THE TRANSFORMATION OF ENGLISH MARKET TOWNS: GENTRIFICATION

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Abstract

Gentrification has been seen to be a predominantly urban process, characterised by wholesale replacement of working class communities by a mobile middle-class population (Glass, 1964). More recently, contributions have acknowledged that gentrification is taking place further down the hierarchy of urban settlements with Neil Smith (2002) noting that gentrification is expanding both vertically, upwards and downwards through the settlement hierarchy (from cities to provincial cities, Dutton 2003; 2005 to smaller towns) and horizontally across the globe.

English market towns, this thesis argues, have become part of what Hackworth and Smith (2001) term the third wave of gentrification with the state 'entangled' in the process of gentrification. This can be seen through the encouragement of regeneration in market towns, initiated through the 2001 Market Towns Initiative (MTI) that sought to regenerate ailing market towns within England. The service role of these rural towns has been seen as crucial to anchoring key services that service the wider rural hinterlands in which market towns serve (Powe and Shaw, 2004)

The central argument of this thesis is that market towns are now at the leading edge of rural restructuring. Many types of market town gentrifier have been identified, specifically mature, 'geriatrifiers' who reside in the remote market towns and had past service class working lives via professional and managerial employment and secondly, professional/managerial gentrifiers, identified previously in rural villages (Phillips, 1993) who were using market towns as bases to commute and raise a family. Unlike previous narrative concerning gentrification, this middle class incursion was physically reflected through new build developments that have been targeted at market towns.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is a product of my upbringing, based around farming and a deep appreciation for the countryside. For this my Dad has a lot to say for himself, but without him ─ I would not even be here and researching about market towns. Recognising that my brain would be wasted having my nuts kicked in during milking, he has always fostered my wider interests in debating just about every public policy decision! As for the influence behind my initial interest in market towns, the lectures during my undergraduate days by Professor Ian Bowler first provided the spark to consider market towns as important elements in the rural/urban settlement hierarchy, through the trend of the middle class to consume farmers markets quite readily.

My fiancée, Titiyawadee, has been a constant source of strength when things have not always gone so smoothly ─ thanks babe, this is as much a product of your labour as it is mine. Thanks must also go out to my supervisor, Dr Martin Phillips who has always stuck up for this working class ruffian and kept his cool when others might have expressed more panic. The lack of a significant working class presence in the higher echelons of universities is a constant reminder that we might live in a rich, but divided country and I hope to change that in some way by speaking my mind whilst others sit on the fence.

I apologise to all the European students who have never understood working class bitterness that the British possess ─ I only hope you also find us interesting beyond the miserable exterior. Any errors that are present in the thesis are my own responsibility.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Market Towns: Setting the Scene

This thesis aims to investigate the possibility of gentrification within English market towns. Chapter 1 will aim to introduce market towns and their historical role in the settlement hierarchy of England and how they have traditionally been defined. The significance of the 1947 Town and County Planning Act and other planning policies will be examined in the context of market towns and how this was significant in shaping their current development. Key settlement policies were of particular relevance during the 1970s and 1980s towards influencing development in market towns.

The involvement of market towns within regeneration initiatives and contemporary changes that market towns have experienced will be linked to the idea that some maybe experiencing what has been termed 'gentrification'. This will be outlined in the context of changes in the retail economy through the expansion of out-of-town shopping within the UK followed by the onset of regeneration, described in the 1995/2000 Rural White Papers. From these factors, I shall put the case in the thesis that market towns are likely candidates for gentrification, which has been predicted by scholars such as Neil Smith (2002) and investigated in an emerging rural gentrification literature (Phillips, 1993, Smith, 1998) whereby smaller settlements have become enrolled in the process of gentrification. The next section will introduce the historical role of market towns in the English settlement hierarchy.

1.1 Historical Background to Market Towns

Market towns are a unique entity within the urban hierarchy historically, acting as central points for trade and commerce (Brown, 1986). They have acted as central places for both townspeople and villagers, based around chartered markets held once or twice a week. Market towns have faced threats to their existence, most notably according to Brown, the period when farming was of declining importance within the English economy and industry began to assert its presence within the countryside. For many market towns, their fortunes were dependent upon agriculture, with farmers and associated workers forming the backbone of the local economy. During the mid-1750s up until the advent of the early 1800s, market towns rode on the back of prosperity brought to rural areas via the agricultural revolution, bolstered by increases in production brought about through technological advancement.

Even during the 1800s the dependence of market town communities upon agriculture was apparent. Depression came to agriculture again more severely, during the later 19th Century, as cheap imports began to affect the cereal growing business. The industrial revolution, "undermined the traditional [agricultural] economy of the market town" (Brown, 1986: 10) with the North and the Midlands being particularly dominant in altering the trajectory of market town economies of formerly prosperous areas in the South of England. In summary, there is a long history of investment and disinvestment within the economy of English market towns, on one hand a period of prosperity leading up and including the agricultural revolution and on the other; periods of decline related to industrialisation and declining agricultural incomes.

1.2 Market Towns into the 20th and 21st Centuries: Key Settlement Policy and Market Town Regeneration

During the 20th Century, significant events affected the role of market towns within the settlement hierarchy. In the context of market towns, pre Second World War, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1932 was significant because it included both 'town' and 'country' in the title thus implying a division between the two in planning terms. More importantly, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 separated off towns and cities from the countryside and development plans were required for each borough. Land was protected via greenbelts to 'check' urban growth.

The 1947 Act was related, in part, to settlement concentration and as a result of concentrating resources in selected settlements (both villages and towns), there was criticism from academics concerning the effects that changes in the planning system would have for the working class (Cloke, 1987). This was related to revisions in the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act where new structure plans, it was argued by Cloke, weakened County Councils as power for planning was devolved to districts. Cloke (1987) further argued that provisions for the working class in rural areas would decline and he outlined several features of the 20th Century countryside:

- The middle class do not use the rural bus services on the whole.
- Reductions in the construction of council housing that would disadvantage the working class.
- Local Authorities were losing control to developers.

Little (1987) noted this change in planning would go against the public interest, as developers would become more influential (as argued by Cloke) because post 1947, planning would have a more market orientated approach. She noted:

> "*The planning system represents a very powerful influence over the distribution of different social groups within the countryside, particularly through the operation of housing policy and development control in local areas*" (Little, 1987: 185).

Jo Little (1987b) was concerned that environmentally attractive areas, such as small villages, might fuel demand for rural property and thus aid the appreciation of house prices. During the 1960s, villages and towns became targets for new housing and the countryside began to take a more central position in government policy during the 1980s and 1990s (Cherry and Rogers, 1996).

During the 1970s, council housing estates were constructed in market towns whilst in 'pressured' settlements, growth was more considered and there was a policy of no growth within some smaller villages. The allocation of housing and resources such as public services was seen by some academics as a key settlement policy strategy "where certain villages gain new housing" (Rawson and Rogers, 1976). However, there were different interpretations of what a key settlement policy included with Cloke arguing a key settlement policy was not so much related to services or housing, but the relationship that the allocated key settlement had with the outlying settlements that surrounded it (Cloke, 1979).

The origins of the key settlement policy were based on the ideas of Harold Peake, a planner towards the end of the First World War. His goal was to concentrate services such as health, education, recreation in rural villages. Transport would also enable people to commute to nearby towns for items they could not obtain within the village. These policies have considered:

1. Concentrating development into selected centres that enabled "similar polarisation of infrastructure and services, and this tends to be the optimum economic pattern for the provision of such facilities" (Cloke, 1979: 25-26)
2. The ability of the settlement to accept residential growth.
3. Establishing minimum population thresholds to sustain rural services, i.e. one large school is better than several smaller ones (Cherry and Rogers, 1996).
4. Planning the decline of settlements and withdrawing public funds in some cases.
5. Classification of villages by their environmental quality and service capability.

This kind of policy was used to service sporadic settlements but this was also discriminatory as resources became concentrated within particular settlements. In a geographical context, this policy is reminiscent of central place theory (Berry and Garrison, 1958), where central nodal points will attract the factors of production: land labour and capital.

Cloke (1979) also noted that what could emerge, because of such policies, was a 'two tier' rural settlement model. The first settlement would be characterised by a population of 15,000 people ─ which was argued provide an adequate size for the growth of employment ─ and spread this effect to peripheral areas surrounding the key settlement. This size of

settlement (15,000 and above) would also anchor higher order service provision and thus, it was argued, remove the threat of rural depopulation. The second type of settlement, with a population of 3,000 to 5,000 people, would possess basic services and infrastructure but lower prospects of employment. The population was more typified by being mobile, but still with an agricultural base. There was a stark warning regarding these types of settlement that without some employment, the result would be elderly population structures.

These key settlement policies ─ which were often part of rural development plans ─ received criticism during the 1970s in that young people were drifting away from rural areas and concentration policies (such as key settlement policies) had not halted decline of small towns (Hancock, 1976). Other concerns were that concentrating housing in one settlement would lead to other settlements losing their social balance and allowing the better off to take over some settlements.

Rural Development Plans (RDPs) were initiated by many County Councils across England during the 1960s and 1970s and these policies varied in terms of how they allocated future development to specific settlements. As an example, Leicestershire County Council allocated 28 settlements that would receive future development funding, which was different from Cambridgeshire where 10 major centres and market towns were defined followed by 16 key rural centres and 21 minor rural centres (Leicestershire County Council, 1976; Cambridgeshire County Council, 1980; Cloke, 1983).

The term 'key settlement', according to Gilg (1996) fell out of favour during the 1990s. The effects of such policies to concentrate development in a few villages and small towns led to middle class pressure on the edge of villages as a result of "long-standing gentrification of such areas" (Pacione, 1991: 173).

A more specific focus on the countryside became established through a report published by the then Department of the Environment (DoE) in 1993 entitled *Alternative Development patterns: New Settlements* (Breheny, 1993). Within in this report through Planning Policy Guidance 3 (PPG3), it reported that "New settlements were acceptable where continuing expansion of towns and villages would be a less desirable method for providing land for new housing" (Gilg, 1995: 71). This was to counter the resistance presented by the people living in aesthetically pleasing rural villages and towns as Little (1987b) indicated earlier.

In 1994, another report published by the DoE entitled *Vital and viable town centres* aimed to encourage growth back into town centres. This would lead to a more regeneration led approach to developing small rural settlements and this element would become important concerning market towns towards the end of the 20th Century and entry into the 21st Century.

