

# 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



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**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)

# Media representations – migration into the countryside

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)

**Homes & Property** With just a 5% deposit, a home of your own is within reach. **243** Ealing Road LONDON

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Greater London | UK areas | All areas: A-Z index

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## London's commuter towns within 30 minutes of Waterloo: Worplesdon and Farncombe

The towns and villages along the London-Portsmouth line are so wealthy it's known as the "affluence artery", we reveal which neighbourhoods offer the best value.

Ruth Bloomfield | Publish Date: 30 July 2015

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Location

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e.g. Oxford or NW3

Min price: No min | Max price: No max

Type: Show all | Beds: No min

SEARCH

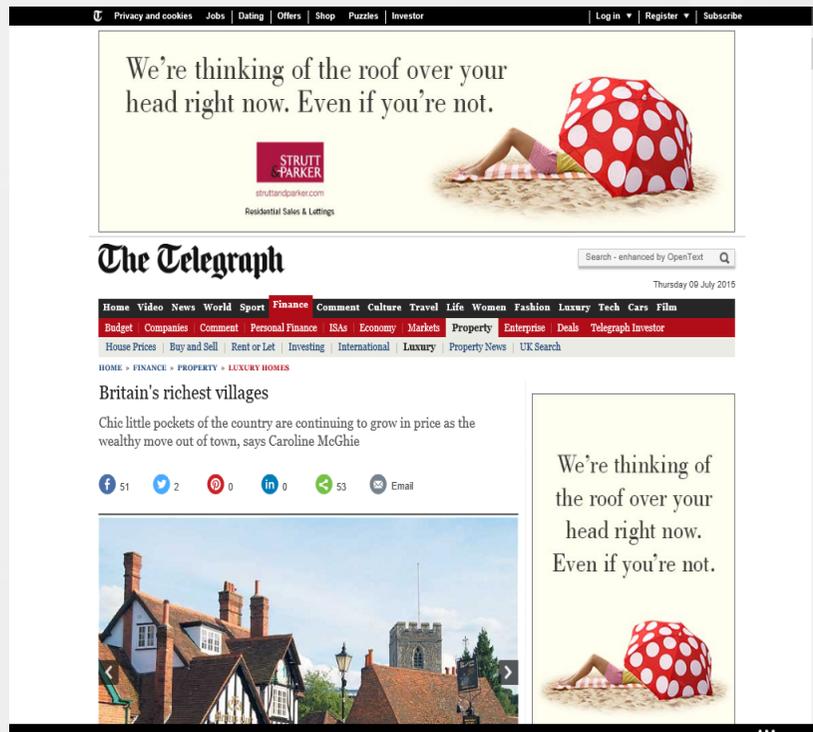
With just a 5% deposit, a home of your own is within reach. **243** Ealing Road LONDON

- 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.

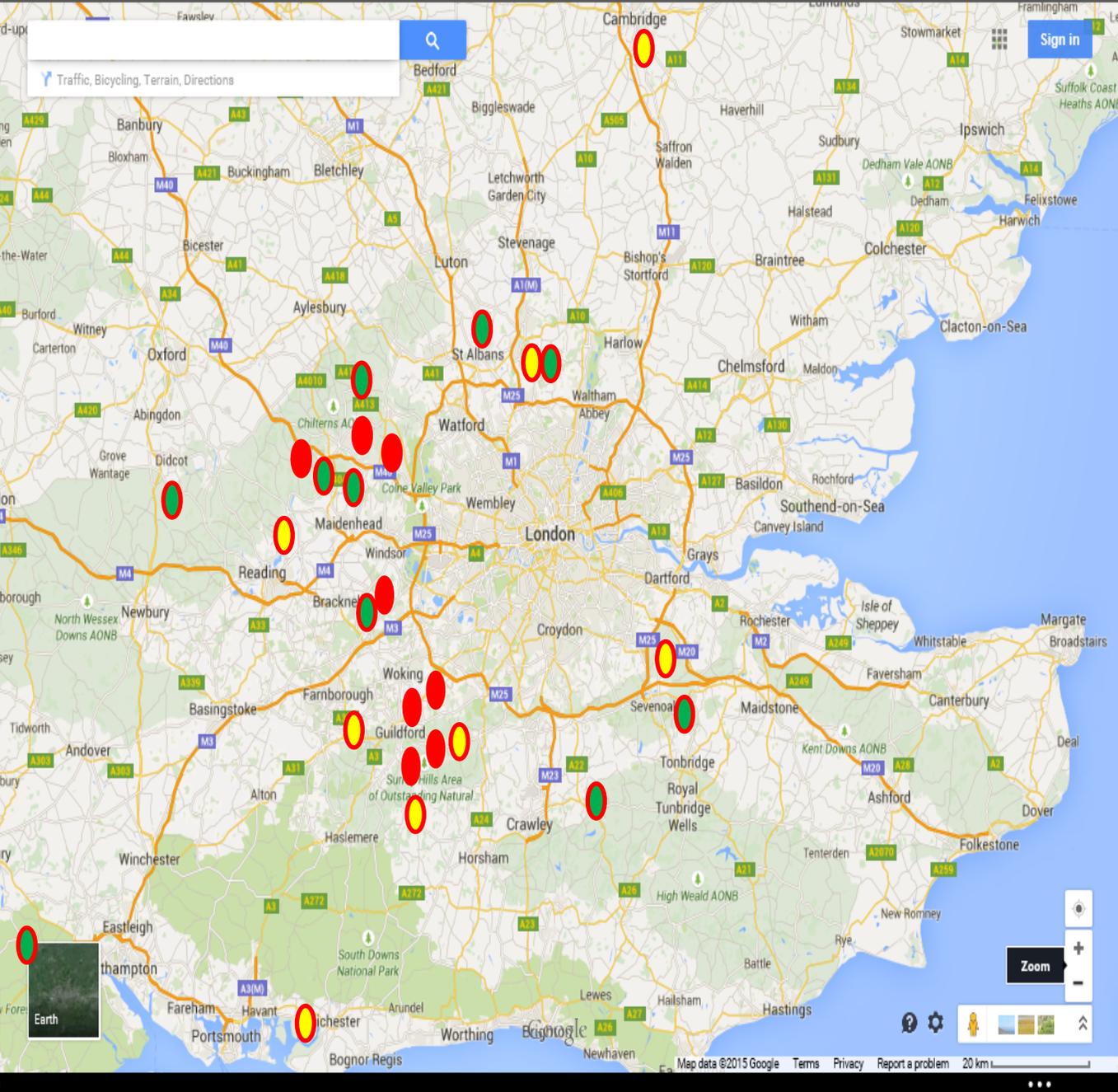
# The appeal of rural places for counter-urban migrants

- 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'

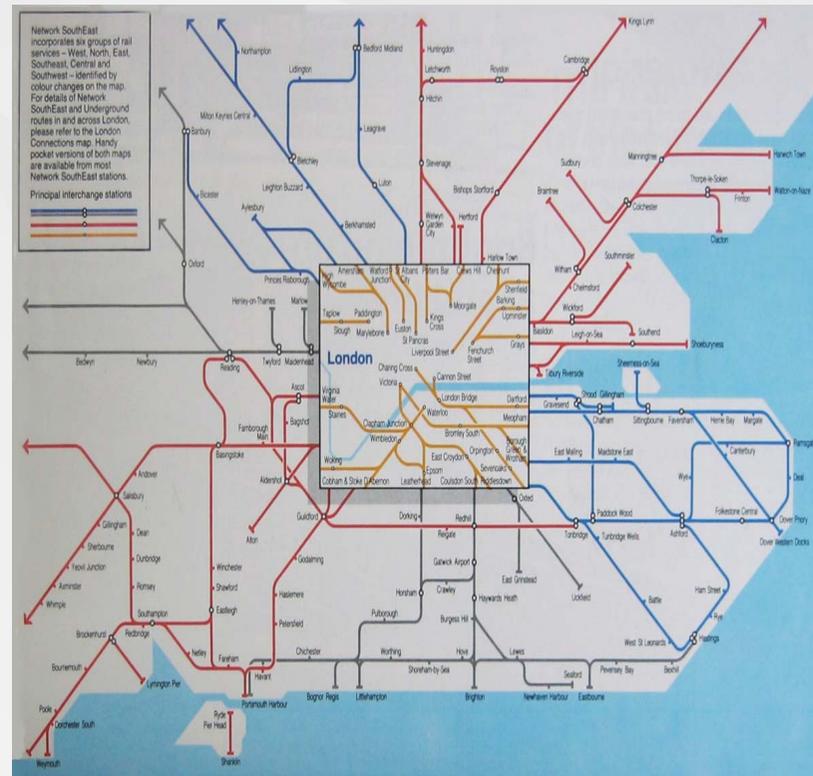
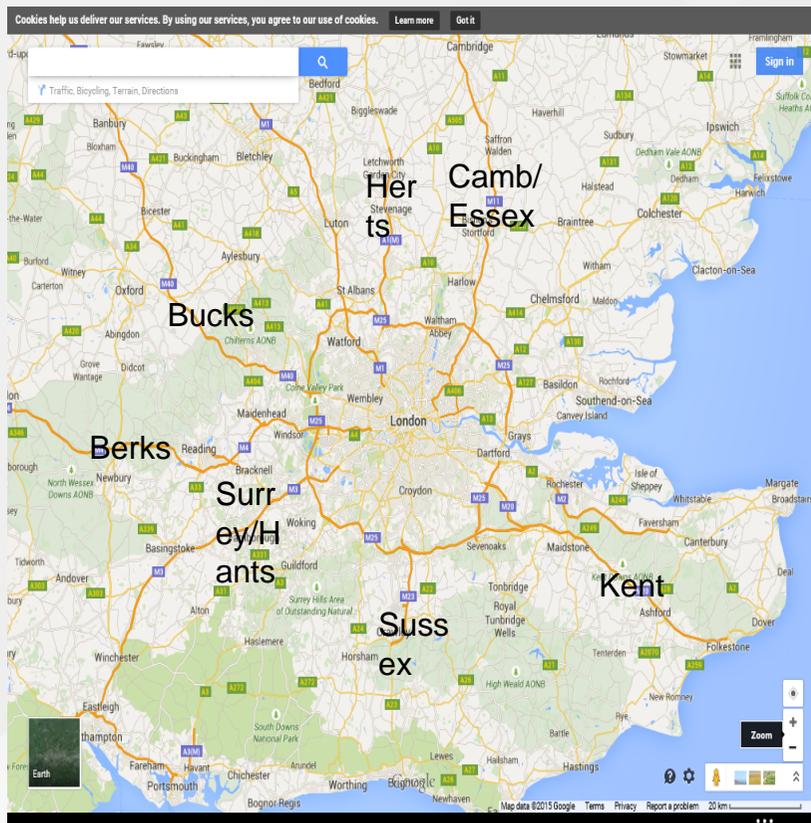


