Blocking the pipeline for rural gentrification: where are the migrants?

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International Rural Gentrification (iRGENT)

Aim - undertake a cross-national integrated comparative study of the theory, forms and dynamics of rural gentrification encompassing France, UK and US
Gentrification is inherently a process of migration (Bondi, 1996)

In-migration of social group with relatively higher economic power (middle class)

Place X

Out-migration of social group with relatively lower economic power (working class)
Gentrification and migration

• Rural gentrification is a marker of in-migration (gentrifiers moving into places) – sub-national (LD/SD) and international migration

• Rural gentrification is a marker of out-migration (local population that is being displaced)

• Residential mobility (moving within the gentrified place)
Gentrification is sweeping through the countryside, riding shotgun on the collapse of Britain’s farming industry and in many places pricing locals out of the market (Guardian, 18/04/2006: 28)
Moving out of the global city

• ‘Estate agents have seen rises of 30%-40% in the number of Londoners moving out of town, and this has sent property price ripples throughout the south east.

• This drift has been emphasised by the fact that modern ways of working have enabled more people to spend more time than ever before working from home.

• If you only have to be in the London office twice a week, even a four or five hour round trip can start to become bearable’ (The Guardian, 4/1/03).
The economic recession of 2007/8?

• ‘Fearful of unemployment and faced with rising house prices and tightened credit conditions, many white collar city based workers... will have been feeling vulnerable through the recession.
• These concerns will have led many to leave these fashionable but expensive areas in favour of more affordable commuter towns on the fringes of the M25’ (Property Wire, 29/04/10)
London as a gentrified city-region?
“Affluence artery” (London-Portsmouth)

- Close to nature: the Wey Navigation Canal near Farncombe offers families a chance to relax and enjoy the countryside while being just 43 minutes from London. Not surprisingly, prices are rocketing.

- Trains heading south-west out of Waterloo station cut through some of the loveliest open countryside in Britain before arriving at the coast. The towns and villages along this London-Portsmouth line are so wealthy that it has become known as the UK’s "affluence artery", attracting well-paid professionals from the capital.
The appeal of rural places for counter-urban migrants

- Fuelled by imaginations of idyllic rurality (security, safety, community, bucolic, healthy, peaceful, tranquil)
- Motivated by the desire for a rural lifestyle and rural way of life (horses, walking, fresh air, cycling, running, playing)
- Involves affluent, relatively young, new middle class families with kids (commute back to metropolitan centres for employment)
- Consumption of ‘country property’ / rural residence
Media discourses & league tables: Britain’s richest ‘millionaire villages’

• Village England will never be the same again. Even during the recession, wealth has quietly seeped into favoured rural enclaves and they have officially become “millionaire villages”. (The Telegraph, 28/3/11)
London city-region
The ‘eight tentacles’ of the global city region – motorways and rail
Institutional discourses
Bruton, Somerset

Anatomy of rural gentrification: how Bruton became hip

A Somerset town has been dubbed the most fashionable place in Britain, with celebrities and wealthy professionals flocking to the area. "Bruton has everything," says one resident, who notes the town's diverse range of shops, restaurants, and cultural attractions.

The Telegraph

The Somerset town that celebrities just can't keep away from

Why has Bruton suddenly become a magnet for the wealthy and glamorous?
Bruton (The Telegraph, 3/4/15)

• “Bruton has a hip and cool environment that reminds me of Notting Hill in the early days. It’s very creative and wealthy and everyone mixes. You can find yourself at a party in someone’s garden, among farmers and celebrities, discussing the nutritional value of grass.”