3.1 The Rural White Paper and Market Town Regeneration

More recently, the traditional role of the market town has come into question, and with the advent of a Rural White Paper entitled '*Our countryside: the future*': A fair deal for rural England' (DETR and MAFF, 2000), market towns have received higher prominence

within the agenda of rural policy discourse. The threat to English market towns is evoked though the language used to describe what is required to 'rejuvenate' ailing market towns economies. Changing consumption trends emphasised by out-of-town shopping (McGoldrick and Thompson, 1992; Howard and Davies, 1993) and supposed threats posed by the expansion of large food retailers into market town space, had been linked to what has been seen as a general malaise of market towns (DETR, 1998; Hallsworth and Worthington, 2000; Caffyn, 2004).

Following the introduction of the aforementioned Rural White Paper, market towns were seen as central to the regeneration of rural England. In 2001, the Market Towns Initiative (MTI) was established to help regenerate market towns that were struggling to adapt to a consumption landscape that has shifted from production to a post-productivist environment, where tourism and lifestyle consumption became the new means to grow rural economies (Ilbery and Bowler, 1998; Mather *et al.*, 2006). The 2000 Rural White Paper emphasised four areas whereby the then New Labour government desired progress:

- Development of the rural economy via skilling of the rural workforce and exploitation of ICT.
- Market towns to act as growth centres where regeneration is required, exploiting potential as attractive spaces to live and work.
- Specific regeneration of Rural Priority Areas (RPAs). These were areas suffering from poor housing, relative isolation and economic disadvantage.
- Tourism as a growth driver including the production of 'distinctive' rural products and services.

Thus far, this discourse of regeneration has permeated rural policy development to the extent that market towns, some would say long overdue, are at the forefront. Regeneration in the past has tended to be seen as taking place in cities, which was the focus of analysis in the 1980s with research in gentrification taking hold also during this period, which will be discussed in Chapter 2 to follow. The narrative of market town development has been the associated popularity of market towns as places to live, for which the Rural White Paper alludes. Studies in the UK and around the world have begun to chart the early signs of gentrification of small country towns/market towns and the impacts this has for the future viability of market town communities. The MTI initiative will be the focus of the next section.

1.4 Contemporary Change in English Market Towns: The Market Towns Initiative (MTI) and the Possibility of Gentrification?

The Countryside Agency in 1999 noted that the presence of a 'market' was not required to classify a market town for policy purposes (Cassell, 1999). This was a significant development of definitions on market towns, which had in the past, been defined through holding a weekly market. The exclusion of the market means that towns without a traditional market function ─ to obtain market towns status ─ the market town has to assert a different role from that of the past when they were agrarian centres. What defines a market town has thus, become blurred due to the wider remit of focusing on economic regeneration in market towns and the emphasis of the service role of the past, which defined towns (Powe and Shaw, 2003; 2004).

The Market Towns Initiative was established in 2001 by the then Countryside Agency in partnership with the New Labour Government to reverse this apparent decline to the vitality and viability of market towns (Department of the Environment, 1994). Since the implementation of the MTI in 2001, £100 million was made available to kick start the creation of market town partnerships that would drive regeneration, the rationale based on the publishing earlier of the Urban White Paper entitled '*Towards an Urban Renaissance*' (DETR, 1999) which, at its heart, was a document encouraging a programme of regeneration for England's cities. This regeneration programme could be seen to map on to market towns in terms of rejuvenating their fortunes from the changes in the wider economy such as the decline of agriculture and industrial production as significant contributors to the UK economy.

Throughout this initiative, towns established partnership networks comprising of a variety of stakeholders from the public, private and third or voluntary sector. These partnerships form part of a New Labour ideology for active communities, designed to place power in the hands of local people. This kind of political ideology regarding rural development is also evident in the current coalition government (as of writing) who are enacting a similar policy discourse of 'localism' aiming to bring decision making to local people rather than local authorities. The New Labour government had been criticised for not understanding rural people through its 1997 election pledge to ban fox hunting and the publishing of the Rural White Paper was an attempt to address this issue (Goodwin, 1998; Lowe and Ward, 2001).

This has resulted in a variety of transformations to their physical environment such as the establishment of arts centres, community IT hubs and a variety of place promotion strategies to induce tourists and even new residents into town space (Edwards *et al.*, 2007). The interception of this initiative is crucial as it points for the first time towards a concerted attempt by government to focus on market towns as centres for development whether this is economic regeneration or housing development.

The key question to ask concerning the regeneration of market towns is for whom does the regeneration benefit? The MTI was an attempt to aid market towns that were struggling to adjust to changes in the economy, which had allowed people to consume elsewhere in out-of-town shopping centres and bypass market towns. Research at the time ascertained that there was a risk that market town partnerships would benefit those market towns with long established partnerships already and that these market towns already had the capacity to apply for funding for local regeneration projects and would gain a disproportionate advantage over the ailing market towns for which the MTI was designed. This introduces the issue of class, which has featured in a rural village context where local decision making was often represented through the middle classes, who often had a disproportionate influence (Abram *et al.*, 1996).

Existing definitions of market towns, with the dominant interpretation in the last decade being a population threshold of 2,000 to 20,000 (DETR and MAFF, 2000), had begun to become more nuanced with Courtney (1998) in a study on remote and accessible market towns. Courtney considered breaking from the widespread orthodoxy of attributing a set

population to define market towns. Kingsbridge, the first case study town utilised in his study, was 15 miles from the nearest urban settlement which was Plymouth. The town was also 5 miles from the coast. This was considered by Courtney, to constitute a remote market town. Courtney bases remoteness on location, so South Devon was considered remote as opposed to accessible Buckinghamshire. The second town, Olney, was defined as an accessible rural settlement, due to its location between Northampton and Milton Keynes. Interestingly, concerning the focus of this thesis on gentrification, Courtney noted:

> "*A settlement which is likely to be self-contained and self-supporting is obviously preferable to developing new settlements simply to act as dormitory towns where people do little more than eat and sleep, whilst carrying out a significant proportion of their transactions outside the local area*" (Courtney, 1998:20).

Courtney was commenting on the difference between remote and accessible centres where the remote market town would be a more self-contained entity, relying on its own services and being the dominant urban centre in the vicinity as opposed to the accessible market town with higher car ownership and was more likely to act as a dormitory settlement. This also links back to some of the concerns already outlined concerning the effects of key settlement policies in allowing some villages and small towns to gentrify and allocating resources in terms of service provision elsewhere.

The accessibility of market towns might explain for their recent popularity with homeowners according to The Halifax (2006). Dormitory settlements have been a worry whereby towns could become settlements for mobile, middle-class migrants for whom time

is a premium and thus engagement with the community is minimal. This difference between remote and accessible market towns was interesting ─ it implied that the accessible market towns could become populated by urban commuters.

Recent data collated by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) found that the majority of workers had a daily commute of 30 minutes or less (ONS, 2011). According to these statistics, only five percent commuted for more than sixty minutes and this implies that those that undertake such commutes were earning more as a result. The ONS found this to be a premium measured by the average median hourly earnings for those with long commutes:

- £18.80 for those with long commutes, and £9.60 for those with short commutes to work in London.
- £14.30 for those with long commutes, and £8.30 for those with short commutes to work in the rest of the UK.

In section 1.1, market towns were argued to be centres of local trade and commerce and were established along major roman roads, which linked to larger urban centres. With the expansion of the motorway network since the 1960s, many market towns have become joined up larger urban areas and cities. The implication of these commuting times for market towns means the possibility of gentrification becomes heightened.

The growth of mobility, driven by the proliferation of the car has made living further away from cities a real prospect. Seventy-four percent of households according the Department

for the Environment, Transport and Regions owned one or more cars (Department for Transport, 2002). This car ownership has encouraged counterurbanisation which according to Headicar (2004) led to urban flight to small towns and villages. This work also noted, "New development is disproportionately located in smaller towns and that such development is associated with increased car use" (Headicar, 2004: 142). When studying the Oxford city region with its associated country towns[1], 75% worked outside their hometown in the towns of Bicester, Didcot and Witney. These towns were within 15 miles of Oxford and of those areas on the edge of Oxford, only 34% worked outside their hometown (Headicar, 2004). Organisations such as the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE) have feared with new housing developments in market towns, the resulting commuting outside market towns for employment opportunities would damage the economies of market towns (CPRE, 2004).

Keeble and Keeble *et al* noted that in remote rural areas, businesses were increasingly aiming for market niches established due to rising incomes in remote rural areas (Keeble *et al.*, 1992; Keeble and Tyler, 1995). Accessible rural areas due to the proximity to markets and transport links were more likely to demonstrate enterprising behaviour through the deployment of technology and innovations. In a study of remote and accessible towns, Courtney and Errington (2000) through analysis of local integration noted that remote towns were more likely to be embedded in the local economy as opposed to accessible towns. This, they argued, meant that smaller towns in remote areas should be targets for national policy initiatives due to the locally integrated nature of their economies.

[1] The term country town is sometimes used interchangeably with 'market towns' and 'small towns'.

In recent years, with appreciating property prices ─ particularly up to the global credit crisis of 2007 ─ villages, even for the middle class, have become unaffordable in many cases with the purchase of second homes in attractive villages, furthering the pressures of a lack of housing supply in rural areas (Barker, 2004; Gallent, 2009). Market towns also offer the attraction of being able to anchor public services that have otherwise declined and service decline could be one of a plethora of reasons why market towns have seen a renaissance within the last 10 to 15 years.

The Rural White Paper of 2000, which had already highlighted the need to concentrate new housing in large villages and market towns, was significant in the raised profile of market towns and housing was central to the policy discourse on rural areas. This was partly seen as a counterbalance to rural Nimbyism in villages that was stalling the construction of property, often due to the middle class composition of many rural villages that had experienced progressive gentrification since the 1960s (Parsons, 1979). In addition, home building overall in England was not keeping up with the pace to which new household units were being created, with projections up to the year 2031 painting a bleak picture:

- The number of households in England is projected to grow to 27.8 million in 2031, an increase of 6.3 million (29 per cent) over the 2006 estimate, or 252,000 households per year.

- One-person households are projected to increase by 163,000 per year, equating to two-thirds of the overall increase in households.

- By 2031, 32 per cent of households will be headed by those aged 65 or over, up from 26 per cent in 2006.

- By 2031, 18 per cent of the total population of England is projected to live alone, compared with 13 per cent in 2006. (Communities and Local Government, 2009a: 2).