- Village England will never be the same again. Even during the recession, wealth has quietly seeped into favoured rural enclaves and they have officially become “millionaire villages”. (The Telegraph, 28/3/11)



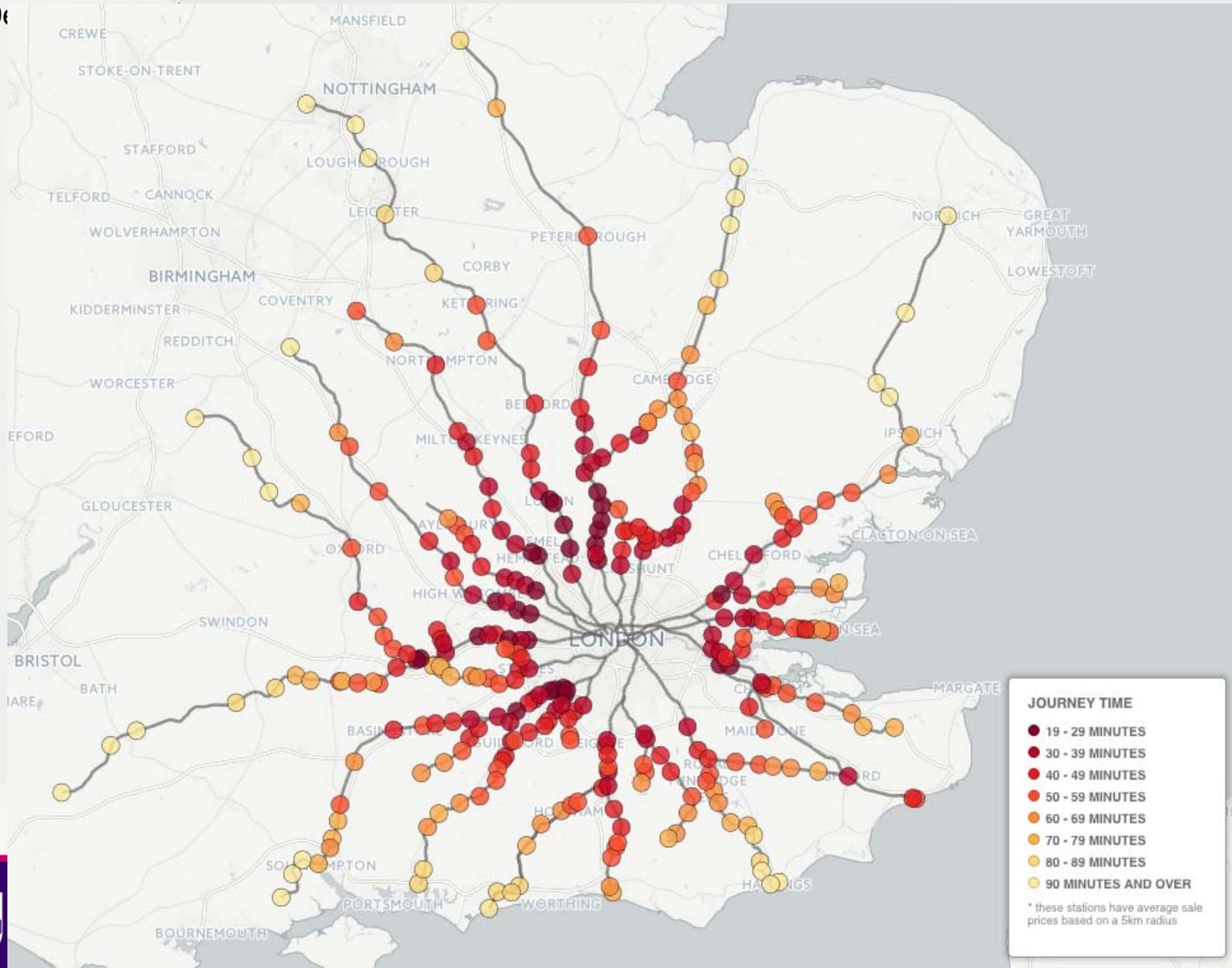


# The 'eight tentacles' of the global city region – motorways and rail

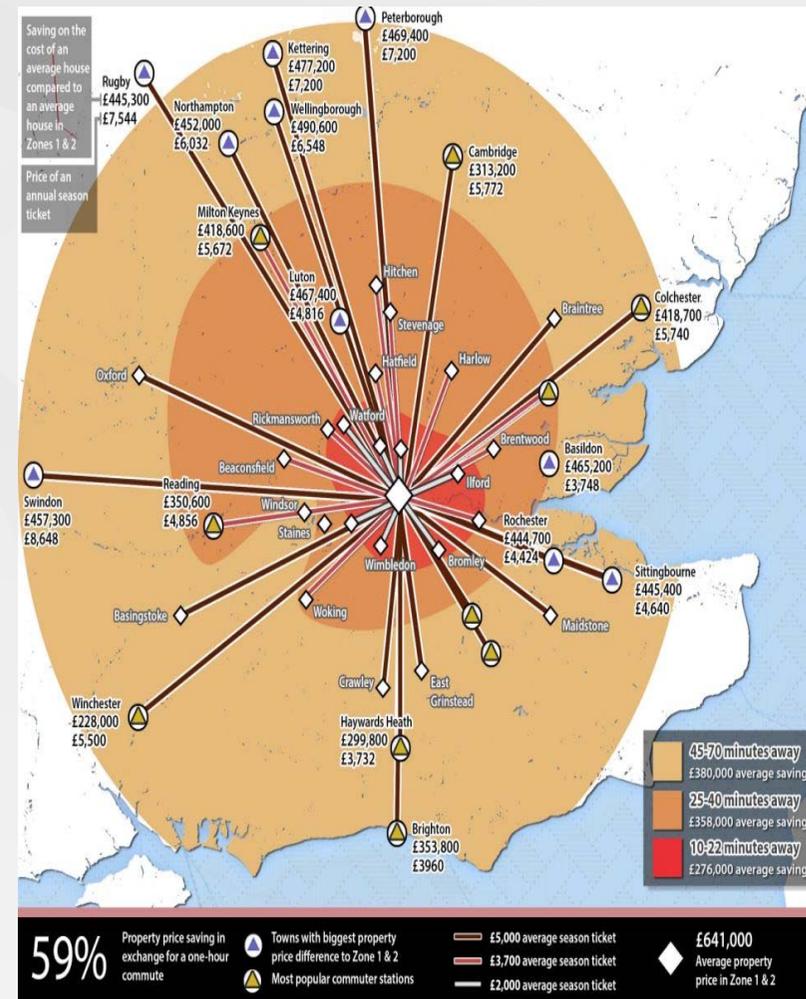




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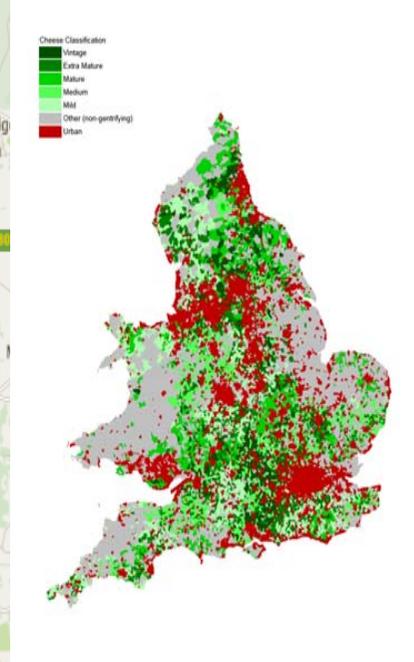
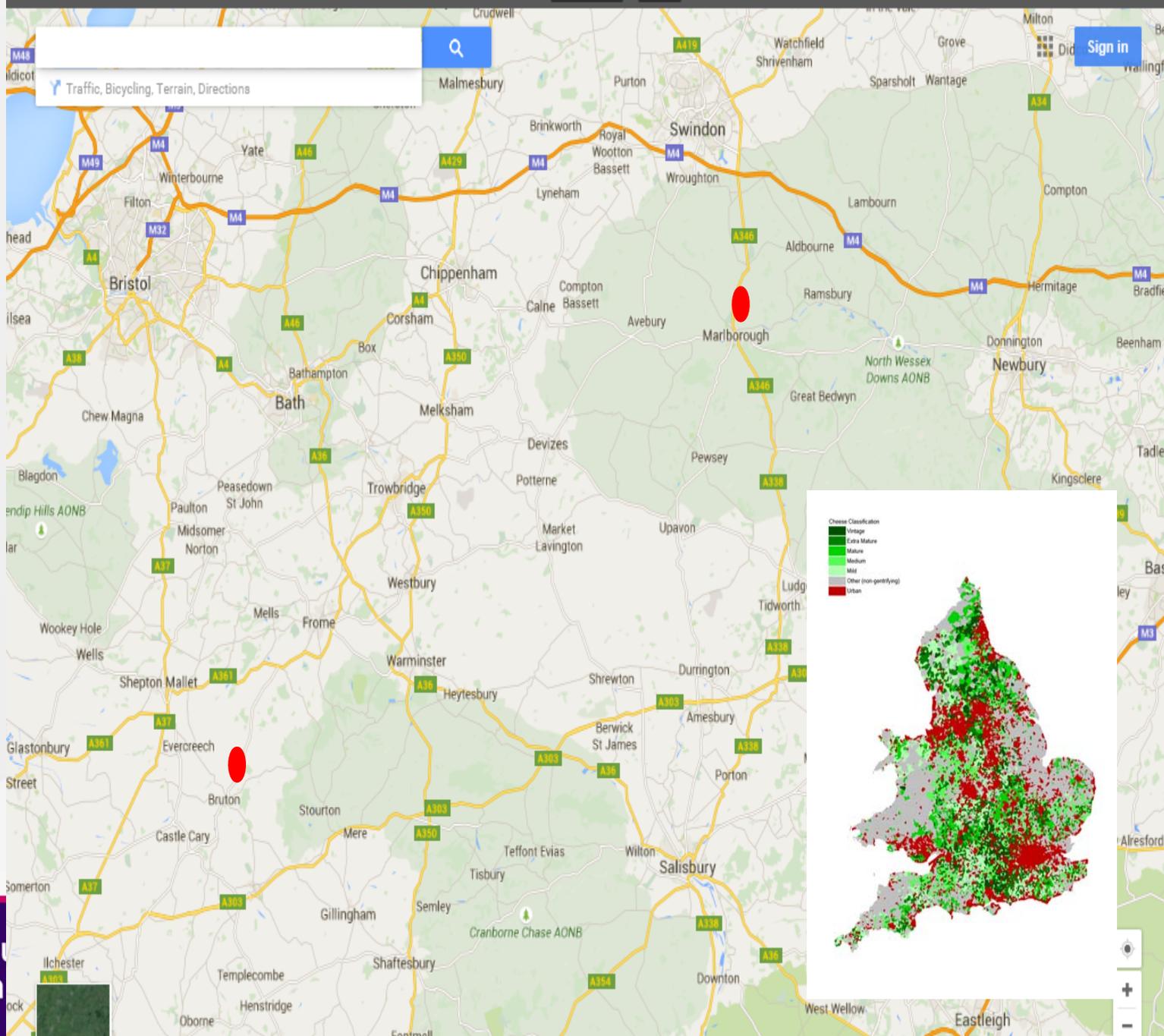
# Institutional discourses