• Mariella Frostrup: moved from London to Bruton:
  – “I’ve just left the kids running across the field to their friend’s house. They can’t believe that they are allowed to do something on their own. There’s a lovely park in Kensington [London] for children but can’t go in without an adult. **Children need space and they need to get mucky. My son has been jumping in the mud** while we’ve been here.”
Marlborough, Wiltshire
(Duchess of Cambridge/SamCam)

• ‘It has the ideal combination of being in proper countryside, but still accessible from London—it’s about as far west as anyone is prepared to go if they need to commute daily.’ ‘Although it’s in Wiltshire, it’s very much west-Berkshire orientated, by which I mean that people who live there are still London-centric. They use the capital on a regular basis.’
Conceptualising gentrification as an Act of Migration

- Displacement of low income households from local housing market
- Inflation of property/rent and land values / less affordable housing
- Exclusion of low income households from local infrastructures
- Development of new-build high cost housing
- Changing landscapes
- Population change
- Cultural change
- In-migration of affluent households and students
- Exclusive cultural industries
- Resentment from established communities due to senses of loss and dispossession
- Feelings of not belonging to the local area
- Reorientation of private and public services
- Conceptualising gentrification as an Act of Migration
Definition of Gentrification
Warde (1991) – 1) Social

Gentrification: is a process of resettlement and **social concentration**, a process of **displacement** of one group of residents with another of higher status, entailing **new patterns of social segregation**.
Definition of Gentrification

Warde (1991) – 2) Cultural

Gentrification: is a gathering together of persons (Migrants) with a putatively shared culture and lifestyle, or at least shared, class-related, consumer preference.
Definition of Gentrification
Warde (1991) – 3) Economic

Gentrification: is an economic reordering of property values, a commercial opportunity for the construction industry, and generally, an extension of the system of the private ownership of domestic Property (by migrants).
Definition of Gentrification
Warde (1991) – 4) Physical

Gentrification: is a transformation in the built environment, via building work (by or for migrants), that exhibits some common distinctive, aesthetic features and the emergence of certain types of local service provision.
Eric Clark (2005: 58)

• ‘Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital.

• The greater the difference in socio-economic status, the more noticeable the process, not least because the more powerful the new users are, the more marked will be the concomitant change in the built environment.
Eric Clark (2005: 58)

• ‘It does not matter where, and it does not matter when. Any process of change fitting this description is, to my understanding, gentrification’ (Clark, 2005: 258).
‘One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes -- upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages -- two rooms up and two down -- have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent periods -- which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation -- have been upgraded once again.’
Ruth Glass – London: Aspects of Change (1964)

‘Once the **process** of gentrification starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working **class** occupiers are **displaced**, and the **character of the district is changed**’ (p. viii)
Identifying rural gentrification?

% education degree-level or above and % Middle Class (for all 17,666 Rural Oas) [correlation coefficient = 0.8204774]
A ‘cheesey’ classification of rural gentrification (strength)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheddar strength</th>
<th>Ageing / time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vintage</td>
<td>18 months – 2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra Mature</td>
<td>15 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mature</td>
<td>9 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>5-6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mild</td>
<td>3 months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### New Cheese Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th># OAs</th>
<th>% with degrees</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vintage</td>
<td>1,782</td>
<td>44.58% +</td>
<td>517,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra Mature</td>
<td>1,782</td>
<td>40.64% - 44.57%</td>
<td>526,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mature</td>
<td>1,782</td>
<td>37.50% - 40.63%</td>
<td>525,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>1,782</td>
<td>34.84% - 37.49%</td>
<td>534,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mild</td>
<td>1,781</td>
<td>32.32% - 34.83%</td>
<td>519,866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (non-gentrifying)</td>
<td>8,757</td>
<td>&lt; 32.32% (less than rural mean)</td>
<td>2,632,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>17,666</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>5,255,815</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
USA Cheeses

Slide 6 – Map of cheese classifications. These classifications are created using % of the population with at least a bachelor’s degree as our indicator of rural gentrification, and tracts are divided at the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th deciles based
Cheese Classification by Rural-Urban Hierarchy (LAD) (based on % of working age residential population commuting into large urban employment poles; Labour Force Survey, 2014)

