the last subquestion. No pressure was felt and unhoming was not perceived, not even by long-term residents who have seen the neighbourhood change throughout their whole life.

Ad II., the respondents had placed their perceptions of changes on a map and the results were enlightening. More consensus was reached when marking down the edge cases, that is where they perceive (almost) no change, where they perceived massive change and where they perceived future change. Karlín´s smaller size produced more agreement when compared to Smíchov, where people were more apt to focus on the area closer to their home and certain places of neighbourhood-wide importance. The difference among the groups could not be observed due to too small of a respondent base. More replies would be needed to have enough polygons on the maps and be able to produce meaningful answers when filtering by the different characteristics.

Ad III., the findings do vary. Two neighbourhoods in suspiciously similar circumstances have managed to find themselves in two particular situations. Many parallels could be drawn in the

findings, such as how people perceived them in the past, who is leaving the neighbourhoods, who is coming in, how the services are changing, however, nearly all of the changes that could be associated with gentrification were more palpable in Karlín. Karlín was perceived as more gentrified and complete, the respondents were more or less happy with how it is and were worried about the increasing costs, whereas Smíchov produced a polarized picture, where the old image still clashed with the new idea of what Smíchov is and what it might one day be.

The new findings in this thesis strive to support the ever-growing library of knowledge on the topic of gentrification, not just in the context of Prague. Gentrification is not a niche topic, but precisely because it is such prevalent, multi-faceted, complex, and, one might even say, planetary phenomenon (Lees, Shin, Ernesto 2016b; Lees, Slater, Wyly 2023b), it warrants constant attention. It has the power to (re)shape cities and make them nicer to live, but its dark side – displacement – cannot be omitted as it also holds immense power in influencing the lives of those urban and possibly non-urban dwellers that hold less of it.

With this thesis I hope to have made an incision that showed new possibilities of how to study gentrification on the smaller scale and that it may push open the door for other gentrification research to build upon or correct the ideas that were born out of this research. Especially the mapping methodology can prove to be very useful on an even more local and micro scale when dealing with changes in one´s close neighbourhood – if prepared well it could be a relatively easy way of engaging the public in urban planning, housing policy, and decision making, which is in line with Prague´s Development Strategy (IPR Praha 2021).

As was already stated, there were several limitations that held this study back. As it usually is, time was an enemy. Even though I have had experience with interview work and analysis, it was not on this scale, and I have underestimated how much time every single step takes once scaled up. This is reflected especially in the case of Karlín where respondents were hard to get in contact with which resulted in their low number. Furthermore, the makeup of respondents was varied, but not enough, especially on the displacement side. The Roma as a large and specific group of displaced were not overlooked, but neither were they listened to. Seeing how significant of a minority they are in the countries and cities of CEE and how vulnerable their position is (Fawn 2001), it is a wonder that they only appear once, in the end and in parentheses, in the wonderful meta-analysis of gentrification in post-socialist cities by Kubeš and Kovács (2020). In this sense, more can be done to find out about the fate and perceptions of the displaced, for example, a non-governmental organisation that deals with Roma might be able to procure contacts of people willing to be interviewed. Other groups at risk of displacement were also absent from the research such as elderly that are not owners

or minorities and foreigners with less economic power. Alas, it is easy to be wise after the event.

This thesis and its research was part of a larger PhD project of Adela Petrović and thus the ailments plaguing this research stand a high chance of being corrected in the near months as we are planning to write an academic article using not only these interviews but expanding upon them as well.

By upholding the successes of thesis and being mindful of its and my mistakes I am confident in saying that this thesis has taught me incredibly much. It was an arduous journey of academic and personal discovery that was a part of my life for a significant amount of time. I hope that I have given back or that I will give back to all the fields and persons that have taught me in these three years. My interest in urban studies and the functioning of a city has only grown throughout my university studies and even more so in this second chapter.

Cities have been a part of human civilization for millennia, yet at times it seems that we still have no idea how they truly function and operate. Does the little ant understand how their anthill works? Probably not, but in their hivemind they surely have an idea. The collective human hivemind is the ever-growing library of discovery, research, and knowledge that everyone contributes in one way or another. If we want our cities and our human civilization to prevail, we must do more to understand them to be able to shape them into resilient havens that can withstand the challenges of the future and into spaces where everyone will have a place and a voice.