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Since 1909

# Bruton, Somerset

The screenshot shows the Sunday Times website interface. At the top, there are navigation links for 'THE TIMES', 'THE SUNDAY TIMES', and 'TIMES+'. Below this is a search bar and a banner for 'Our sites are yours to'. The main header features 'THE SUNDAY TIMES' logo and a 'BRITAIN'S BEST BEACH HUT' award. A navigation menu includes 'NEWS', 'SPORT', 'BUSINESS', 'COMMENT', 'NEWS REVIEW', 'CULTURE', 'STYLE', 'TRAVEL', 'DRIVING', 'MAGAZINE', and 'PAPERS'. The main content area is titled 'Welcome to your preview of the Sunday Times' with a 'Subscribe now' button. The article featured is 'Anatomy of rural gentrification: how Bruton became hip' by Roland White, published on 21 September 2014. A sidebar on the left contains the text 'Find me a pack'. At the bottom, a mobile browser interface shows the URL 'www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/style/ho' and various navigation icons.

The screenshot shows The Telegraph website. At the top, there are navigation links for 'Privacy and cookies', 'Jobs', 'Dating', 'Offers', 'Shop', 'Puzzles', and 'Investor'. Below this is a search bar and a banner for 'We're thinking of the roof over your head right now. Even if you're not.' featuring a red polka-dot beanbag chair. The main header features 'The Telegraph' logo and a 'Search - enhanced by OpenText' bar. The date 'Thursday 09 July 2015' is displayed. A navigation menu includes 'Home', 'Video', 'News', 'World', 'Sport', 'Finance', 'Comment', 'Culture', 'Travel', 'Life', 'Women', 'Fashion', 'Luxury', 'Tech', 'Cars', and 'Film'. The main content area is titled 'The Somerset town that celebrities just can't keep away from' and 'Why has Bruton suddenly become a magnet for the wealthy and glamorous?'. A sidebar on the right features a property listing for 'Castelnau Gardens, Barnes SW13' with a guide price of £899,000. At the bottom, a mobile browser interface shows the URL 'www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/property/1' and various navigation icons.

# Bruton (The Telegraph, 3/4/15)

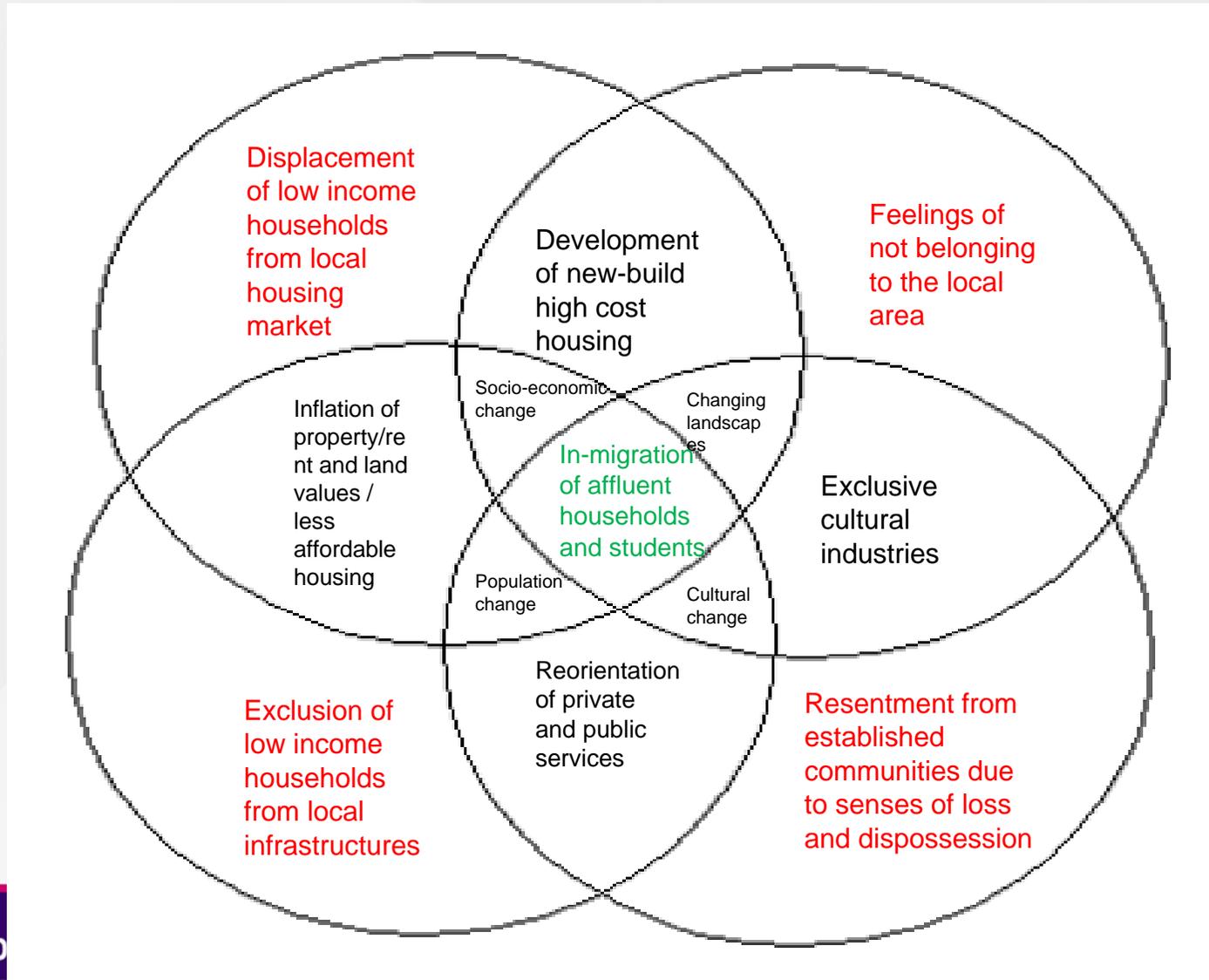
- “Bruton has a hip and cool environment that reminds me of Notting Hill in the early days. It’s very creative and wealthy and everyone mixes. You can find yourself at a party in someone’s garden, among farmers and celebrities, discussing the nutritional value of grass.”
- Mariella Frostrup: moved from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

The screenshot shows a property website with a navigation bar at the top containing links for 'Subscribe', 'Property', 'Gardens', 'Art & Antiques', 'Luxury', 'Food & Drink', and 'Culture'. Below the navigation is a search bar and a main article titled 'Marlborough: Wiltshire's creative capital' by Arabella Youens, dated November 29, 2014. The article text states: 'The small market town of Marlborough is emerging as something of a honeypot for the creative industry. Arabella Youens finds out why.' Below the text is a large photograph of a street in Marlborough. To the right of the article is a sidebar with a property listing for a building, featuring a cutaway image and the text: '5 km from Velthusa Ischia', 'Opposite Metro station', 'Contemporary elevation', 'Large homes from 2400 to 2840 sq. ft.', and 'Limited 2 BHK apts available'. Below this is a yellow call-to-action box: 'PAY JUST 20% NOW & REST ON INTIMATION OF POSSESSION. NO NEED FOR A HOME LOAN NOW. ENQUIRE NOW'. At the bottom of the sidebar is a 'Latest issue' section for 'Country Life July 8 2015' with a cover image and the headline 'We do like to be beside the sea Beach huts, deckchairs, BBQs and barnacles'.

- ‘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



# Definition of Gentrification

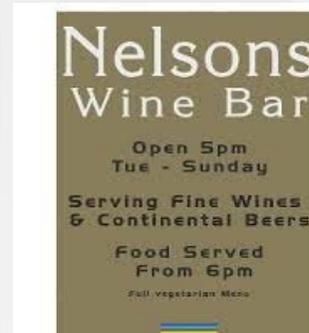
Warde (1991) – 1) Social

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).

## Ruth Glass – London: Aspects of Change (1964)

‘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.**’

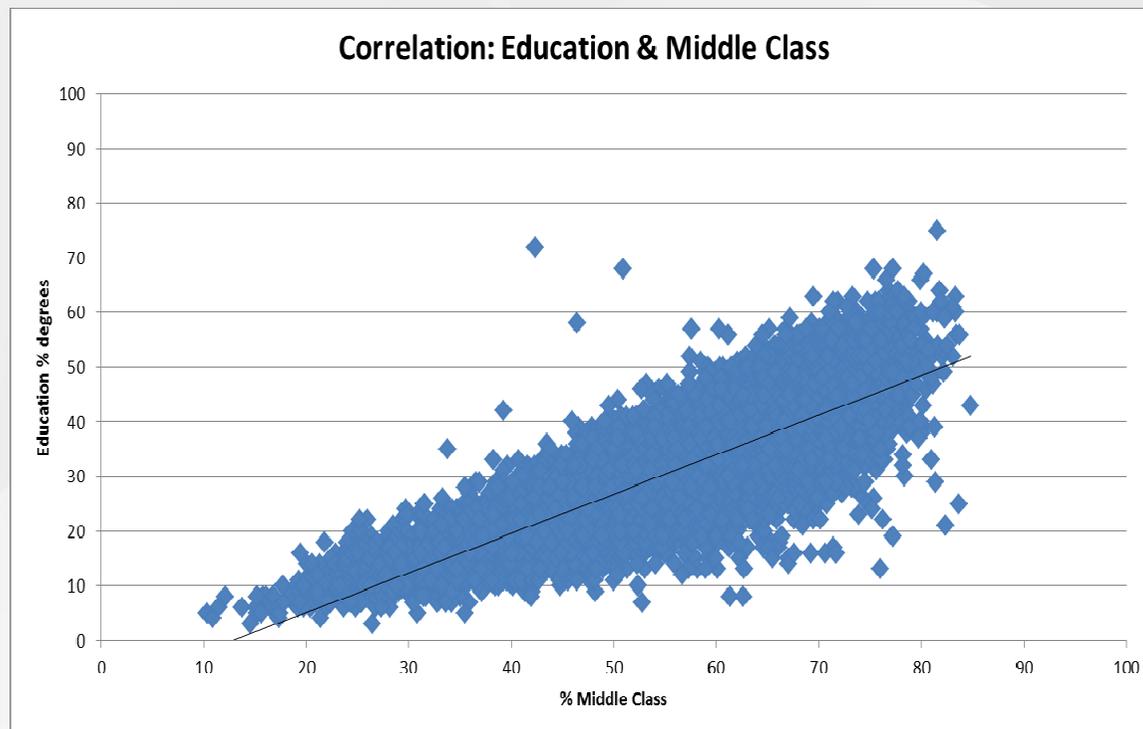
## Ruth Glass – London: Aspects of Change (1964)