These trends were also reflected in rural areas with the establishment of the Affordable Rural Housing Commission (ARHC), which was established in July 2005 by the Department of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) and the then Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), in order to assess the scale and shortage of affordable rural housing. Between 1998 and 2005, there was a 6% decline in new houses built in rural districts compared to an increase of 29% in mainly urban districts (ARHC, 2006). The report also referred to market towns and the need to expand the number of houses being built:

> "*Larger numbers [houses] will be needed in rural towns, including market towns. This is both to meet need and to aid their overall regeneration*" (ARHC, 2006: 18).

The regeneration programme for market towns set out in the 2000 Rural White Paper was based around rejuvenating the ailing economies of some market towns but here the emphasis altered towards a positive programme of growth through new build housing construction. The aforementioned argument concerning Nimbyism and the prevention of

development in rural villages is further reflected in recommendations to be enacted through Local Development Frameworks (LDFs) to focus significant development on market towns or local service centres (i.e. larger villages that support public services) where they are well served by public transport networks. When referring to villages however, development, it was argued, could take place to contribute to their sustainability, which implied protecting their current size and thus protecting middle class interests.

It can therefore be seen that there is a class dimension to some of the contemporary changes within English market towns although this was not overtly referred to within the market towns policy literature. In fact, it would be a struggle to find any reference to class change in a market town unless one was examining the historical development of market towns from their trade and commercial roles.

In a European context, there has been recognition that rural and urban areas were becoming increasingly interrelated, rather than the town and country competing against one another. In planning terms, this has been the case through the preservation of green belts around urban settlements to stop the merging of smaller urban areas with larger ones.

> "*Now the balance of forces has changed and new urban middle classes have the upper hand; they consume both urban and rural space, living in towns and having a second home in rural areas, or living in the countryside and working in towns*" (Hadjimichalis, 2003: 111).

The policy arena in market towns also highlights urban and rural interdependencies. Gentrification research in both rural and urban contexts has documented the increasing dominance of these middle class groups towards making certain settlements more middle class as the above quotation indicates.

1.5 Market towns as New Sites of Gentrification?

Whilst the concern with key settlement policies of the 1960s and 1970s was with the gentrification of rural villages by affluent and mobile middle class populations migrating from large urban areas, small towns and specifically market towns were not mentioned in the same breath, even though certain market towns were allocated as key settlements and would receive more resources in the form of investments in service provision.

Until very recently, gentrification studies were primarily concerned with inner cities and how gentrification manifested itself within the urban environment. The geography of gentrification debate initiated by Lees (2000) opened up wider scrutiny to different spatial environments in which gentrification could be seen to take place and there was acknowledgement that the spatiality of gentrification should be an open project.

Small towns have already received some attention within the gentrification literature such as Hebden Bridge in Yorkshire, England (Smith, 1998; Smith and Holt, 2005). Demand for green space was also identified by Smith and Phillips (2001) with different types of gentrifier present in different locations in the town. More recent work has also examined, in a South African context, how market towns have become subject to gentrification via the

growth of tourism that forced up property prices in such towns, which is just one effect of gentrification on market towns (Visser, 2003).

Market towns, I feel, could be part of this widening gentrification process, but what are market towns and where do they fit within the contemporary gentrification paradigm? Market towns form an increasingly important part of the settlement hierarchy within rural England, acting as service centres to the wider rural hinterland of villages. Research into the role of public policy (Hackworth, 2002; Cameron, 2003; Levine, 2004) has emphasised the role in state led gentrification through large-scale urban regeneration schemes. Within England, market towns are now experiencing the impact of schemes to locate housing on their fringes and physical regeneration.

Research Aim

1. Move beyond the existing urban/rural dualism in the gentrification literature.

Research Questions

The research questions feed directly from the aims of the thesis. The three main questions I wish to focus on are outlined below:

1. To what extent is gentrification taking place in market towns?

2. What is the role of cultural constructions of urban/rural space in the gentrification of market towns?

3. How do gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers perform their everyday lives in gentrified market towns?

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 will focus upon the debates within the study of gentrification through the production and consumption debate held between Humanist and Marxist scholars studying gentrification. Following this, the differing forms of gentrification including provincial gentrification, new build gentrification and the shift of emphasis from urban to rural forms of gentrification will be outlined. Differing types of gentrifiers will be highlighted reflecting the changing geographies of gentrification (Lees, 2000). The thesis was informed by a trialectical approach to space coined by Ed Soja (1996) which helps to conceptualise contemporary gentrification studies by challenging the accepted wisdom of urban gentrification in dominating the gentrification debate.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approaches used in the thesis, which were both quantitative and qualitative in nature. The chapter includes explanation and justification for using a questionnaire, the GB census and semi-structured interviews. A three-stage approach was used to create two samples of market towns, which included a population break, accessibility to rural services and social class.

The selection of case study market towns notes why the final three towns were selected and on what basis. As part of the quantitative element of the research, an analysis of the 1991 and 2001 GB census was conducted to aid understanding of the class composition of

market towns in England. The structure of a questionnaire distributed will be set out along with the use of semi-structured interviews, which formed the qualitative component of the research into market towns. It was felt that both a quantitative and qualitative approach were required to understand the extent of gentrification in market towns where our understanding of possible gentrification is not understood beyond a few cases studies and this thesis aims to look at market towns in a holistic way.

Chapter 4 revealed the results of the aforementioned study of the GB census where a definition of market towns was created using both population size and rural service provision. Results for market towns that were both working class and service class in character will be presented and all this data was utilised to select three market towns that would form the basis of analysis in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Chapter 5 focuses upon the characteristics of both working class and middle class people who completed my questionnaire in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. From the data collected, different types of gentrifier were identified which included, professional and managerial gentrifiers, landlord and developer gentrifiers, geriatrifiers, and rural gentrifiers. It was found these gentrifiers were concentrated in different market towns and their identification informs Chapters 6 and 7 to follow. In Soja's trialectical approach, this chapter represents the *firstspace* of market towns and their gentrifiers.

Chapter 6 examined the *secondspace* representations from semi-structured interviews conducted with both gentrifiers and the resident working class in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. These representations were summarised into six key groups:

Representation 1	Romanticism and pastoralism
Representation 2	The imagined rural community
Representation 3	Commodification of rural space
Representation 4	Part 1: The anti-urban
	Part 2: Pro-urban growth (pro gentrification)
Representation 5	Children
Representation 6	Life course

These represented the full diversity of responses from the interview process and provided evidence of how market town gentrifiers symbolised the towns in which they lived.

Chapter 7 completed Soja's spatial trialectic in a market town context by focusing on the *thirdspace* or the 'lived' space of market towns. This chapter examined the practices of the people inhabiting the case study market towns. The key practices identified were retail consumption, children and education, property and ownership of homes and migration and life course. These practices all reflected the differentiation of practices in different market towns, which was outlined in Chapter 8, which concludes the thesis.

Chapter 2: Framing Gentrification: Market Town Gentrification a Step too Far?

1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to place market towns within existing debates concerning gentrification in order to establish where market towns might fit into contemporary gentrification research. It will first examine the production and consumption debate within gentrification. This debate was significantly influenced by the cultural turn in geography and the wider social sciences, with cultural interpretations of gentrification questioning the interpretations provided by economic accounts of gentrification (Ley, 1980; 1983, 1986; 1987; Zukin, 1987; Warde, 1991). This cultural turn preceded consideration of spaces of gentrification outside the urban domain and led to a greater interest in rural studies, as argued by Cloke (Cloke, 1997). Cloke argued up to the 1950s that rural studies had taken a back seat to studies of the urban, reflected in the prominence of suburbanisation and counterurbanisation; where people were moving from inner cities to locations on the edge of cities and later in the 1970s, moving out of urban areas completely (Weekley, 1988; Fielding, 1989).

This was seen to demote rural studies and early accounts of gentrification were dominated by urban accounts of gentrification, such as London (Hamnett, 1984) Melbourne (Logan, 1982), New York (Smith, 1979) and Vancouver (Ley, 1984) in transforming working class areas into middle class spaces. Fielding (1989) also argued that by the 1980s, that counterurbanisation had mainly halted in Europe, perhaps reflecting in gentrification studies such as the above, focusing on inner city case studies.

Secondly, the chapter looks at the widening of gentrification to consider other spatial forms of gentrification, further down the urban hierarchy. The 'geography of gentrification' that has been debated in the context of new forms of gentrification has considered claims made that there needs to be a widening of the spatial lens of gentrification to consider 'other' geographies of gentrification (Lees, 2000; Smith, 2002a; Phillips, 2004). This section considers firstly, the expanding geography of gentrification from global to provincial and from urban to rural.

Debates concerning new build gentrification were discussed relating to arguments that stretching the concept of gentrification through new forms of gentrification such as new build, will dilute its significance (Boddy, 2007). However, it cannot be the case that gentrified Victorian neighbourhoods are the sole territories of gentrification, indeed, the process is now global and only select, developed countries have a supply of Georgian and Victorian housing stock ripe for gentrification (Smith, 2002b; Atkinson and Bridge, 2005). A commentary on rural gentrification reflects upon the concept of mutation, coined by Lees (2006) and I debate whether Lees really opened up new avenues of gentrification research. Although Lees *et al*., (2007) do mention the significance of rural gentrification, the literature is not as extensive as urban based gentrification in part, due to the viewpoint that it is mainly an urban phenomenon and that further expanding the definition of gentrification beyond the domain of the urban would further complicate gentrification (Boddy, 2007).

Thirdly, the chapter considers the plethora of gentrifiers that have been identified in the gentrification literature in both rural and urban contexts to highlight the increasing diversity

and spread of gentrification into villages and market towns. Fourth, I set out the theoretical approach that runs through the chapters of the thesis based on the work of Edward Soja and his trialectical approach to considering space (via first, second and thirdspaces).

1.1 Production and Consumption Debate, 1970s and 1980s

Gentrification studies are widely thought to have originated from the pioneering work of Ruth Glass (1964). Glass identified the presence of middle and upper class groups moving into previously working class neighbourhoods in London. These middle class incomers transformed the built environments in which they resided (which were often Victorian and in a run-down condition) and this could be seen physically in the built environment with property displaying renewed appearance because of renovation. Increased investments in the built environment were seen to lead to increasing land values, which forced out the working class community over time, who were unable to continue living in a neighbourhood that had been transformed with affluent shops and increased rental rates after renovation. Glass pointed out that many of the working class inhabitants of Hampstead and Chelsea had been displaced by the 1960s.