- Urban Pole
- Linked Rural (>40%)
- Semi-Linked Rural (20%-35%)
- Remote Rural (10%-20%)
- Very Remote Rural (<10%)

Labour Force Survey, 2014

Hierarchy (LAD) based on % of working age residential population commuting into large urban employment poles; Labour Force Survey, 2014

Loughborough University

#InspiringWinners since 1909
Cheese Classification by UK Region (as per cent of total rural output areas)

- East (n=2,891)
- East Midlands (n=1,881)
- London (n=27)
- North East (n=513)
- North West (n=1,281)
- South East (n=2,993)
- South West (n=3,263)
- Wales (n=1,696)
- West Midlands (n=1,699)
- Yorkshire (n=1,421)

- Vintage
- Extra Mature
- Mature
- Medium
- Mild
- Other

Loughborough University

#InspiringWinners since 1909
Property price (median) – cheese categories

England and Wales
Median sales price by dwelling type and output area (£)
1995-2014

- Vintage
- Extra
- Mature
- Medium
- Mild
- All Others

Loughborough University
#InspiringWinners since 1909
BUT…

• Geographies of rural gentrification?
• Are all rural vintage (etc) output areas the same?
  – How does education (capital/assets) intersect with other axes of difference (other capitals/assets)?
• What are the ‘signatures’ of rural gentrification?
• Reproduction of different geographies – Elective belonging (Savage) & ‘People like us’ (Butler)
New Middle Class Typology (SOC 2010)

- **Managers and Industrialists**
  - 1. Managers, directors and senior officials (Minor group level)
  - 246. Quality and Regulatory Professionals
- **Commercial New Middle Class**
  - 35. Business and Public Service Associate Professionals
- **Technical Middle Class**
  - 21. Science, Research, Engineering and Technology Professionals
- **Creative Middle Class**
  - 34. Culture, Media and Sports Occupations
  - 247. Media Professionals
- **Traditional Professional Middle Class**
  - 24. Business, Media and Public Service Professionals
  - 352. Legal Associate Professionals
- **Welfare and Educational Middle Class**
  - 22. Health Professionals
  - 23. Teaching and Educational Professionals
  - 244. Welfare Professionals
  - 245. Librarians and Related Professionals
- **Petite Bourgeoisie**

Calculated: N= & % (Quartiles) for the 17,666 rural OAs only
- Chief Executives and Senior Officials
- Production Managers and Directors
- Functional Managers and Directors
- Financial Institution Managers and Directors
- Managers and Directors in Transport and Logistics
- Senior Officers in Protective Services
- Health and Social Services Managers and Directors
- Managers and Directors in Retail and Wholesale
- Managers and Proprietors in Agriculture Related Services
- Managers and Proprietors in Hospitality and Leisure Services
- Managers and Proprietors in Health

#InspiringWinners since 1909
- Chief Executives and Senior Officials
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- Managers and Proprietors in Hospitality and Leisure Services
- Managers and Proprietors in Health
Legal Associate Professionals

Legal Professionals
- Solicitors and lawyers, judges and coroners
- Legal professionals n.e.c.

Business And Statistical Professionals
- Chartered and certified accountants
- Management accountants
- Management consultants, actuaries, economists and statisticians

Architects, Town Planners, Surveyors
- Architects
- Town planners
- Quantity surveyors
- Chartered surveyors (not quantity surveyors)
Business And Finance Associate Professionals
- Estimators, valuers and assessors
- Brokers
- Insurance underwriters
- Finance and investment analysts/advisers
- Taxation experts
- Importers, exporters
- Financial and accounting technicians
- Business and related associate professionals n.e.c.