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8 Appendices

8.1 Appendix A

Pseu dony m	Ag e	Gen der	Education	Edu. Specified	Profession	Length of reside nce	Housing status	Marital status	Citizen ship[7]
k_01	49	M	university	Mgr	Consultant	5	renter	Married	CZ
k_02	25	M	university	Mgr	Sports coach / PhD student	1	renter	Single	CZ
k_03	28	F	high school	?	Unemployed	3.5	renter	Married	RS
k_04	28	M	high school	?	Sales specialist	3.5	renter	Married	RS
k_05	36	M	university	Mgr	Translator / Landlord	7	owner	Married	CZ
s_01	25	F	high school	Mgr in a year	Student	13	owner - parents	Single	CZ
s_02	25	M	high school	Bc in 3 months	Student	25	owner - parents	Single	CZ
s_03	26	F	university	Bc	Teacher, Student	26	owner - parents	Single	CZ
s_04	58	F	university	PhD	Astropsycholog ist	15	renter	Divorced	CZ+RS
s_05	84	F	university	Mgr	Teacher, Retired	78	owner	Widowe d	CZ
s_06	26	F	university	Bc	GIS analyst	1	renter	Single	CZ
s_07	41	M	university	Mgr	Payroll analyst	3	renter	Single	IT
s_08	30	M	university	Bc	Senior payroll analyst	4.5	renter	Single	IT
s_09	34	M	university	Bc	Project manager	4.5	owner	Single	IT
s_10	56	F	university	Mgr	Bank clerk	13	owner	Divorced	CZ
s_11	82	F	high school	civil engin- eering	Retired	34*	owner	Married	CZ
s_12	25	F	university	Mgr	Designer	25	owner - parents	Single	CZ

[7] CZ – Czech, RS – Serbian, IT - Italian

8.2 Appendix B

ENGLISH

Sociodemographic information:

Age	
Education level	
Occupation	
Marital status	
Citizenship	

General questions:

- How long have you been living in Karlin / Smichov?
- Where do you live? (MAP)
- Are you renting the apartment, or are you the owner?
- Have you moved within the neighbourhood?
- How well do you know Karlin / Smichov?
- How do you spend your time in Karlin / Smichov?

Changes (since the 2000s):

SOCIAL:

- Since you know and live in Karlín/Smichov, do you think the neighbourhood's population is changing? If yes, how?
- Could you describe what the newly-moved in residents are like? (Czechs or foreigners? What is their age? Profile? Job, education, etc.?)
- Is there a difference between the long-term and newly-moved in residents? What is it?
- If they´re a newly-moved in resident: Do you feel like you fit the type?
- If they're a long-term resident: Have you noticed a certain type of people leaving Karlín/Smíchov? Some socio-economically marginalized/underprivleged groups? (roma?

FUNCTIONAL:

- What about the functions and services, have they changed? If yes, how? What is their character?
- Do you feel these changes accurately address the needs of the community? Why? If the answer is no, how would you have preferred they had been done differently?

COLLECTIVE MEMORY-PAST:

- Do you know more about the neighbourhood's past?
- How did it look 20-30 or more years ago?

IMAGINARIES-FUTURE:

- What do you think, how will Karlin / Smichov look like in the next 10 years? How will it change?
- How do you envision a better neighbourhood?

Influences of everyday life – long-term residents, over 5 years (PRESENT):

- How are these changes influencing your life in Karlin / Smichov? Is it becoming expensive for you to live here? What do you do to cope with the changes?
- Are you using the new services? How? Are you satisfied with the offer? Why?
- Do you use some public spaces in your neighbourhood? If yes, which ones and why? If not, why?
- Are there happenings or events in your neighbourhood? … Are they different from what you were used to?
- Did you have to change your habits and activities because of the change in the neighbourhood?

Influences of everyday life - new-comers, <5 years (PRESENT):

- What was your first impression of Karlin / Smichov when you moved here? Why did you choose Karlin / Smichov?
- How do you find your neighbours?
- Are they mainly Czechs or foreigners? Do you feel welcomed and accepted?
- Do you recognise any local-specific traits? Something that is very specific for Karlin / Smichov?
- Had you had the information you have now before you moved into Smíchov or Karlín, would you have done something differently? Do you have some regrets?