Gentrification had also spread to Islington, Paddington, North Kensington and Notting Hill. What were once were considered to be less desirable areas to live in became exclusive residential locations during the 1980s with the rise of Yuppies (Young upwardly mobile professionals) and even political figureheads, such as Tony Blair, who was a resident in Islington before becoming Prime Minister in 1997. When the Blairs' purchased the property at 1, Richmond Crescent, Islington within Barnsbury and sold it on in 1997 for

£615, 000, it indicated shrewd investments that the Blairs' had made in property as by 2007 (the peak of the housing boom in the UK), the property would have likely fetched upwards of £1.8million (Ashworth, 2007).

The work of Glass (1964) contributed to a key debate that dominated gentrification studies, particularly during the late 1970s and 1980s and was usually known as the production and consumption debate. The significance of this debate in part reflected dis-linkage to wider discussion in the social sciences and human geography, at a similar time concerning the limits of structural Marxism and structure-human agency (Duncan and Ley, 1982).

The production side accounts led by Neil Smith (1979; Smith, 1982, 1987a) considered gentrification as part of economic forces and a process of reinvestment of capital into dilapidated neighbourhoods that then become gentrified by the middle classes. Consumption side accounts on the other hand, argued that gentrification was based around the formation of a 'new middle class' of people in professional and managerial occupations which was growing at a time when blue-collar employment was on the decline (Bell, 1973; Drucker, 1986; Zukin, 1987; Kasarda, 1989). The next sub-section looks especially at the production-orientated explanation of gentrification: the rent gap. Following this, a sub-section will focus on criticisms of the rent gap then a review of the consumption side gentrification, which will be also critiqued.

1.2 The Case of the 'Rent Gap': An Economic Interpretation of Gentrification

The rent gap has been influenced by the popularity of Marxist economic perspectives thinking during the 1970s and 1980s. In the context of gentrification, this was most clearly represented by the work of Neil Smith, who argued that gentrification was about the movement of capital into dilapidated neighbourhoods, which in his view, were subject to the emergence of a rent gap (Smith, 1979). Smith (1979) argued that the rent gap, was the product of two differential forms of valuation: capitalised land rent and potential land rent. Capitalised land rent (actual rent) is the value of the land with all the fixed assets (buildings) in place (Smith, 1979), while potential rent is the value of the land under best possible use. The rent gap is the difference between the actual value of the property and its potential value when put to best use.

Capital investments remain relatively fixed when invested in property; therefore improvements to property acquired through investment require significant capital investment and destruction of previous investment. Physical and social changes lead to a decline in the value of investments in the built environment, thus creating an opportunity to invest. In an initial phase (see Figure 1.1, p.28), actual rents are close to potential rents as landlords seek to maximize rental income and thus develop the best possible land use for the site. Over time, however, actual rents decline and potential rent increases due to social and physical depreciation and because economic and technological changes mean that newer buildings would be become higher in value than older ones. The fixity of capital investment in the built environment means that the costs of redevelopment of an area are

high and hence there is a tendency for actual and potential rents to drift apart. As actual rents fall, there is no counteracting investment; capital flows outside to obtain higher rates of return.

The gap between actual and potential rents can be closed if capital comes to be invested to redevelop the neighbourhoods. This becomes the gentrification turning point where the value of existing capital investment is written off and new capital flows into the neighbourhood to bring actual rents in line with potential rent levels (Phillips, 2005b). The flow of capital back in is what Smiths considers to be gentrification ─ it is the refurbishment or redevelopment of properties. Rent gaps close when re-investment no longer becomes viable and the cycle then repeats itself, de-investment occurs, and then further opportunities for higher potential rents occur, which lead to reinvestment (see Figure 1.1). This idea of capital flow links to reflects further work by Smith based on uneven development where capital is argued to have a tendency to seek a higher rate of return and thus capital moves in and out of neighbourhoods (Smith, 1982).

Figure 2.1 Removed due to copyright restrictions

1.3 Criticism of the Rent Gap

There are several points that have been made in regards to using the rent gap as a theory to explain gentrification. Firstly, Eric Clark (1988) has noted the time lag for land use change to take place. Rent gap cycles in Swedish context varied from 75 to 125 years, emphasising that rent gap theory needs to consider local circumstances. Clark (1988) also notes that there are other explanations to explain the transformation of inner city areas and suggested that rent gaps are not an all-encompassing explanation of gentrification.

Parts of the rent gap definition have been questioned by land economists, such as Bourassa (1993). The argument made was that the theory of rent gap relies upon the distinction between actual and potential rent, which failed to problematise why land use changes. Bourassa (1993) noted how consumer demand and taste come to influence the popularity of a place as well as a motivation to make a profit. Attempts by other scholars such as Clark (1987) had come up against problems of adequate measurement of the rent gap. Data such as of tax arrears has been used (e.g. Smith), but Clark argued that methodological concerns with using assessed data would make empirically mapping the rent gap problematic. Apart from Clark's attempts and others originating from Canada (Ley, 1986; Kary, 1988), few scholars could successfully argue that they had 'found' the rent gap. For example, Eric Clark (1988) had to adjust his rent gap curve to reflect a delayed split between potential and actual land rent (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 2.2 Removed due to copyright restrictions

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, David Ley, a humanistic geographer, developed an alternative approach a consumption perspective on gentrification (Ley and Samuels, 1978; Tuan, 1979; Ley, 1982). Gentrification in this case was defined through gentrifier characteristics such as rising occupational status and educational attainment that was leading to the creation of a new middle class. This leads into the next section, which considers the alternative theory of gentrification provided by David Ley (1980) that defined the consumption school of thought on gentrification, although there are significant economic components to his position within the gentrification debate.

1.4 Post-industrial Society and the New Middle Class: Gentrification & Consumption

An alternative movement of gentrification scholars was emerging to counter Neil Smith's theory of rent gap during the late 1970s and 1980s. This placed greater emphasis on the 'gentrifier' as the key agent in activating gentrification. Although Smith (1982; Smith, 1987b) had identified different types of developer that employed capital either for investment purposes or renovation, David Ley (1980) took the alternative position and focused on culture and economy. The crux behind Ley's (1980) argument was examining growth of new occupations through processes of post-industrial restructuring (Habermas, 1971; Bell, 1973).

Technology increasingly became part of production and this was equated with a change in the labour force because new skills were required in order to apply technology to the production process (Habermas, 1971). A transition from goods to service production was also characteristic of this restructuring, which led to increasing consumption of a variety of goods and services brought about by reduced working hours, rising wealth, and the trends towards early retirement (Williams, 1983; Bazzoli, 1985; Short, 1989). These changes in culture and economy were argued to have created the conditions for the formation of a new middle class of professional and managerial workers. Ley argued in a Canadian context, that a change within the political landscape was crucial in the creation of the new middle class.

The election of Pierre Trudeau, a liberal Prime Minister who was seen to have altered the direction of Canadian politics through encouraging a participative democracy and lifestyle pluralism, was seen as influential (Ley, 1980). This lifestyle pluralism was defined by the building of a liberal democracy based on equality and was reflected in government policies, such as the defence of the newly established public health system. Ley saw this changing political landscape as indicative of wider societal change, reflected in the creation new social movements. Focusing on Vancouver and The Electors Action Movement (TEAM), Ley identified an emergent class that were characterised by good education, youthfulness, middle and upper class incomes and professional occupations.

TEAM blocked significant planning proposals including road-building projects that were seen to thwart a more liberal ideology to urban planning. A shift was taking place from urban strategy based on growth to one based on quality of life factors. The new class were defined by their higher education credentials (Gouldner, 1979), political involvement in local change (Ley, 1994; 1996) as well as the centrality of consumption, not necessarily through the consumption of material goods. Material goods can include those goods associated with the manufacturing process and can include products that might distinguish the new middle class from the working class. The argument of Ley was that a new middle class became established that led to increased demand for an inner city residential environment. This was as much an economic and cultural interpretation of the conditions that allowed gentrifiers to flourish within inner city areas, through changes in the division of labour (blue collar to white collar).

Within England, the roots of the new middle class can be detected much earlier than David Ley portrays and the Northcote Trevelyan Report of 1853 was influential in producing the new middle class of professional and managerial workers (Roberts, 2001). This report changed how people were recruited for government jobs, primarily through a new system of competitive examinations. This heralded a change from the traditional middle class, where people were drawn from self-employment or they owned a small business (petty bourgeoisie) and the professionalisation of the occupations was characteristic of the public sector up to the mid-20th century. During the 1960s, Roberts noted the establishment of business and management schools, which led to a more closed labour market for non-graduates.

1.5 Limits to the Consumption Debate in Gentrification

During the 1980s, there were also calls to re-examine gentrification by looking beyond the dualism of production and consumption interpretations of gentrification. Robert Beauregard (1986) coined the phrase 'the chaos and complexity of gentrification', that came to symbolise the plethora of factors that were seen to represent gentrification. The argument made by Beauregard was that there could be multiple interpretations of gentrification and these would not necessarily be limited to a production or consumption school of thought that had dominated debates of the 1980s.

> "*Each of these processes (and there maybe others) brings together the various actors and conditions in a different manner with varying implications for the*

> *distribution of the resultant financial and social benefits and costs*" (Beauregard, 1986: 53).

Although Neil Smith (1979; 1982) identified the significance of developers for investing in a deteriorated built environment for potential gentrifiers, this has been seen as being wedded too closely to the notions of capital and class (Hammett, 1991; Hamnett, 1992). In particular, Hamnett (1992) in the early 1990s accused Neil Smith of being unwilling to accept that individual gentrifiers could shape their physical environment. For Smith, gentrification was an economic set of processes, associated with investments in the built environment and the role of developers towards contributing to gentrification.

Scale is important here, Marxist inspired accounts of gentrification tend not to note the importance of class restructuring, which has been crucial in the formation of a new middle class. Class is important to Neil Smith as well as David Ley, it is the difference between seeing classes as holistic and stable collectives and the consumption approach to gentrification has placed an emphasis on the individual agency of gentrifiers to produce and consume. In summary, the production side argument was based on conceptualising gentrification as a capital-intensive process of investment and de-investment in the built environment whilst the consumption side accounts for changes in wider society that Marxism has been accused of avoiding, such as the role of gender and the ability of individual gentrifiers to modify their own environment. Warde (1991) summarises this difference best through large scale developers, who develop large scale condo complexes and the individual gentrifiers who develop a single property. However, there have been

shifts in emphasis to consider the role of both production and consumption in debates surrounding gentrification.