‘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**]

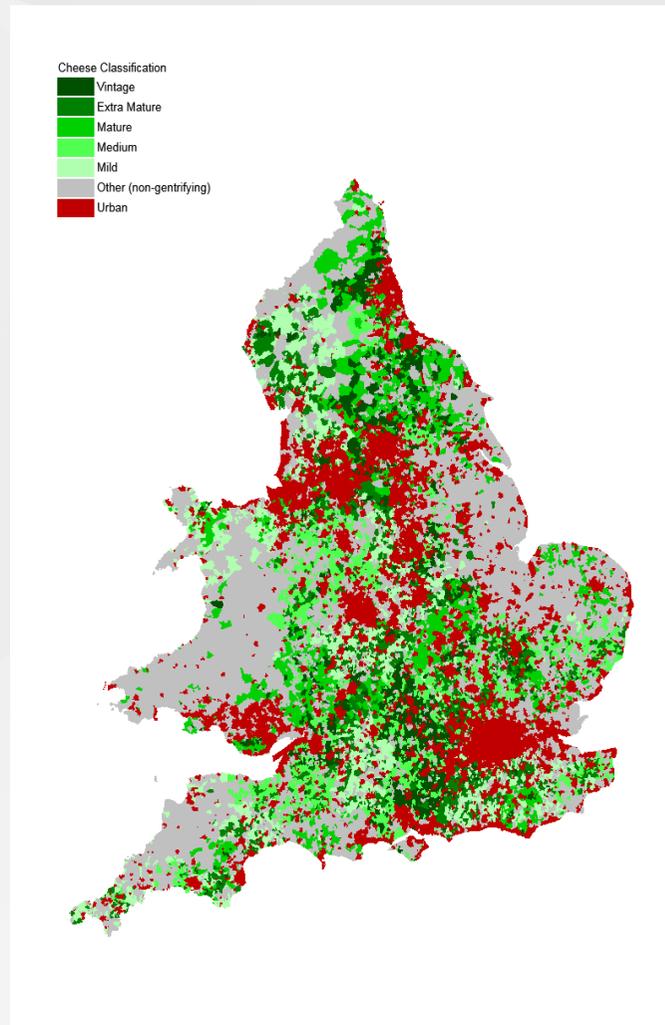


# A 'cheesey' classification of rural gentrification (strength)

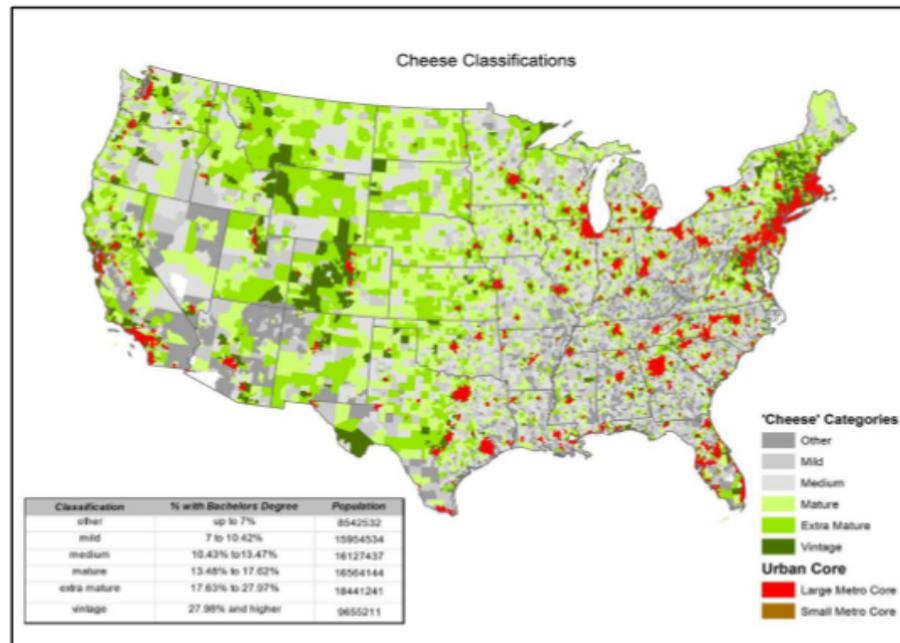
| Cheddar strength | Ageing / time       |
|------------------|---------------------|
| Vintage          | 18 months – 2 years |
| Extra Mature     | 15 months           |
| Mature           | 9 months            |
| Medium           | 5-6 months          |
| Mild             | 3 months            |

# New Cheese Classification

|                                | # OAs  | % with degrees                     | Population |
|--------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------|------------|
| Vintage                        | 1,782  | 44.58% +                           | 517,611    |
| Extra Mature                   | 1,782  | 40.64% - 44.57%                    | 526,542    |
| Mature                         | 1,782  | 37.50% - 40.63%                    | 525,287    |
| Medium                         | 1,782  | 34.84% - 37.49%                    | 534,435    |
| Mild                           | 1,781  | 32.32% - 34.83%                    | 519,866    |
| Other<br>(non-<br>gentrifying) | 8,757  | < 32.32% (less<br>than rural mean) | 2,632,074  |
| Totals                         | 17,666 |                                    | 5,255,815  |



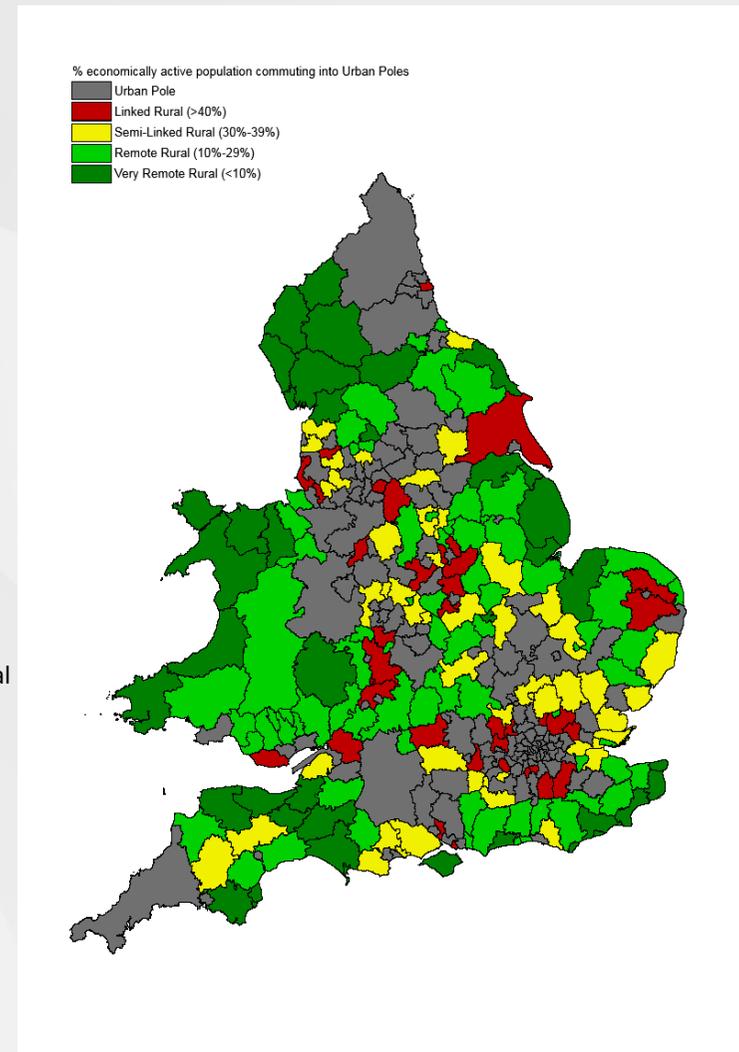
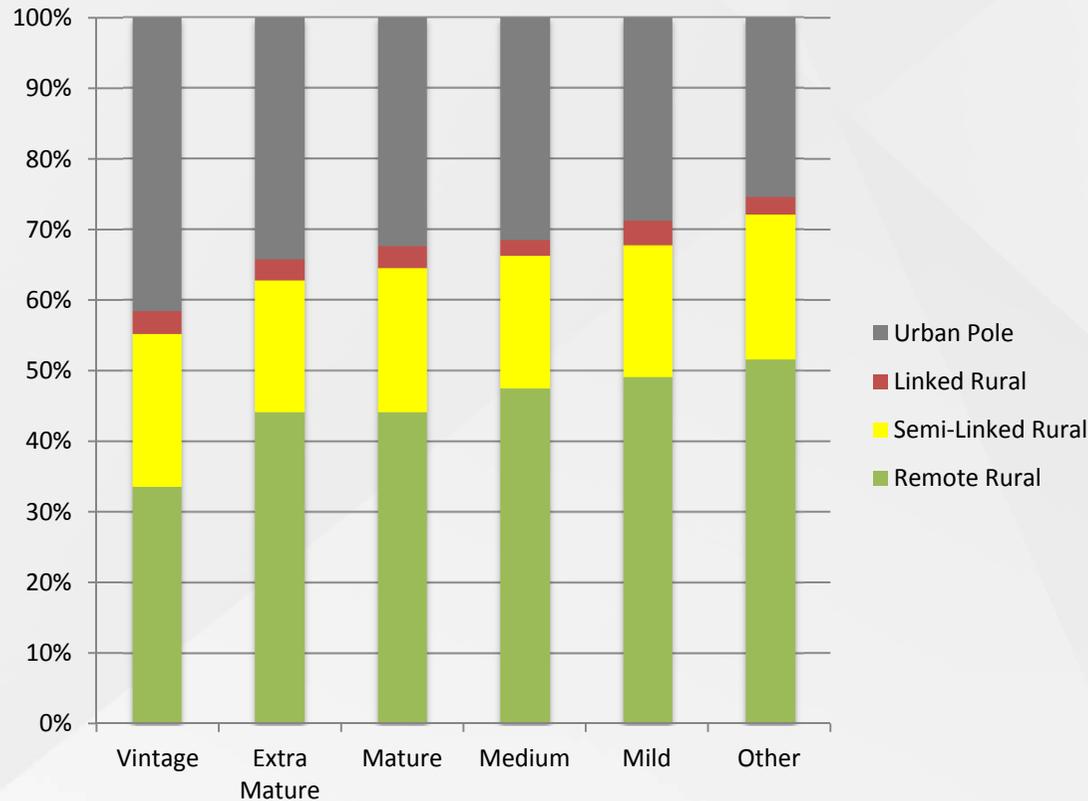
# USA Cheeses