Mapping gentrification (Typology) - Quickly explain the categories to the respondents, then ask them:

PHYSICAL:

- Do you think the neighbourhood has changed physically? In what way?
1. The face of Karlín / Smíchov changed completely
2. Incremental and continuous changes
3. Some improvements (private/public funds) - incumbent upgrading
4. (Almost) no changes
- Can you show me the 4 types of changes on the map?
- Do you have some predictions for places that might be next? (MAP)

Community and social capital:

- Is there a neighbourhood community?
- Are you active in the neighbourhood community or some other community in the neighbourhood in any way or form? How?
- Do you have a sports/cultural club or a café that you visit regularly?
- If you have kids, do they go to school in Smíchov/Karlín? Do you socialise with your kids´ parents?
- How would you describe your relationship with your neighbours?
- Do you have friends in the neighbourhood? When did you meet?

Unhoming and pressure:

- What does home mean to/for you?
- Do you feel like moving out of your neighbourhood? Why?
- At the moment, is living in Smíchov/Karlín (financially) sustainable for you? If your rent/mortgage were to go up, would it still be?
- Have you thought about renting out your apartment and renting an apartment in a different part of Prague?

- As a renter, in terms of your apartment, do you feel comfortable investing in it (buying new furniture, appliances, painting the walls…) Why?
- Have you had an experience where your landlord did not honour an agreement or a part of your contract? Or where they ignored your request? If yes, could you describe the experience?
- Do you feel some other kind of pressure or involuntary obligation to move out?

Concluding questions (place attachment, identification, perception):

- Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood?
- How do you think other people view your neighbourhood?
- What makes Karlin / Smichov special or different from other districts in Prague?
- If you had to move out of your apartment/house, would you try to stay in Smíchov/Karlín or would you look elsewhere?
- If someone were to move into Karlín/Smíchov now, what would you tell them?
- What are the three positive and negative aspects of the neighbourhood? (Would you say you are proud of your neighbourhood?)
- Do you feel like you belong in your neighbourhood? Would you describe yourself as a Karlíňák / Smíchovák / Praguer?
- YOU SAID THIS AND THIS (regarding What does home mean to/for you?), Do you feel at home in Smíchov/Karlín?

Gentrification:

- Do you know what gentrification is? (give an explanation in any case - explain it's social, cultural, economic, physical, function…implications)
- Do you think gentrification is happening in Karlin / Smichov?

ČESKY

Sociodemografické údaje:

Věk	
Nejvyšší dosažené vzdělání	
Zaměstnání/profese	
Rodinný stav	
Občanství	

Obecné otázky:

- Jak dlouho bydlíte v Karlíně / Smíchově?
- Kde bydlíte?
- Jste vlastníkem nebo si bydlení pronajímáte?
- Stěhovali jste se uvnitř Karlína / Smíchova?
- Jak dobře znáte Karlín / Smíchov?
- Jak trávíte svůj čas v Karlíně / Smíchově?

Změny a proměny (od cca r. 2000):

Sociální:

- Jelikož v Karlíně / Smíchovu bydlíte a znáte jej, myslíte si, že se (struktura) populace čtvrti mění? Pokud ano, jak?

- Mohli byste popsat, jací jsou noví residenti? (Češi či cizinci, věk, zaměstnání, vzdělání, …)
- Liší se nějak starousedlíci a nově přistěhovalí? Jak?
  - Pokud je respondent nově přistěhovalí/á: Myslíte si, že odpovídáte stereotypu (který jste popsal/a)?
  - Pokud je respondent starousedlík: Zpozorovali jste odchod určitého typu obyvatel z Karlína / Smíchova? Socio-ekonomicky znevýhodněné skupiny? Romové?

Funkční:

- Co funkce a služby, změnily se? Pokud ano, jak? Jaké a pro koho jsou nyní?
- Cítíte / Myslíte si, že tyto změny odpovídají potřebám komunity? Proč? Pokud ne, jak byste si přáli, aby byly tyto změny provedeny?

Collective memory – past:

- Víte více o minulosti sousedství / čtvrti ? Jak vypadala/o před 20-30 lety nebo i dříve?

Imaginaries – future

- Jak si myslíte, že bude Karlín / Smíchov vypadat za 10 let? Jak se změní? Jak si představujete lepší čtvrť?