Neil Smith (1996) in some of his more recent work, argued that both production and consumption had a role in influencing the formation of rent gaps. This is quite a statement from a scholar who according to Ley (1987) vigorously defended his own concept of rent gap against consumption interpretations. Although scholars such as Zukin (1987) had argued for a drawing together of production and consumption, she still maintained a close focus upon a Marxist perspective by arguing "In the long run, economic institutions establish the conditions to which gentrifiers respond" (Zukin, 1987: 144), which indicated that scholars were still to an extent, maintaining their 'epistemological pumpkin patches' in regards to their philosophical underpinnings on gentrification (Darling, 2005).

Using the work Bourdieu (1984), Ley draws on the concept of the cultural field, which provides some resolution between the production and consumption distinction within gentrification studies. Bourdieu (1984: 230) claimed, "Every change in tastes …will tend to induce, directly or indirectly, a transformation in the field of production". In other words, consumption and production are not considered independent of one another. This cultural field is the site of value and an arena for the new middle class ─ although in this more recent work ─ Ley has begun to consider the role of production as more intertwined in a culturally informed expression of gentrification. This is further reflected in Ley's recent conclusions, "The interdigitation of economic and cultural competencies and pursuits in the gentrification field makes any statement of monocausality questionable. It is

not a matter of whether economic or cultural arguments prevail, but rather how they work together to produce gentrification as an outcome" (Ley, 2003: 2542). Essentially, this cultural field is crucial to understanding the economic aspects of gentrification. This leads into the next section, where the widening of the context of gentrification is discussed, with new forms of gentrification being identified across the world.

2. Widening the Spatial Lens of Gentrification: From Global/Provincial, from Urban to Rural: 2000s and into the New Millennium

Introduction

The first section considers the shift of gentrification from global cities and metropolitan to provincial city locations within the UK. Secondly, I will examine the recent debates concerning new build gentrification and whether this should be considered as part of contemporary debates of gentrification. Thirdly, I initially focus on counterurbanisation and then define rural gentrification, noting there are similarities with urban gentrification but also significant differences.

2.1 Provincial Forms of Gentrification

> "*Findings rely heavily upon empirical research clustered around inner city neighbourhoods of high order and global cities*" (Dutton, 2005: 209)

Gentrification is now widely viewed to be a process no longer confined to global cities such as London and New York ─ nor the developed world ─ gentrification is everywhere and a significant recent development in the field has been the expansion of gentrification into

provincial or regional cities (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Lees, 2011). Neil Smith (2002) has termed this 'gentrification generalised' in that gentrification is now found in a variety of landscapes and contexts and not just within the global cities such as London and New York. Dutton (2005), in the context of Leeds, noted a number of features that appeared to define provincial gentrification:

- Outside forces: London still has an impact in terms of encouraging people to decentralise due to appreciating real estate. Leeds being a second tier financial centre, lower property prices encourage movement of human capital.
- The gentrifiers have few connections with Leeds and were motivated to move via job related factors.
- Attraction of city living.
- Gentrifiers were established in the employment market and were employing their institutional stocks of cultural capital (formal education).

Some of these factors are quite similar to the larger global cities, although the specificity of gentrifiers looking to move where property prices are cheaper, with Leeds located in the North, is an interesting argument implying the de-concentration of gentrification from the core global cities (London and New York). Over half of the respondents in Leeds listed that at least one of their two previous addresses were outside the Yorkshire and Humber region (Dutton, 2003). With Leeds, this mobility meant very few gentrifiers had connections with Leeds and the 'churn' effect ─ people moved where jobs were ─ and with the increased insecurity of the labour market, this places question marks against the

sustainability of establishing and promoting an enhanced private rental market in Leeds and dealing the effects of working class displacement. Dutton links this provincial gentrification to the concept of uneven development of gentrification outlined during the 1980s by Neil Smith, highlighting a dependency on London and the outsourcing of government departments to the regions due to cost (Smith, 1982). Northern cities in particular have been seen to lag behind the South of England and initiatives such as 'Going for Growth' have been put in place to stimulate regeneration.

The 'Going for Growth' strategy employed by northern cities , such as Newcastle has been framed as an attempt of 'positive gentrification' (Cameron, 2003). With Newcastle losing population, the Going for Growth strategy aimed to rebuild significant parts of the city. Areas earmarked for demolition were mainly working class neighbourhoods with council housing. The goal was to introduce a new middle class population to help stem school roll declines and to build new developments that would be large enough to attract investors and not to be harmed by the image of adjacent, rundown areas. Cameron also noted that it appeared that Smith's (1996) revanchist city thesis was being enacted whereby the working class were being forcefully excluded from the inner city in order to allow middle class gentrifiers to settle. Schools in the areas around Newcastle threatened with demolition were often underperforming and were not attractive to middle class settlers, thus the strategy to gentrify the population was a deliberate attempt to raise standards.

Provincial gentrification in this case was initiated through national policies developed by the New Labour government to stimulate the regeneration of cities across Britain through

the Communities Plan (ODPM, 2003). According to Cameron (2003), different regions require tailored strategies to build sustainable communities, yet there was little to suggest in the plan that any economic redistribution should be considered to counter the displacement of working class people. This position matches similarly with Dutton (2003; 2005) where provincial gentrification appears to be defined via the inequalities created by transforming the urban landscape into a consumption landscape for the middle class.

Lees (2006) argues that provincial gentrification has tended to be conceived as diffusionary. She uses Dutton (2003; 2005) as an example ─ with Dutton proposing a dual model of gentrification ─ distinguishing core cities from peripheral ones. Atkinson and Bridge (2005) along with Neil Smith (2002b) argue that gentrification is 'trickling' down the urban hierarchy from larger places to smaller ones and Dutton (2003) critiqued this idea for implying that there was a single means in which regional/provincial cities become 'infected' by gentrification from above. Lees identifies three mechanisms in which gentrification might cascade down the urban settlement hierarchy:

1. **Economic**: The urban core has become saturated, leading to capital searching for new investment. This is 'production-side/capital centric', with capital circulating in the economy, drawn to high rates of return (Smith, 1979; Harvey, 1989).
2. **Cultural**: diffusion of gentrified lifestyles and identities has taken place down to smaller cities. Urban style housing/apartment developments within market towns are testament to this diffusion of new urban lifestyles.

3. **Diffusion of policy**: "Serial [policy] reproduction" whereby "gentrification blueprints" contained in "regeneration policies, plans and ideas" become reproduced "across cities and, in particular, from bigger to smaller cities" (Lees, 2006: 93).

Lees (2006) argues that gentrification in smaller cities is often more 'messy' than the above cascade model. Using the City of Portland, New England as an example, during the 1960s and 1970s first wave gentrification was taking place through low interest rates and a desire for historic preservation. During the mid-1970s, gentrifiers were looking for a better community to bring up children with liveability and cheap rents in mind; this fuelled the development of retail and entertainment space. The second wave of gentrification was more corporate, and tax credits were made available up to 25% to restore historic property. Gentrifiers were found to be moving from larger urban areas attracted by the movement of back office and financial jobs from Boston. A third wave could be identified during the 1990s where arts and entertainment development was invested in through firstly private donations, but then also via the city and state support. This strategy was credited with encouraging young, college educated adults to move in, which other parts of New England were struggling to achieve.

Lees (2006) argument was that Portland was a hard model to replicate due to its economy being structured around retail, services and tourism and the labour force was more diverse than other locations. Secondly, a local philanthropist invested significantly in the built environment during the 1990s and thirdly, local entrepreneurial talent was able to act without city or state support. This case study complicates the idea of a cascade down to

provincial centres as a series of local factors fostered gentrification and an entertainment/arts based regeneration strategy was recognised as a means of attracting middle class custom.

2.2 Rebuild versus New Build Gentrification

The traditional characteristic of the gentrification found by Ruth Glass (1964) which was the renovation activity of gentrifiers ─ coupled with working class displacement ─ has been widely adopted. However, during the 1990s it had become apparent that significant transformations were taking place within cities. The 1990s reflected a period of economic recovery with high demand for residential development. A lack of construction of new houses to meet demand created a situation whereby it was more profitable to invest in residential development, as opposed to commercial or retail units (Boddy, 2007).

Towards the end of the 20th Century, two significant reports were commissioned *Towards an urban renaissance* (DETR, 1999) and *Our towns and cities: the future. Delivering and urban renaissance* (DETR, 2000). These reports emphasised the development of brownfield, inner city locations as a result of growth pressure from smaller settlements and urban areas (Robson *et al.*, 2000).

Recent projections on household growth have also informed a 'renaissance' in urban new build development, with the number of households expected to grow to 27.8 million households by 2032, an increase of 6.3 million (Communities and Local Government, 2009a). Two thirds of this projected increase is attributed to an increase in single person

households, often associated with gentrification within cities. Young adult professionals were also demanding more rental property ─ reflecting the delays in childrearing and increased geographical mobility, leading to a lower demand for owner occupation during early adult phases of the life course.

This has come to be reflected in 'new build gentrification' where newly built developments are considered part of gentrification. It reflects a turning point in theoretical thinking in that gentrification was defined through renovation of older housing stock and that gentrifiers were aspiring for difference and community within the city. In this part of the review, new types of gentrifiers such as super-gentrifiers have been identified that are entwined with corporate capital and become less involved in their communities and this was also evident in a rural context (Cloke *et al.*, 1995b).

Scholars such as Neil Smith have updated their definitions of gentrification to reflect the significance of inner city regeneration around the world. In the early 1980s, Neil Smith distinguished gentrification from redevelopment which at the time he did not believe was part of the gentrification debate (Smith, 1982). During the mid-1990s, this viewpoint altered and Smith noted that gentrification was no longer an oddity within the housing market, as was argued to be the case in the 1970s and 1980s. His point was that rehabilitation of Victorian housing stock, new condominium development, the opening of markets to attract outside tourists, boutique shopping and post-modern office developments could all fall under the banner of gentrification. The question of how to conceptually separate gentrification was becoming more difficult (Smith, 1996).

Other scholars have widened the scope of their definitions to include the various 'mutations' of gentrification (different forms in different places). For example in the context of Sydney, Australia, Shaw (2002) argues that it is unhelpful to confine gentrification to residential rehabilitation of Glass (1964) and in the context of new build gentrification, Davidson and Lees (2005: 1161) argue new build gentrification should be seen as "one of the mutations of the gentrification process during post-recession or third wave era".

New build gentrification has become a contentious area of research and some scholars have sought to explain new build through other processes of gentrification such as 'residentialisation' or 're-urbanisation', reflecting the relatively recent interest in building new development within the city (Lambert and Boddy, 2002; Butler, 2007; Buzar *et al.*, 2007; Davidson and Lees, 2010; Doucet *et al.*, 2011).