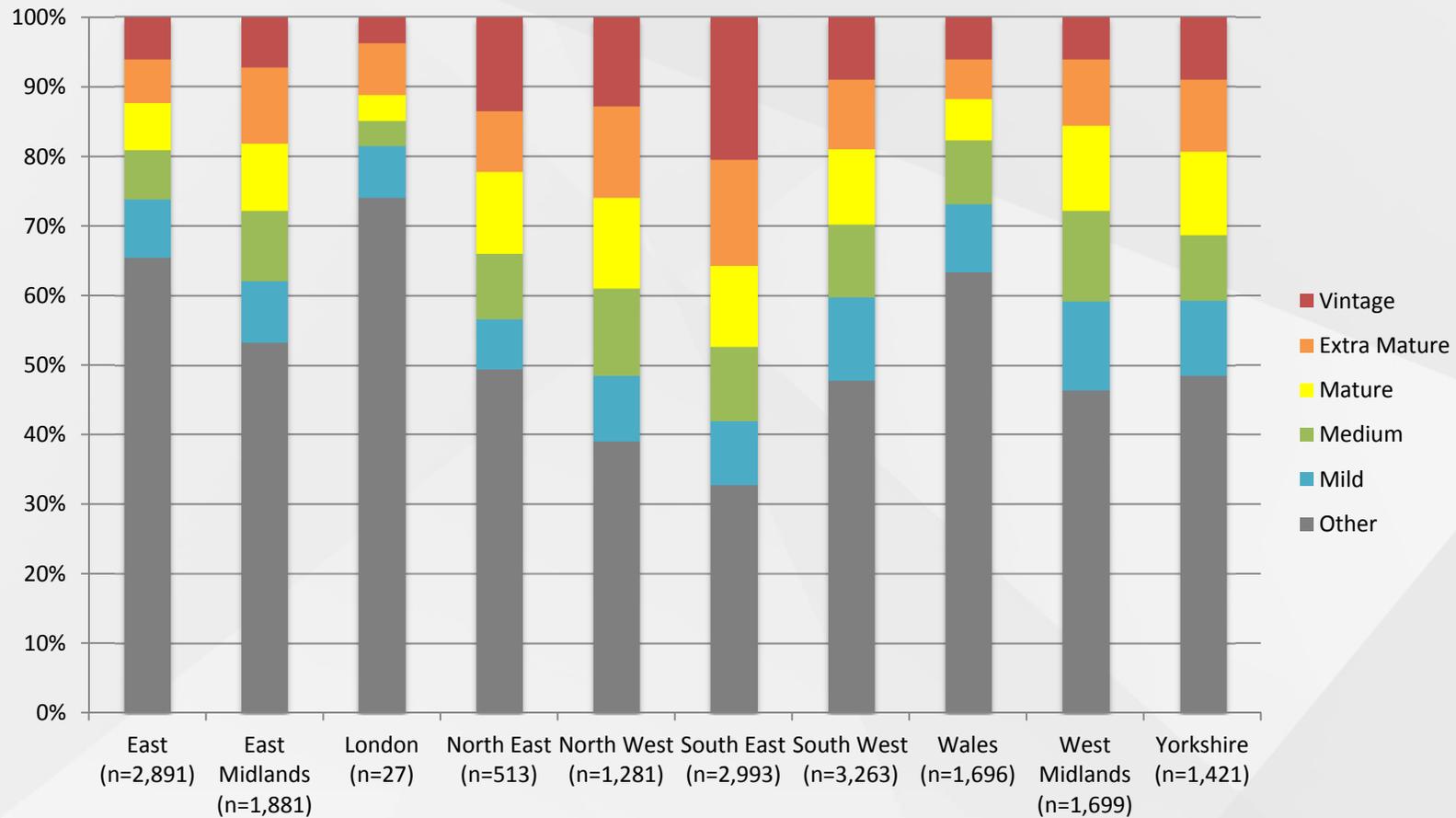
Slide 6 – Map of cheese classifications. These classifications are created using % of the population with at least a bachelor's degree as our indicator of rural gentrification, and tracts are divided at the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> deciles based

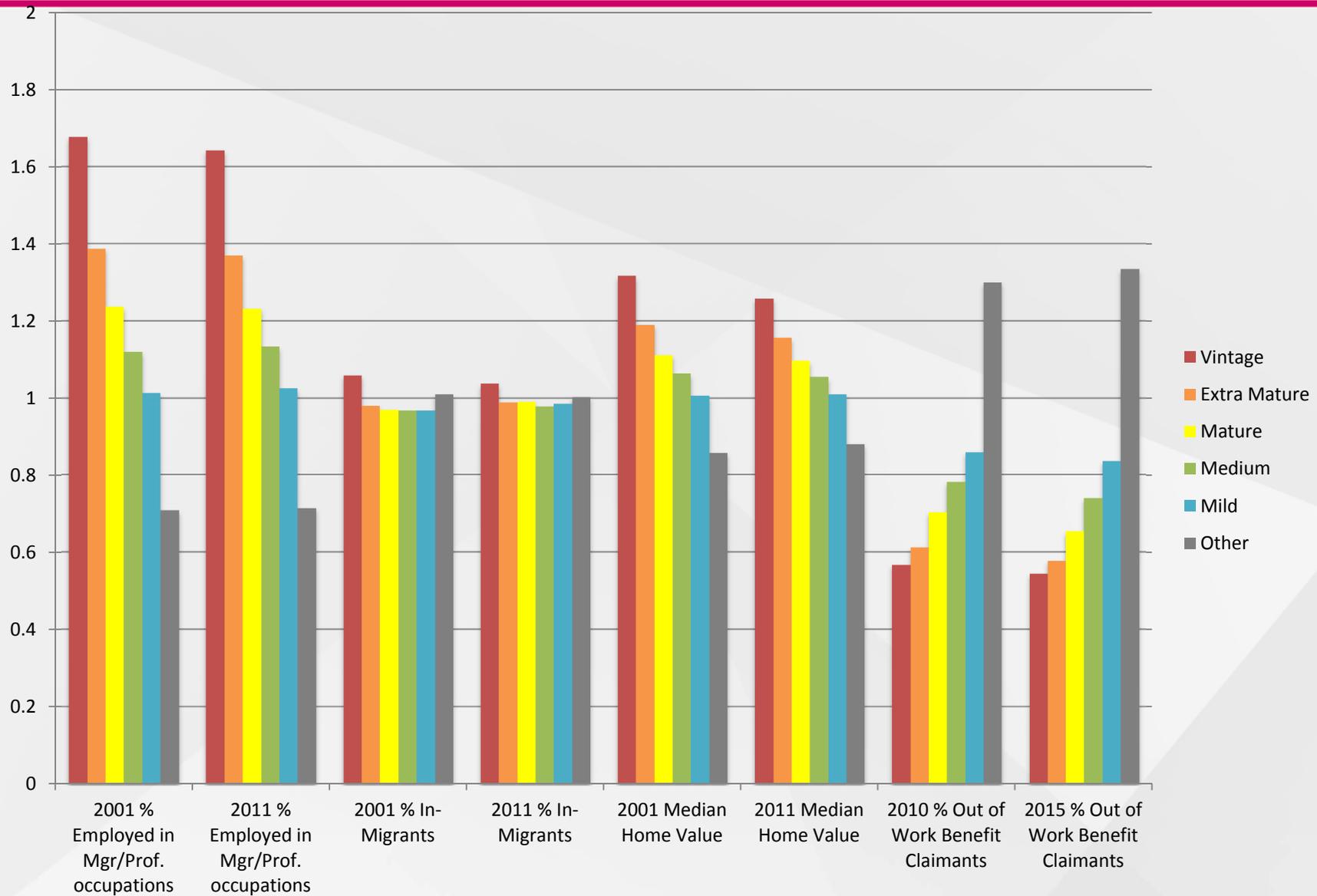
# Cheese Classification by Rural-Urban Hierarchy (LAD)

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



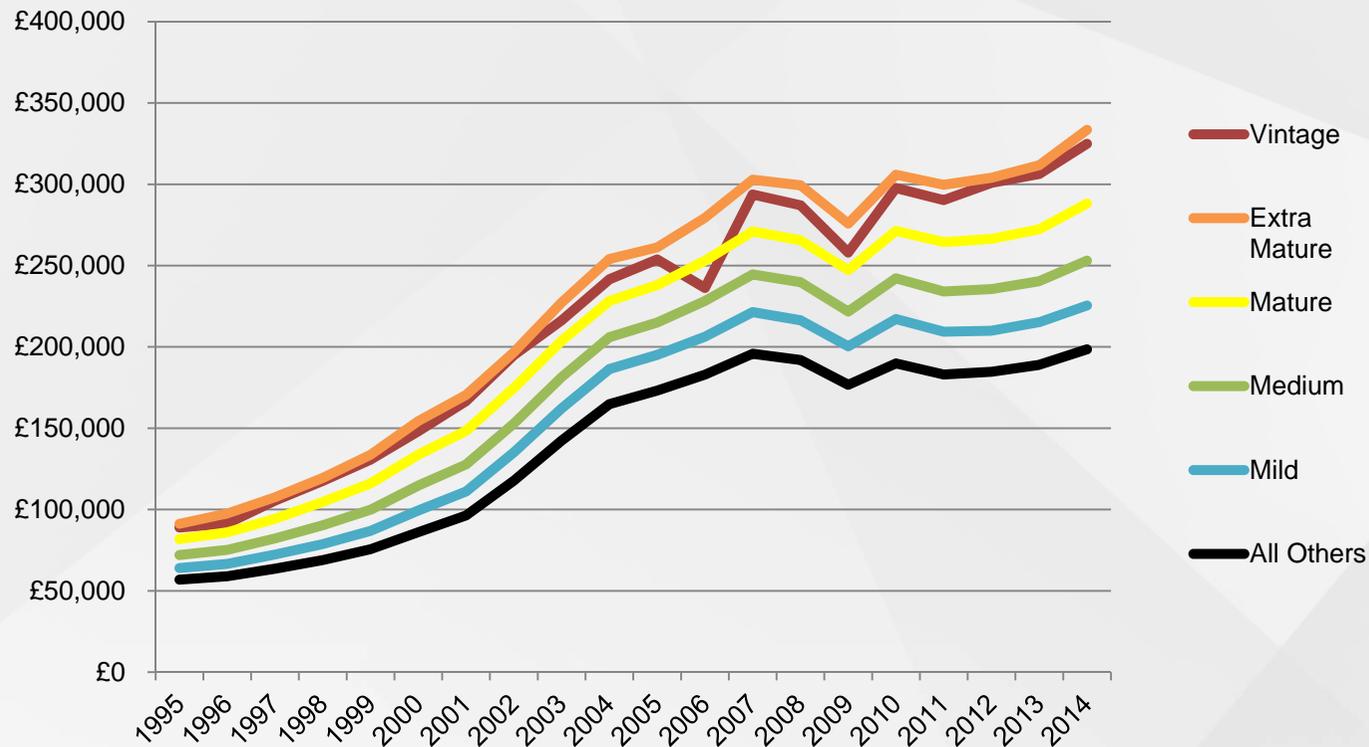
## Cheese Classification by UK Region (as per cent of total rural output areas)