Sales And Related Associate Professionals
- Buyers and purchasing officers
- Sales representatives
- Marketing associate professionals
- Estate agents, auctioneers
- Conservation Associate Professionals
- Conservation and environmental protection officers
- Countryside and park rangers
- Public Service And Other Associate Professionals

Public service associate professionals
- Personnel and industrial relations officers
- Vocational and industrial trainers and instructors
- Careers advisers and vocational guidance specialists
- Inspectors of factories, utilities and trading standards
- Statutory examiners
- Occupational hygienists and safety officers (health and safety)
- Environmental health officers

Transport Associate Professionals
- Air traffic controllers
- Aircraft pilots and flight engineers
- Ship and hovercraft officers
- Train drivers

#InspiringWinners since 1909
Natural and Social Science Professionals
- Chemical scientists
- Biological scientists and biochemists
- Physical scientists
- Social and humanities scientists
- Natural and social science professionals n.e.c.

Engineering Professionals
- Civil engineers
- Mechanical engineers
- Electrical engineers
- Electronics engineers
- Design and development engineers
- Production and process engineers
- Engineering professionals n.e.c.

Information Technology and Telecommunications Professionals
- IT specialist managers
- IT project and programme managers
- IT business analysts, architects and systems designers
- Programmers and software development professionals
- Web design and development professionals
- 2139 Information technology and telecommunications professionals n.e.c.

Conservation and Environment Professionals
- 2141 Conservation professionals
- 2142 Environment professionals

Research and Development Managers
- 2150 Research and development managers
Health Professionals
- Medical practitioners
- Psychologists
- Pharmacists/pharmacologists
- Ophthalmic opticians
- Dental practitioners
- Veterinarians

Teaching Professionals
- Higher education teaching professionals
- Further education teaching professionals
- Education officers, school inspectors
- Secondary education teaching professionals
- Primary and nursery education teaching professionals
- Special needs education teaching professionals
- Registrars and senior administrators of educational establishments
- Teaching professionals n.e.c.

Research Professionals
- Scientific researchers
- Social science researchers
- Researchers n.e.c.

Public Service Professionals
- Public service administrative professionals
- Social workers
- Probation officers
- Clergy

Librarians And Related Professionals
- Librarians
- Archivists and curators

#InspiringWinners since 1909
Artistic And Literary Occupations
- Artists
- Authors, writers
- Actors, entertainers
- Dancers and choreographers
- Musicians
- Arts officers, producers and directors

Design Associate Professionals
- Graphic designers
- Product, clothing and related designers

Media Associate Professionals
- Journalists, newspaper and periodical editors

Broadcasting associate professionals
- Public relations officers
- Photographers and audio-visual equipment operators

Sports And Fitness Occupations
- Sports players
- Sports coaches, instructors and officials
- Fitness instructors
- Sports and fitness occupations n.e.c.
Conclusion

- Limited post-recession in-migration/static local housing markets? Why?
- Low supply of appealing housing for sale. Why?
  - Limited out-migration/’new town’ gentrifiers staying-put
    - Ageing in place (‘When I leave this village it will be in a long black taxi and I will be horizontal in a pine box’)
    - Happy with my lot (‘where would I go?’)
    - Logistics/costs of moving
    - Close to longstanding friends and family/support networks (widowhood)
    - Part of local community activities (fear of loneliness)
    - Anxieties about impacts of Brexit/pension funds
  - Lack of gentrifiable rural housing
    - Restrictive planning regimes / opposition to new housing developments
    - Everywhere has already been gentrified? Housing is costly everywhere.
Conclusion

• Rural gentrification as a blocker of migration – an unintentional consequence?

• We need to think about the legacies and histories of rural gentrification on migration flows and processes
  – Lifecourses of gentrifiers (ageing populations and childless populations)
    • When mature gentrifier populations die out = new waves of gentrification (super-gentrification)?

• In the context of strict and ambitious govt. new-build housing targets = fuelling in-migration?
Gentrification and migration

- Processes of rural gentrification: a thing of the past?
- Or, about to be reignited by new-build housing developments (Garden Villages, 200k)?