One of the key issues is that of displacement, which has been seen as a key part of gentrification, yet scholars such as Boddy (2007) are sceptical that working class people become displaced through new build gentrification. The opposing argument of scholars such as Loretta Lees is that there are a variety of ways in which people become displaced through gentrification. This might not be visible and can vary over time ─ which supports Darren Smith (2002) in terms of opening gentrification up to a wider enquiry of temporality, space and wider scope to include other forms and types of gentrifier.

Davidson and Lees (2010) note the flaw with considering the repopulation of cities as 'reurbanisation' is that it excludes the consideration of gentrification and the associated increases in real estate prices that over longer periods of time cause a displacement effect (see below displacement pressure). They also note the complexity or displacement relations in cities such as London where lower and middle class residents become displaced through the corporatisation of gentrification through super-gentrification and are out bid in the housing markets.

Four means of displacement (adapted from Marcuse, 1985)

1. **Direct last resident displacement**: Landlords cut off heat or resources in a forced eviction or apply a rent hike.
2. **Direct chain displacement**: Previous households who were forced to move to deterioration of building or rent hikes.
3. **Exclusionary displacement**: Residents cannot access housing as it has been gentrified or abandoned.
4. **Displacement pressure**: Dispossession suffered by low-income groups during gentrification of their neighbourhood.

More recently, it has been argued that displacement is more complex than the above means and Hamnett (1994; 2003) noted in a London context that rather than gentrification solely being about working class displacement, his argument was that the middle class had expanded and there had been a contraction of the working class. This is an argument similar to David Ley in terms of the growth of professional managerial workers. Freeman

and Braconi (2004) in research on New York found that gentrification slowed the departure of low income residents rather than accelerated displacement. However, New York is not representative of all contexts around the world and work on gentrification has looked at education, for example through the work of Butler and Robson (2003b) on circuits of education in London. This reveals how the middle class are able to monopolise housing and choice of schools to suit the educational aspirations of their children and the displacement effect of education have yet to be quantified.

New build gentrification has been seen as a threat to the definition of gentrification and using the terms of Atkinson, possibly a 'vengeful wrecker' of the concept due to the plurality of meanings associated with it (Atkinson, 2003). In effect, it is gentrification of a different form, reflecting upon the mutation of gentrification as tastes and demographic trends come into effect.

What was lacking from earlier interventions concerning new build gentrification were the wider implications for communities affected by significant new constructions within cities. Research conducted by Davidson and Lees (2010) noted the historical development and critical geographies of new build gentrification. This account utilised the structures of feeling identified by Caulfield (1989; 1994), viewing gentrification through the displacement of working class communities. Interviews with people within these transforming communities who had been established longer within neighbourhoods had noticed a change in services such as retail that serviced the needs of the newcomers buying or renting new build apartments. New development was gated, close to working class

areas, and there was evidence of chain and exclusionary displacement leading to rapid house price inflation that would exclude the working class (Marcuse, 1985). Dealing with the criticism that new build gentrification does not necessarily cause direct displacement that can be easily seen ─ Davidson and Lees (2010) found the working class people they were interviewing were still living in their respective neighbourhoods (Brentford, Wandsworth, Thamesmead) but were becoming disenfranchised with changes that they had no involvement with.

Davidson and Lees argue for a broader definition of gentrification that would include new build (Clark, 2005). It could be argued this approach would allow for the variety of mutations in gentrifier types and new forms of gentrification, although for some scholars, this moves beyond the original characteristics of gentrification highlighted by Ruth Glass (1964), with residential rehabilitation not a defining characteristic.

2.3 From Urban to Rural Gentrification

Temporally, rural gentrification originated from studies into rural communities, particularly studies such as Pahl's '*Urbs in Rure*' (Pahl, 1965) that examined the metropolitan fringe of Hertfordshire. The implication of such studies was that urban people were taking up residence in rural areas, which would herald the beginnings of academic work on counterurbanisation in a British context at least. Mitchell (2004) notes ─ reviewing the international perspectives on counterurbanisation ─ that scholars have considered counterurbanisation as a chaotic concept, harking back to gentrification as a chaotic conception (Champion, 1992; Halfacree, 1994; Champion, 1998). Although there is much

complexity in defining the term, it relates to the changing distribution of the population and unlike urbanisation, which has involved concentration in urban areas ─ counter urbanisation was seen to be about de-concentration of population to rural areas (Champion, 1995). During the 1960s and 1970s, scholars argued that population de-concentration was taking place, although Champion (1987) found this dropped off during the 1980s. Remote rural areas experienced a surge in growth during 1963-1967 and peaked during 1971 and 1972, with a trend of settling down during 1974-1975 onwards (Champion, 1981).

Some explanations for the decline in de-concentration include the decline in demand for raw materials during the 1970s and the OPEC oil crisis and spending cuts in public services that could make living in accessible rural settlements more attractive. Counterurbanisation can be influenced by a variety of competing trends that could be argued to overlap, such as the relocation of manufacturing (Keeble, 1978), changes in residential preferences (an anti-urban bias), changes in demographic and social structures, housing supply and rural resource development (Champion, 1987).

However, although counterurbanisation research has examined the trend for people to move from large metropolitan areas to smaller, remote rural locations further down the settlement hierarchy ─ Mitchell (2004) argued that to understand the redistribution of populations, we need to look further than counterurbanisation. Examining Table 2.1 (p.49) however, the attempts to place counterurbanisation into three categories based on the collection of previous residential origin, household employment and household motivation data appears

limited in explaining the underlying causes of counterurbanisation. It implies that counterurbanisation is too broad to account for all the processes associated with it.

Ex-urbanization, the migration outside metropolitan areas (Nelson and Dueker, 1990; Esparza and Carruthers, 2000), has similarly in a US context, been used to explain the movement of people and development of settlements outside the dominant metropolitan zones and this has been linked to lifestyle preferences for rural areas and an attachment to rurality. However, it could be argued both counterurbanisation and Ex-urbanization suffer from a lack of critical engagement with the localised patterns of rural population movement and class.

Spencer (1995) noted in a South Oxfordshire case study that additional population was accommodated in established towns and larger villages and that newcomers to rural areas were becoming established in these larger settlements, with the remote rural areas seeing little change. Gentrification in an urban context has often been associated with smaller household units and it is quite possible for population to decline with the onset of gentrification. The class dimension that defines gentrification is lacking in the counterurbanisation field as well as ex-urbanization work in the US, so although gentrification can be seen as part of a wider de-concentration of people moving from urban to rural ─ it focuses specifically on middle class groups and their ability to colonise rural space (Phillips, 1993).

Rural gentrification shares any of the factors, which define urban gentrification, including a focus on class, renovation, displacement of the working class ─ although there are a number of dimensions that differentiate rural gentrification.

Table 2.1 Removed due to copyright restrictions

1. The changing class structure of rural Britain based upon an incursion of affluent, middle-class gentrifiers, seeking a rural lifestyle. Unlike ex-urban migration, the origin of rural gentrifiers could be urban but also suburban and constructed around the countryside as a space of consumption (Marsden, 1999). As a result of this change, the working class becomes displaced due to the decline of local employment in agriculture and industry and the rise of a consumption countryside

leads to a rise in land values and thus property prices (Phillips, 1993; Cloke *et al.*, 1995b; Urry, 1995).

2. The shift from a countryside based on the production of food (Marsden *et al.*, 1993) and goods has resulted in a shift towards a countryside utilised for recreation and consumption. In the Scott Report of 1942, agriculture was almost completely exempt from planning controls; the countryside held a central position within settlement planning (Halfacree, 1999). By the 1970s, this protected status was under threat from falling farm outputs, declines in state subsidy of agriculture, increasing competitiveness within international food markets and growing regulation to nullify the environmental impacts of agricultural production (Ilbery and Bowler, 1998).

3. In rural areas, changes in the composition of the property market, through the Right to Buy Policy have led to a decline in affordable rental property in many rural communities, with former tenants able to purchase a property at a reduced rate (Bowler and Lewis, 1987; Chaney and Sherwood, 2000). This also signalled a shift in emphasis towards a home owning society.

4. Rural gentrification itself has become part of a wider geography of gentrification debate concerning the similarities and differences between rural gentrification and urban gentrification (Lees, 2000; Smith, 2002a; 2002b; Phillips, 2004; Hines, 2010; Nelson *et al.*, 2010; 2011).

With the increasing proliferation of differing forms of gentrification, attention will now turn to the variety of gentrifiers that now inhabit gentrified spaces in both rural and urban contexts.

3. Who are the Gentrifiers?

Introduction

Tables 2.2 and 2.3 indicate the increasing diversity of gentrifiers, across rural and urban space. I begin by discussing the gentrifier types identified by Neil Smith and attempt to go into more detail concerning their characteristics than was the case in section one concerning the production and consumption debate. I then discuss the work of Jon Caulfield in defining gentrifiers through how they represent gentrified space and how they 'practice' within space. There is a commonality in the gentrifiers that have emerged within the gentrification literature ─ the socio-spatial expansion of gentrification into different spaces such as the rural (at least conceptually) has led to the term gentrifier taking on different meanings.

Table 2.2 Different gentrifier types conceptualised within the literature (Urban).

Gentrifier type	Characteristics	References	Urban/Rural Gentrification
Global Gentrifiers	Mobility of gentrifiers across nation-states. Elite community, projection of a global identity.	Bridge, 2007; Davidson 2007; Rofe, 2003.	Urban
Super-gentrifiers	Elite gentrifiers, employed in management and finance sectors.	Lees, (2003); Butler and Lees (2006).	Urban/Rural?
Studentification	Provincial towns and cities.	Smith and Holt (2007).	Urban
Marginal	Reliance on own labour 'sweat equity'.	Rose, 1984; Phillips, 1993; Smith 1979a.	Urban/Rural

gentrification (also 'sweat equity')			
Professional Developers	Resell property for profit.	Smith, 1979b.	Urban
Landlord developers	Rent property after refurbishment.	Smith, 1979b.	Urban
Unmediated owner occupier developers	Buy property and employ developers to renovate.	Smith 1979a.	Urban

Table 2.3 Different gentrifier types conceptualised within the literature (Rural).