# Property price (median) – cheese categories

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



# 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)

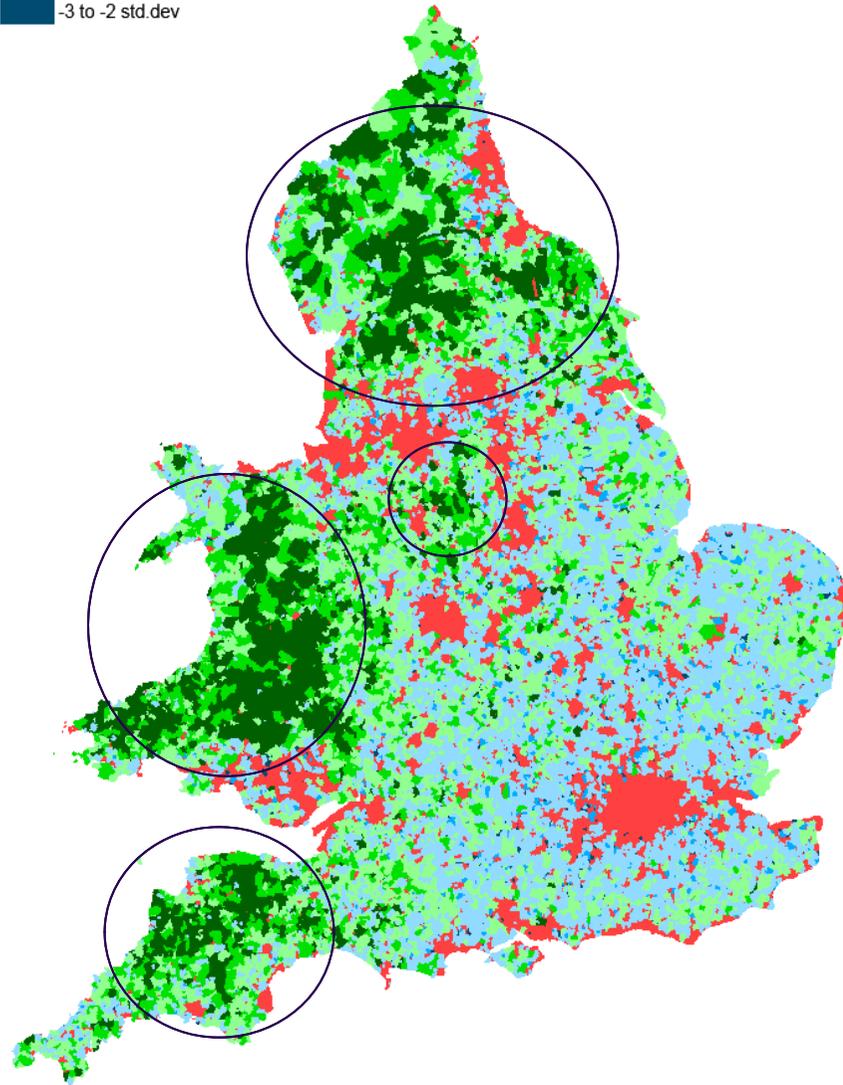
# New Middle Class Typology (SOC 2010)

- **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**

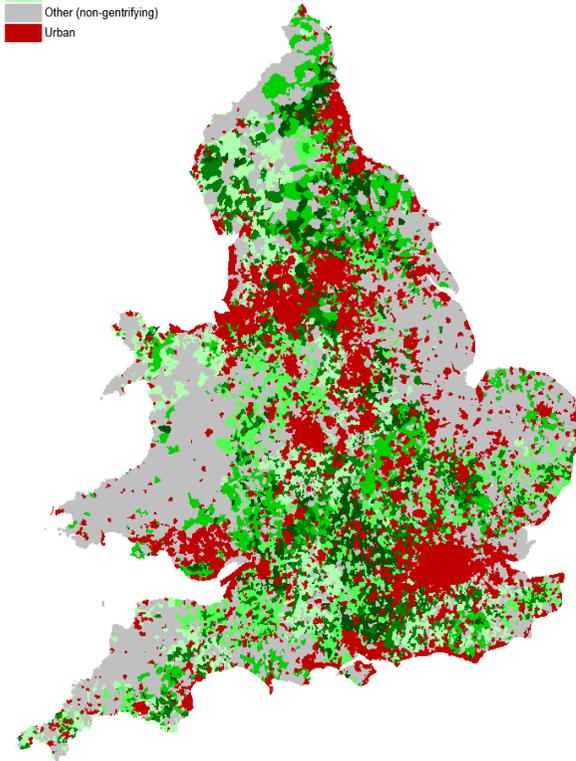
Calculated: N= & % (Quartiles) for the 17,666 rural OAs only

**% Agricultural Petit Bourgeois (2011)**

- 2 to 3 std.dev
- 1 to 2 std.dev
- Mean to 1 std.dev
- 1 to Mean (3.6)
- 2 to -1 std.dev
- 3 to -2 std.dev

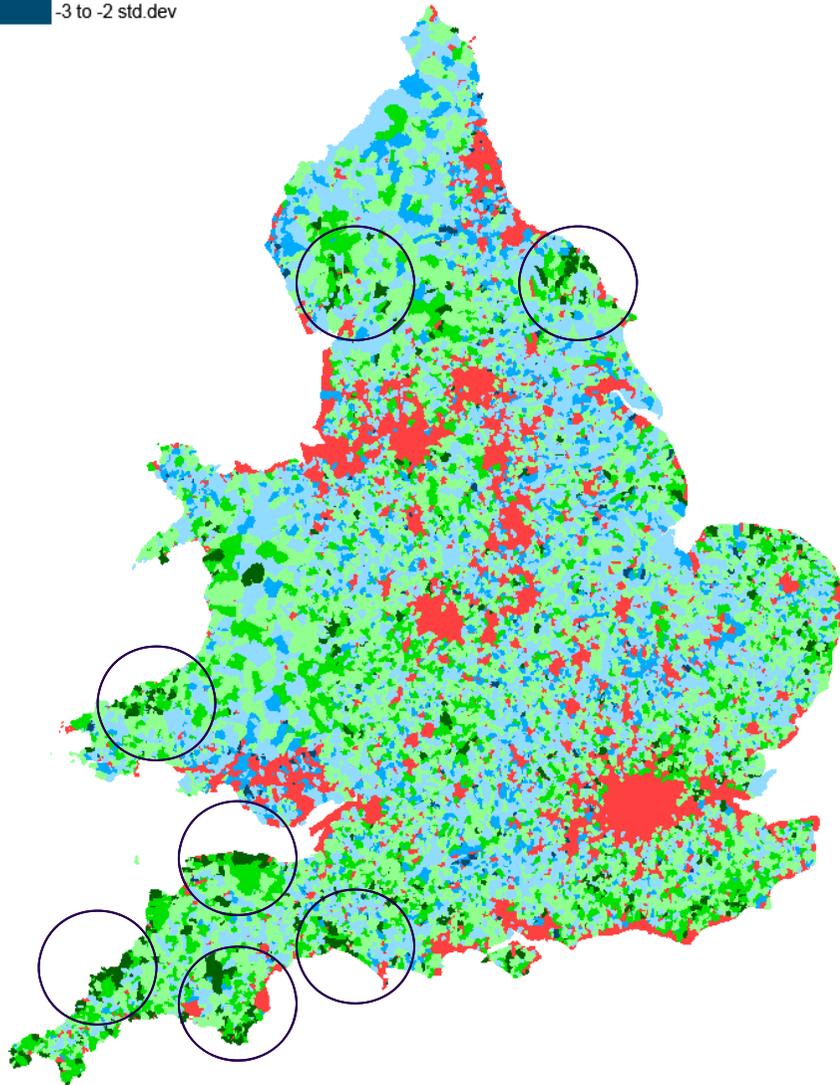
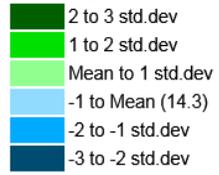


- Cheese Classification
- Vintage
  - Extra Mature
  - Mature
  - Medium
  - Mild
  - Other (non-gentrifying)
  - Urban