Vliv na každodenní život – původní residenti

- Jak tyto změny ovlivňují váš život v Karlíně / Smíchově ? Stává se váš život dražším? Co děláte, abyste se vypořádali se změnami?
- Využíváte nových služeb? Jak? Jste spokojeni s nabídkou?
- Využíváte veřejný prostor či prostranství ve vašem sousedství / čtvrti? Pokud ano, které a jak? Pokud ne, proč?
- Pořádají se vašem sousedství / čtvrti události či akce? Jsou jiné, než jaké bývaly dříve?
- Museli jste změnit či uzpůsobit vaše chování a denní aktivity změnám ve vašem sousedství / čtvrti?

Vliv na každodenní život – nově přistěhovalí

- Jaký byl váš první dojem z Karlína / Smíchova, když jste se sem přistěhovali? Proč jste si vybrali Karlín / Smíchov?
- Co si myslíte o vašich sousedech?
- Jsou spíše Češi nebo cizinci? Cítíme se vítáni a přijati?
- Poznáváte nějaké specifické lokální znaky? Něco typického pro Karlín / Smíchov ?
- Pokud byste před stěhováním do Karlína / Smíchova měli všechny informace, které máte teď, udělali byste něco jinak? Máte nějaké výčitky svědomí?

Mapování gentrifikace (typologie, MAPA)

- Myslíte si, že se sousedství nebo čtvrť proměnila fyzicky? Jak?
  1. Tvář Karlína / Smíchova se naprosto změnila
  2. Postupné a souvislé změny
  3. Mírné/lehké úpravy (veřejné či soukromé peníze)
  4. (téměř) beze změn
  5. Máte nějaké odhady nebo predikce, která místa by se mohla začít měnit v budoucnosti?
- Mohli byste na mapě zakreslit tyto 4 typy změn

Komunita a sociální kapitál:

- Víte o nějaké sousedské komunitě? Jaké?
- Jste jakkoliv aktivní v sousedské komunitě nebo nějaké jiné komunitě ve vašem sousedství / čtvrti? Jaké a jak?
- Navštěvujete pravidelně sportovní klub či podnik? Jste někde „štamgast"?
- Máte-li děti, chodí do školy do Karlína / Smíchova? Bavíte se s rodiči kamarádů vašich dětí?
- Jak byste popsali váš vztah s vašimi sousedy?
- Máte v sousedství / čtvrti přátele? Kdy jste se potkali?

Unhoming a (ná)tlak:

- Co pro vás znamená domov?
- Máte chuť se vystěhovat ze sousedství / čtvrti? Proč?
- Je pro vás v tomto okamžiku život v Karlíně / Smíchovu finančně udržitelný? Pokud by se vám zvýšil nájem nebo hypotéka, byl by i nadále?
- Přemýšleli jste, že byste pronajali váš byt a pronajímali si byt v jiné části Prahy?
- Jako nájemník/ce co se týče vašeho bytu, investujete do něj? (nový nábytek, bílá technika, malování zdí, apod) Proč?
- Měli jste zkušenost, kdy váš pronajímatel nedodržel dohodu nebo část smlouvy? Nebo kde ignorovali váš požadavek? Pokud ano, mohli byste tu situaci popsat?
- Pociťujete nějakou jinou formu nátlaku nebo nucenou potřebu se odstěhovat?

Konečné otázky:

- Cítíte se ve vašem sousedství / čtvrti bezpečně?
- Jak si myslíte, že jiní lidé vnímají vaše sousedství / čtvrť?
- Co odlišuje nebo činí Karlín / Smíchov výjimečným oproti jiným čtvrtím v Praze?
- Pokud byste se museli stěhovat z vašeho bytu či domu, zůstali byste v Karlíně / na Smíchově? Nebo byste se ohlíželi po jiném místě?
- Pokud by se někdo jiný stěhoval do Karlína / Smíchova, co byste jim řekli?
- Jaké jsou tři pozitivní a tři negativní vlastnosti vašeho sousedství / čtvrti? (Řekli byste, že jste na vaše sousedství / čtvrť hrdí?)
- Cítíte, že patříte do vašeho sousedství / čtvrti? Popsal(a) byste se jako Karlíňák / Smíchovák / Pražák-Pražan?
- Cítíte se v Karlíně / Smíchově doma?

Gentrifikace:

- Znáte termín gentrifikace? Víte, co znamená? (vysvětlit)
- Myslíte si, že se gentrifikace odehrává ve Smíchově / Karlíně?