Gentrifier type	Description	Literature	Urban/Rural Gentrification
Move in and join in	Gentrification for a community lacking in larger urban areas.	Cloke *et al*, 1995, 1998	Rural
Move in for self/show	Village lifestyle home and garden important.	Cloke *et al*, 1995, 1998	Rural
Village gentry	Secured local positions of power without strong ties to the community.	Cloke *et al*, 1995, 1998	Rural
Village regulators	Local regulation via planning controls, seen as community leaders.	Cloke *et al*, 1995, 1998	Rural
Remote greentrifiers	Anti-city, retreat to remote location for therapeutic reasons.	Smith and Phillips (2001)	Rural
Village greentrifiers	Desire for community belonging.	Smith and Phillips (2001)	Rural
Move in and join in	Gentrification for a community lacking in larger urban areas.	Cloke *et al*, 1995, 1998	Rural
Move in for self/show	Village lifestyle home and garden important.	Cloke *et al*, 1995, 1998	Rural
Professional/managerial	Commuting, patriarchal household formations.	Phillips, 1993	Rural

3.1 Occupier Developers, Professional Developers and Landlord Developers

Neil Smith outlined three gentrifier types, occupier developers, professional developers and landlord developers. Occupier developers were both consumers and investors in the built environment through the benefit they derived from the difference between the purchase price of a property and its eventual sale price that equates to a profit. Professional developers bought property, redeveloped the property and sold for a profit. The final type of gentrifier Smith identified were landlord developers and the key difference with landlords was that they derived their income from rent and thus in a declining market, were likely to withdraw investment and redirect this finance elsewhere where a higher rate of return could be obtained (Smith, 1982).

As noted earlier, Smith revealed relatively little about the characteristics of his gentrifier types, an aspect Chris Hamnett critiques, particularly in regard to occupier developers where Hamnett noted that subsuming this group under developers denied these gentrifiers their own agency to consume:

> "*Only by classifying them as developers is he able to circumvent this awkward intrusion of individual renovation for consumption into his producer dominated thesis"* (Hamnett, 1991: 180).

3.1.1 Marginal Gentrifiers

Not all gentrifiers seek to gain from their investment exclusively through profit. Marginal gentrifiers who invest sweat equity and much of their economic capital into their property, are not solely driven by profit, and renovation of property in dilapidated inner cities was also related to appreciating house prices that made it difficult for more marginal gentrifiers to purchase new properties proximate to professional/managerial work (Rose, 1984). They thus adapted by renovating older properties in dilapidated parts of the city. Whilst Neil Smith identified gentrifiers as either owner occupiers, developers or landlords, a variety of scholars have identified marginal gentrifiers that do not conform to the stereotypical affluence of yuppie gentrifiers[2] (Smith, 1987b; Phillips, 1993).

As with the different forms of gentrification that have emerged relatively recently ─ in the case of new build ─ a gentrifier's life course is not fixed and static. Caulfield (1989) noted that marginal gentrifiers have been seen as first phase re-settlers within cities before large scale capital of developers and the state moves in and creates a more capital intensive form of gentrification (discussed in section to follow on super-gentrifiers). What characterised the marginal gentrifiers was not their economic capital ─ it was their desire to live in mixed neighbourhoods. They were sometimes on the margins of the middle class ─ similarly to Bourdieu's (1986) petite bourgeoisie who often lacked the cultural capital of the intellectuals, but were seen as being part of the middle class.

[2] Yuppie during the 1980s represented negative connotations of young, upwardly mobile professional workers.

Marginal gentrifiers in an urban context were often higher in cultural capital, enabled through emancipatory social practice. This groups of marginal gentrifiers was identified in the 1980s, particularly through groups such as marginal gay gentrifiers who did not want just residential property ─ they desired a space for interaction, leisure, pleasure and also business (Castells, 1983). These desires of first phase gentrifiers are linked to the aforementioned forms of human practice were on the decline under contemporary city building programmes.

Marginal gentrifiers were also identified in a rural context within Phillip's case study of the Gower peninsula, Wales (Phillips, 1993). He had argued the rural literature had narrowly constructed rural areas as spaces of service class professional and managerial colonisation (Cloke and Thrift, 1987; Cloke and Thrift, 1990). In Phillips study of the Gower, these marginal gentrifiers did not access the professional agents of more affluent gentrifiers (e.g. architects and builders) when moving into rural areas. Gentrification was also stretched over a longer period as finance was often harder to come by due to the nature of properties being renovated, such as disused buildings.

3.1.2 Rural gentrifiers

Considering that the term gentrifier emerged from the landed gentry around the 14th Century onwards (Thompson, 2003), those who owned country estates, did so to display a form of cultural competency among upper class elites. However, rural gentrification research only managed to gain prominence during the 1990s and 2000s with the recognition that middle class migration was affecting the composition of some rural villages and market

towns (Phillips, 1993; Cloke *et al.*, 1995b; Smith and Phillips, 2001). There has been a realisation that the middle classes have come to dominate the country in terms of wealth, power and influence (Pahl, 1965; Thrift and Williams, 1987; Newby, 1989). This has subsequently led to the consideration of gentrification in a rural context, although it has most likely been taking place since rural landowners sold significant plots of land for development, as this became a more profitable activity.

Different types of rural gentrifier have been identified within the literature ─ firstly, I shall deal with the lifestyle categories coined by Cloke *et al*., (1995b) and secondly Smith and Phillips (2001) who argue in line with the work of Butler and Robson (2003b) that in different areas ─ gentrifier types can vary across space, even within the same settlement. This also has relevance due to the case study being the market town of Hebden Bridge in Yorkshire.

Cloke *et al*., (1995) identified four lifestyle strategies that were being employed in rural areas although the authors argue that there was much difference in how interviewees 'lived' within countryside space. Firstly, local gentry were identified, who prided themselves on their linkage to the local community through heritage and belonging. They perform in local arenas through community organisations and parish councils (and similar decision-making bodies). However, they tended not to have significant associations with the agricultural heritage of a village nor the culture, due to their professional and geographical background.

Secondly, village regulators become interested in planning controls and desired to protect village space from undue alteration (based on their own conceptions of rurality). Thirdly, the move in and join in strategy was associated with traditional notions of rural community. This grouping liked to get involved in village activities such as the local pub, church or sports teams. Fourth, the move in a show for self-group of rural gentrifiers were influenced more by village aesthetics, with a lifestyle strategy focused on the immediate home and garden space.

What was apparent from these generalisations on rural lifestyle was that the rural idyll ─ the construct used extensively to popularise discourses of rurality ─ has commonalities with the structures of feeling echoed by David Ley and Jon Caulfield in an urban context. These structures of feeling are expressions or feelings harking back to times where communities were closer knit (Caulfield, 1989). The categories emphasise that whilst some gentrifiers are attempting to realise their rural dream or idyllic lifestyle (which the authors argue is very diverse) and become immersed within the local community, others are living in the rural for purely aesthetic or financial reasons (the stereotypical place in the country).

Smith and Phillips (2001) have perhaps conducted the most interesting study regarding rural gentrifiers within the market town of Hebden Bridge where two types of gentrifier were identified: remote and village greentrifiers. Remote greentrifiers lived on the remote moor tops of Hebden Bridge and tended to be owner occupiers within the family forming stage of their lifecycle, had a good education (to degree level) and were employed in professional/managerial occupations such as law and finance. Some were commuters to

outlying urban areas (Bradford, Leeds, and Manchester). Others came from much further afield, often the Southeast including London.

In practice, they desired to move away from cities and the relative isolation of the moor tops was viewed in a positive manor. The 'past' was marketed by estate agents attempting to draw on traditional lifestyles through milking livestock and collecting free-range products such as eggs. Smith and Phillips (2001) were a little sceptical of this lifestyle as the remote greentrifiers were dependent upon wider metropolitan areas for their employment and social interactions. They also indicated a rejection of traditional countryside pursuits and with social interactions occurring elsewhere, there was also a lack of social capital grounded in Hebden Bridge and this was reflected in lower membership to local institutions. This bears some resemblance to Cloke *et al*., (1995) and their move in for show and self-category, where the space of the immediate home and environment was influential, rather than local community participation.

Village greentrifiers lived within four villages on the outskirts of Hebden Bridge. Again, they were owner-occupiers and a similar age range (25 to 44) but were less likely to be at the family forming stage of their lifecycle or post family forming (empty nesters). They were likely to be university graduates but there were significant socio-economic differences compared with the remote greentrifiers and they were employed in teaching related occupations and depended less on cars.

They had a greater desire to involve themselves in community activity, more of a move in and join in mentality (see Cloke *et al*., 1995b). This can be traced to a previous anti-materialist lifestyle that was adopted earlier in their life course although village greentrifiers had 'dropped out' from this lifestyle and pursued relatively middle class occupations. They distinguished themselves from yuppie gentrifiers of cities such as London and valued a balance between work and the environment, reflected in the purchase of former weavers' cottages that represented previous practices of working from home. Forty-three percent of these village greentrifiers were attracted by a sense of community compared with four percent for remote greentrifiers.

3.1.3 Global Gentrifiers and the Globalisation of Gentrification

In the last section, reference was made to the mutation of gentrifiers and temporally moving into the 21st Century ─ new gentrifiers are being identified. Global and super-gentrifiers reflect the next stage of gentrification where global identity and the widening networks of capital come to be reflected in differing gentrifier identities that span nation states and nationalist identities (Lees, 2003; Butler and Lees, 2006).

Rofe (2003) highlighted the role of global gentrifiers who defined themselves through their global ties, operating across different spaces. The argument Rofe makes is that with the erosion of spatial boundaries such as those of the nation state, globalisation has often been represented as an homogenous global culture ─ implying the same process across the globe. Instead, Rofe is arguing that there are multiple global communities, of which the 'gentrifying class' is just one in a fragmenting class structure. Within selected cities tied to

global flows of capital and human capital, global gentrifiers are creating an identity based on a form of commodification that "erodes the symbolic significance of once fashionable consumption practices" (Rofe, 2003: 2522). These gentrifiers aligned themselves as global citizens, rather than just part of one nation-state, they are cosmopolitan (or so they believe) and part of a wider world culture (King, 1993).

Bridge (2007) critiques this idea however by arguing that there are many localised strategies of distinction that make gentrification, and this is an example of where some scholars see the concept of gentrification becoming stretched. This criticism could also reflect in that a global gentrifier class has been refuted by Davidson (2007) who has argued that in global cities, such as Sydney ─ which Rofe uses as a case study ─ the global gentrifiers experience gentrification through 'capital actors'. These primarily consist of developers' and architects that produce global style buildings, with concierge services such as dry cleaning, restaurants and retail provided in waterfront developments.