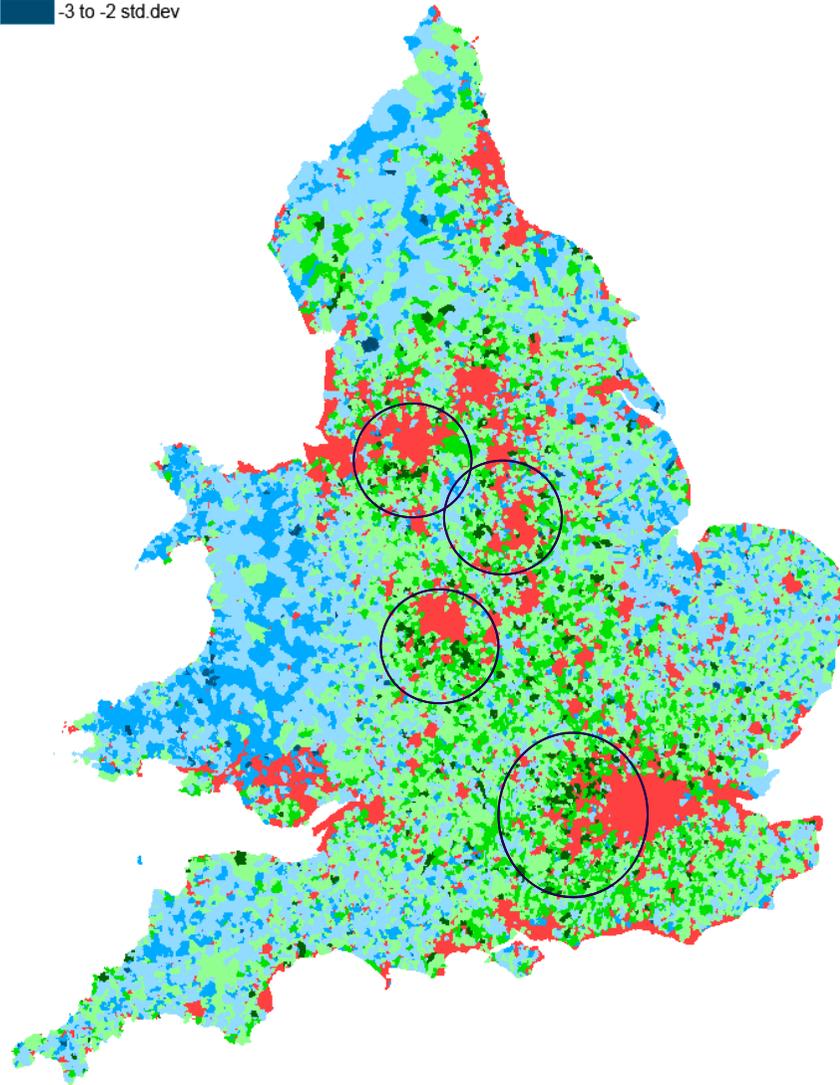
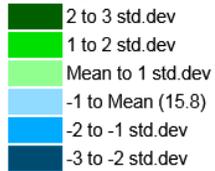
**#InspiringWinners** since 1909

% Non-Agricultural Petit Bourgeois (2011)



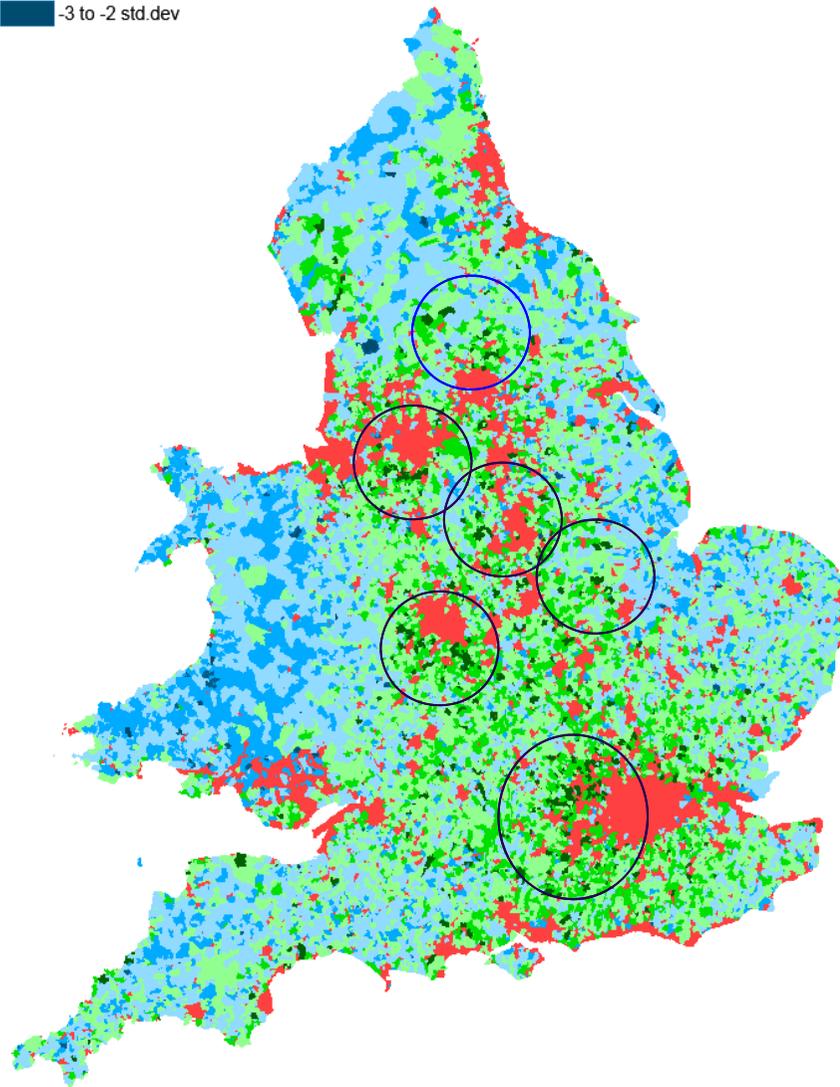
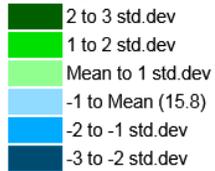
#InspiringWinners since 1909

% Managers & Industrialists (2011)



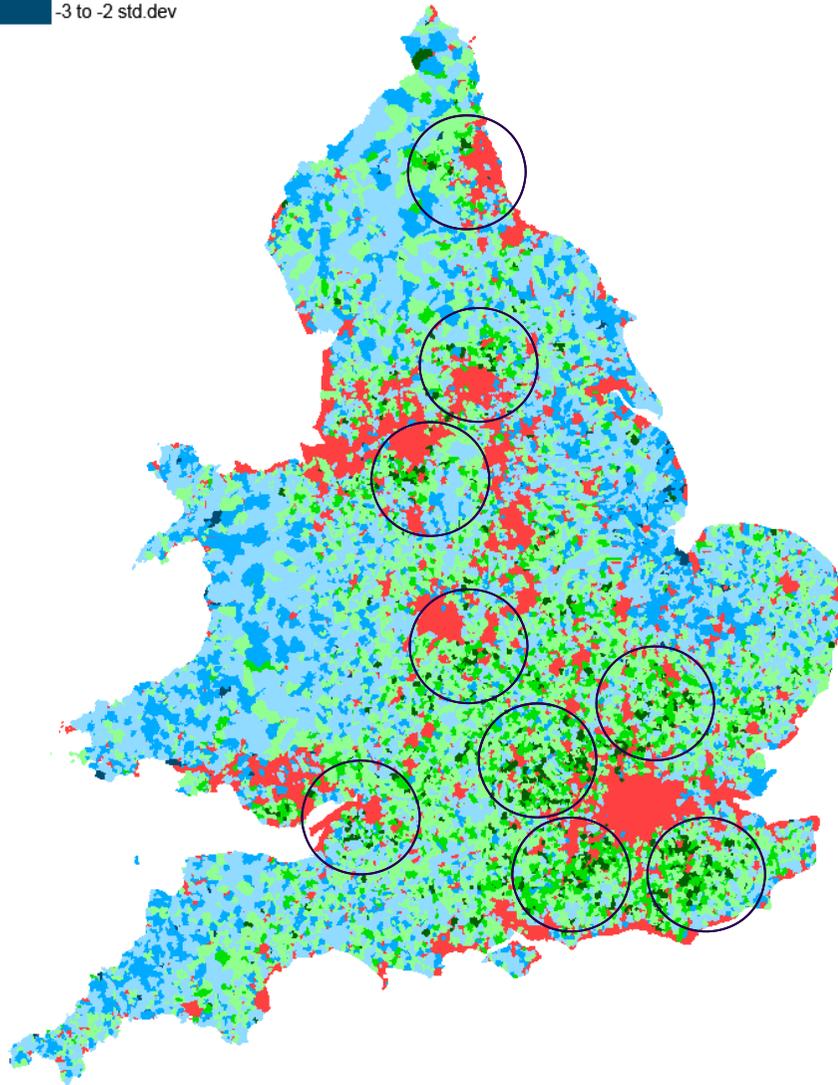
- Chief Executives and Senior Officials
- Production Managers and Directors
- Functional Managers and Directors
- Financial Institution Managers and Directors
- Managers and Directors in Transport and Logistics
- Senior Officers in Protective Services
- Health and Social Services Managers and Directors
- 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

% Managers & Industrialists (2011)



- Chief Executives and Senior Officials
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- Managers and Proprietors in Hospitality and Leisure Services
- Managers and Proprietors in Health

% Traditional Professional Middle Class (2011)



## Legal Associate Professionals

## Legal Professionals

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

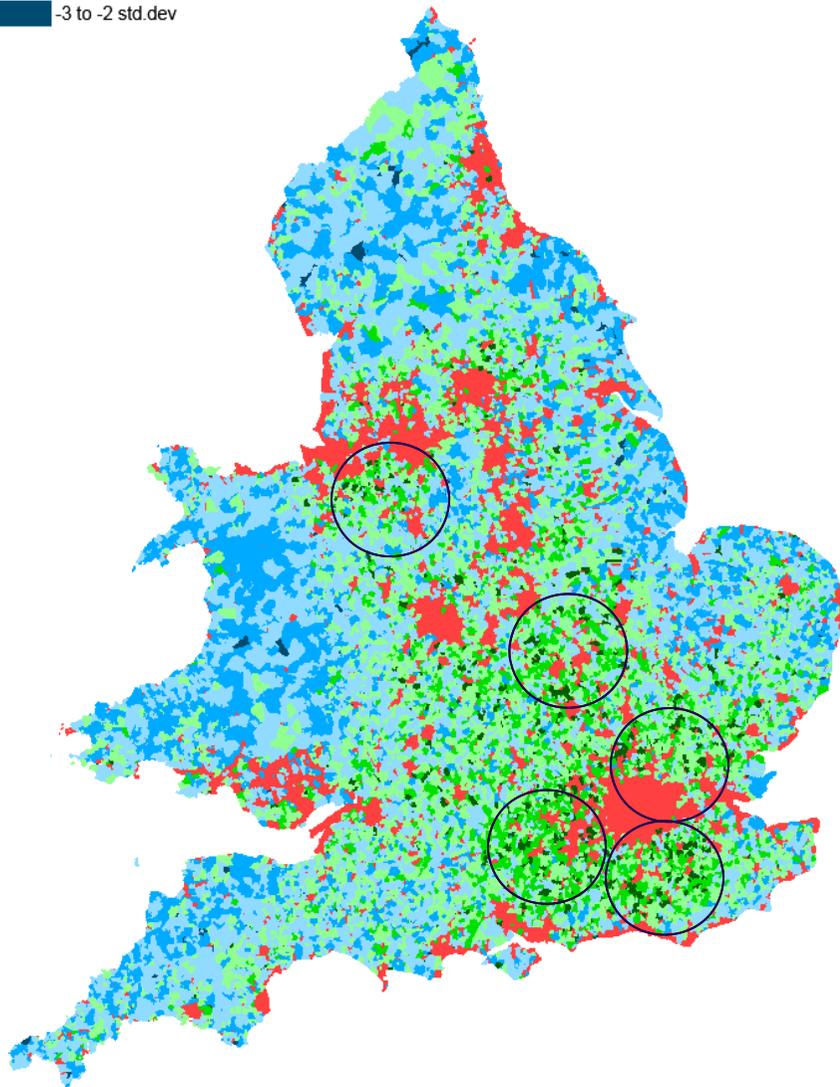
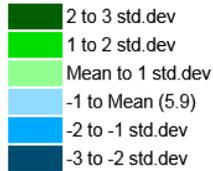
## Business And Statistical Professionals

- 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)

**% Commercial New Middle Class (2011)**



**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

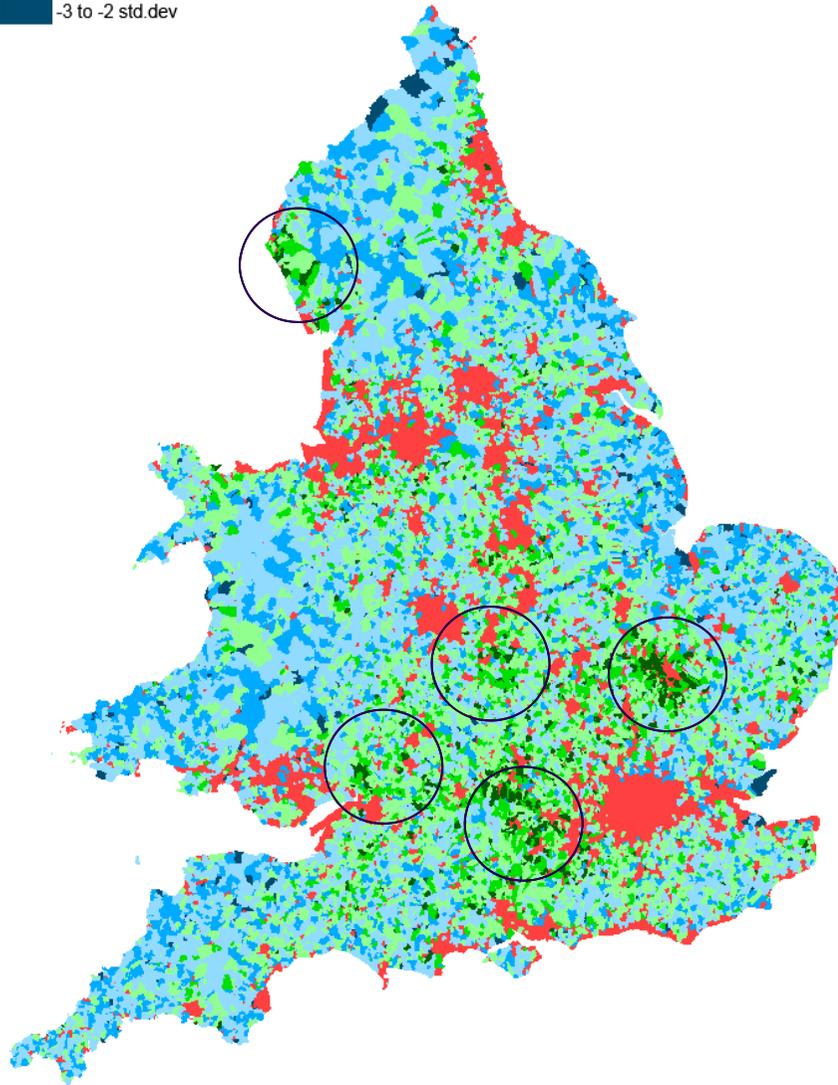
**Public service associate professionals**

- 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

**% Technical Middle Class (2011)**



**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.

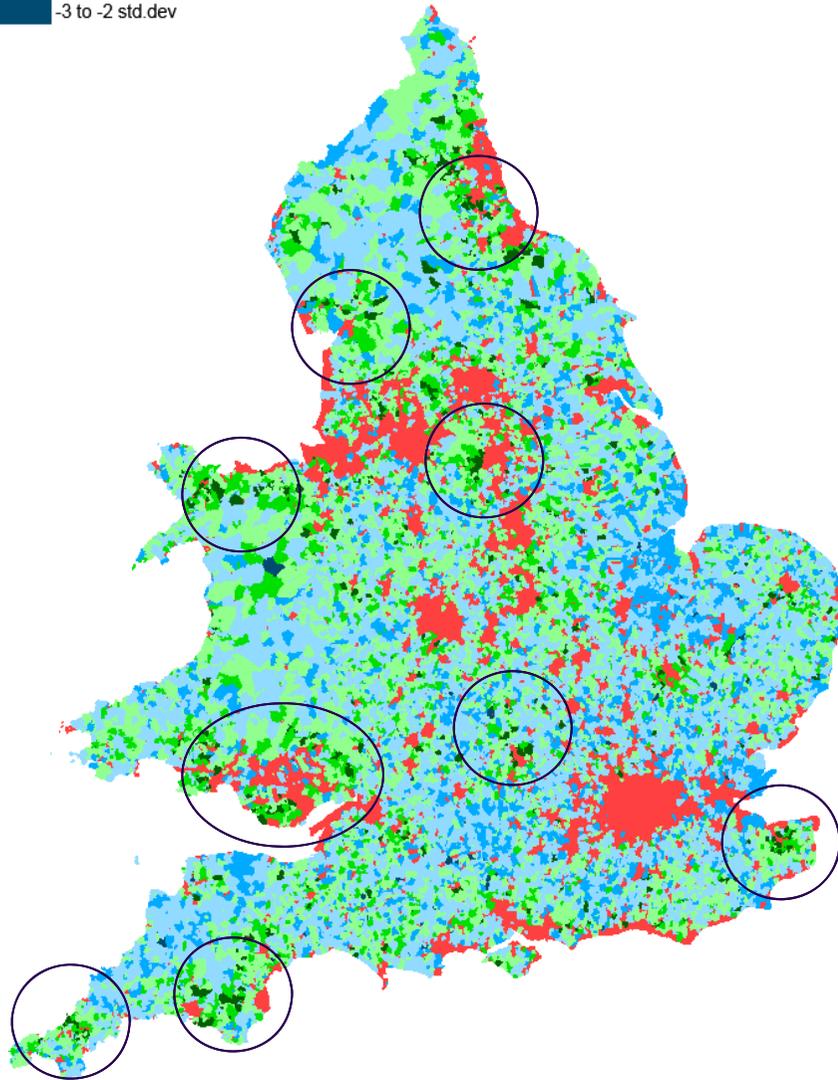
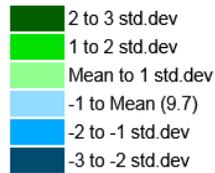
**Conservation and Environment Professionals**

- 2141 Conservation professionals
- 2142 Environment professionals

**Research and Development Managers**

- 2150 Research and development managers

% Welfare & Educational Middle Class (2011)



### 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

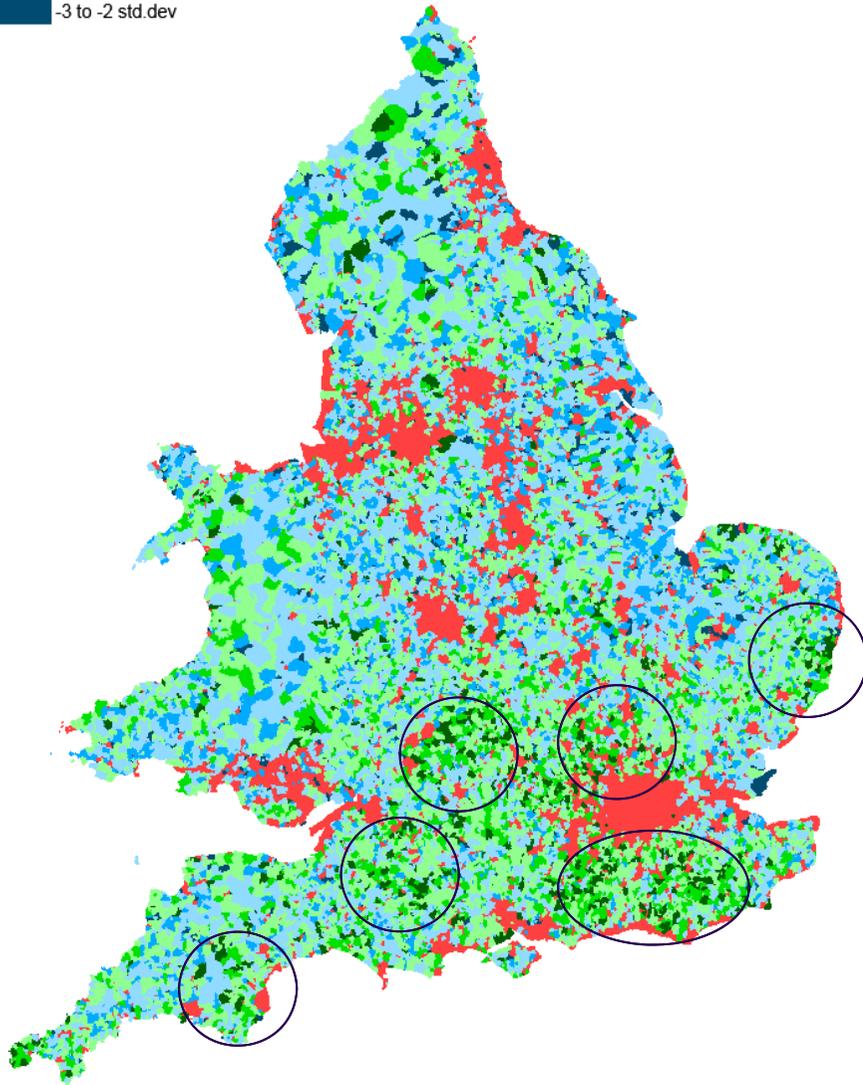
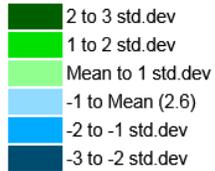
- Public service administrative professionals
- Social workers
- Probation officers
- Clergy

### Librarians And Related Professionals

- Librarians
- Archivists and curators

#InspiringWinners since 1909

**% Creative Middle Class (2011)**



**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 since 1909**

# 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)?