Davidson was arguing that the gentrifiers in his London based waterfront case studies were more 'corporate' in terms of the gentrifiers not being engaged in their local community to the same extent as the gentrifiers of Butler (2007) in the London Docklands, who are urban 'place makers' or with Rofe (2003) where gentrifiers desire to consume multicultural products, such as diverse cuisine. Davidson (2007) made a distinction between two types of gentrifier: International gentrifiers accrue a globalised identity through their employment. They tend to be highly mobile and thus never place roots down in communities in which they live and therefore accrue little social capital. Cosmopolitan

gentrifiers are associated with a global lifestyle and cultural identity. These gentrifiers tend to consume and partake in expensive leisure activities, such as skiing abroad.

In the end, Davidson argued that with the onset of neoliberal urbanism, whereby private capital increasingly enters cities for regeneration purposes, gentrifiers tend to deploy little social capital as noted and socio-economic difference has become starker, with waterfront developments acting as gated communities to undesirable local residents (Cook, 2004; Rofe, 2006; Murphy, 2008). Bridge (2007) prefers the idea of global super-gentrifiers in order to account for localised pockets of global citizens who gentrify, however, their stocks of economic capital are often too high to reflect the process of gentrification that has been seen to be undertaken by a diversity of gentrifiers. Scholars have not tended to place limits on the income of gentrifiers as such, due to the nebulous definition of what constitutes a gentrifier ─ which is understandable ─ bearing in mind the increasing diversity of studies into the phenomenon.

3.1.4 Super-Gentrifiers

Super-gentrification, identified by Lees, reflects the globalising nature of capital and the elite who benefit from it (Lees, 2003). This is based on the premise that the 1990s saw new forms of gentrifiers produced through the acquisition of significant capital from employment in financial services industries. In New York, houses that were gentrified during the 1960s and 1970s were being re-gentrified and the sell on value of such properties in areas of Brooklyn appreciated as wealthy financial professionals renovated property quickly to make significant returns. These super-gentrifiers were unlike the other

gentrifiers I have outlined in that, to a significant extent, they are not dependent upon mortgage finance and can often pay for property in cash.

Gentrifier practices also vary with a more corporatist element to gentrification. Local residents who were first time pioneers in gentrified parts of Brooklyn were now witnessing less community involvement by distant super-gentrifiers who often had to travel to work long hours therefore, there is less time to be involved with local institutions and decision making bodies. This super gentrification has also been identified in a UK context through Butler and Robson (2001a) and the concentration of financial resources in London, although their wider work does indicate that gentrifier types are likely to differ based on locality.

There is also the possibility of such super-gentrifiers in a market towns context. As far back as the 1960s, people were being encouraged to decentralise from London towards outlying new towns and small country towns. With the expansion of some market towns in the 1960s, such as Daventry in Northamptonshire, housing was mainly provided by the Local Authorities and in this instance, 75% of housing in new estates (Northamptonshire County Council, 1967). Behind this expansion of housing however, Seeley (1968) noted that there was demand from wealthy executives to build their own properties on private plots. Local County Councils, Seeley acknowledged, were not warm to this but with market towns ─ as highlighted in Chapter 1 ─ becoming enrolled in regeneration programmes, the likelihood of super-gentrifiers is likely, particularly where the market towns are within commuting distance of London or provincial cities where large companies

have set up corporate headquarters to reduce costs. In the final part of this chapter, the theoretical approach that runs through the thesis will be outlined and linked to contemporary gentrification.

4. A Trialectical Approach to Examining Gentrification in English Market Towns

Lees (2000) at the turn of the 21st Century conducted a significant review of the gentrification literature. The review highlights many issues that have not received adequate attention in the literature; there is a commonality to the gaps she identifies, these are predominantly 'urban' gaps in the gentrification literature (see Table 2.4). The review paid little attention to 'othered' spaces of gentrification outside the confines of the city. Phillips (2004) has been most vocal in arguing the geography of gentrification outlined by Lees was narrow in spatial scope. The lowest scale of gentrification identified by Lees (2000) was citywide that has included provincial cities such as Portland, Maine USA, Bristol and Leeds (Bridge, 2003; Dutton, 2003; Lees, 2006). The gentrification debate in this context was argued to be one dimensional, relying on the urban form whilst neglecting other geographies of gentrification, most notably the rural. The criticism Phillips (2004) has of this approach was it enacted firstspace geography of gentrification that was predominantly defined through urban space.

Table 2.4 Removed due to copyright restrictions

In the next section, I will outline the firstspace debate relating to gentrification, which forms part of a trialectical approach to space devised by Ed Soja (1996) that aimed to deal with geographical thinking that was boxed into firstspace or secondspace conceptualisations. The thirdspace, as Soja proposes, completes a trialectical approach whereby human practices are considered in relationship with the first and secondspace.

4.1 Firstspace Geographies of Gentrification

The firstspace is one of three spatial configurations highlighted by the geographer Ed Soja (1996) that form a trialectical approach to examining the production of space. This approach is heavily influenced by the work of Henri Lefebvre and his major work '*The Production of Space*' that also considered perceived, conceived and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991). Soja (1996) also divided space into three forms, the firstspace, secondspace and thirdspace. I will highlight these in turn and relate them to gentrification and market towns specifically.

The firstspace epistemology is defined through a fixation on concrete, material spatial forms. These material forms can be empirically mapped in terms of how space is perceived. This spatial form is illustrated by the routines of everyday life ─ routes, networks, leisure spaces of the urban all material entities within the built environment (Soja, 1996). These material spaces can be measured by their location to things, reflected in the proliferation within geography of geographical information systems (GIS). Soja argues this can be comprehended as:

> "*A material and materialized 'physical' spatiality that is directly comprehended in empirically measurable configurations: in the absolute and relative locations of things and activities, sites and situations; in patterns of distribution, designs, and in the differentiation of a multitude of materialised phenomena across spaces and places"* (Soja, 1996: 74-75).

Figure 2.3 removed due to copyright restrictions

The geography of gentrification debate has privileged urban material space and particular spatial scales that range from the global to city wide in occurrences of gentrification. Phillips (2004) points to the rural gentrification work on 'greentrification' that represents the rural as a significant territory of gentrification. One of the issues even with this work was that it constructed rural and urban gentrification as 'culturally distinct constructs' (Phillips, 2004: 6-7).

Although the demand for green space is a different driver for encouraging gentrification of rural areas in the case of Smith and Phillips (2001), this fails to consider the commonalities between urban and rural gentrification, such as the displacement of working class residents and the interrelationship between urban and rural places. Another factor that can relate to both urban and rural studies of gentrification and the enactment of a firstspace perspective has been the focus on outcomes ─ places that have already been gentrified (Smith, 2002a). Often work has looked at gentrification at a fixed point in time, rather than tracing the historical development of gentrification through time. Work by Davidson and Lees (2010) has attempted to deal with such criticism via new build gentrification and examining the processes through eyes of the remaining local working class, who have seen their neighbourhoods transformed and have memories of the transformed urban landscape.

4.2 Second and Thirdspace Geographies of Gentrification

Secondspace and thirdspace epistemologies defined by Soja (1996) require a shift from the relatively fixed material configurations of firstspace geographies of gentrification. Second and thirdspace connotations of gentrification can be seen as reactions to the closed nature of

the firstspace ─ the first space is essentially exclusionary. Positive gentrification introduced in cities used quantitative data on school admission rates, vacant property and tax receipt data to justify encouraging gentrification.

Firstspace geographies were defined by perceived space whilst secondspace notions of spatiality are conceived, "discursively defined representations of space" (Soja, 1996: 79). Secondspace is thus conceived in the mind ─ representations are created in the human mind and such ideas have found their way into gentrification research through the work of both Ley (1996) and Caulfield (1989; 1994) through 'structures of feeling'. To outline this briefly, gentrification can be seen as a response to a middle class malaise towards suburban living. They represent negativity through standardised architectural structures, homogeneity and conservatism. As Ley notes:

> "*The suburbs are too standardised, too homogenous, too bland, too conformist, too hierarchical, too conservative, too patriarchal, too straight*" (Ley, 1996: 205).

The concept can be seen to repeat urban and rural dualisms in gentrification research ─ the inner city is constructed as emancipatory through what Lees (2000) noted in the context of regenerating cities and trying to tempt the middle classes back to the cities whilst the suburbs become represented as conformist and conservative. Structures of feeling, it is argued by Phillips (2004), transgress the territory of material firstspace epistemologies into both second and thirdspace (which will be outlined).

Neil Smith in the mid-1990s examined the notion of gentrification as a new frontier, comparing urban frontiers being gentrified with the Wild West imagery. He argued the Wild West was like a container, of multiple meanings where the line between savagery and civilization could be witnessed (Smith, 1996). Gentrified places also emit a series of unified meanings that promote a sense of optimism related to gentrification on the urban frontier. The frontier also relates to the ability to profit most from gentrification, as finding the right investment opportunities is important. The city, rather than being an emancipatory space, was becoming a dark and dangerous space where the state and the market were working against those othered by gentrification (the poor, displaced and the homeless). Gentrification is, in this instance, thus represented as a policy of revenge.

In rural studies, equally powerful representations have been articulated through the concept of rural idyll (Mingay, 1989; Philo, 1992; Valentine, 1997). This has acted as a powerful socio-cultural projection into how the rural is perceived by people and it has long been seen as a positive, idealised notion of rurality. Valentine (1997) argued it has been informed by modernist thinking that has linked the rural idyll to a sense of closer community. This representation of smaller, closer communities in rural areas has currency in contemporary times with authors such as Robert Putnam (2000) in the famous text *Bowling Alone* where findings indicated community is seen to be in a state of disintegration and the rural becomes a reminder when people undertook more activities together. This is perhaps similar in effect to urbane structures of feeling articulated by Caulfield (1989; 1994) and Ley (1996) in that there is for some, a higher quality of life if one can access the inner city gentrified neighbourhoods or the sanctuary of rural villages and market towns.

Without the word having common currency in rural studies, gentrification in the way Phillips (1993) articulates it as class colonisation ─ could already be said to be underway in many rural villages (Little, 1987). Arguments made in the previous section by Smith (1996) concerning how gentrification mobilises to exclude and displace marginal and working class communities, can be applied to the rural.

The representation of the rural idyll has often neglected the more complicated reality-taking place within material space inhabited by real people. Soja (1996) notes that ─ referring to Lefebvre (1991) ─ that the world of spatiality has been limited to dualistic thinking which became known as the *double illusion* where emphasis has been placed on firstspace (material) and secondspace (representational) approaches to spatial thinking. The rural idyll both in terms of public policy and the academic literature has had a powerful influence in regard to how rural areas come to be represented in idealised ways, often ignoring the hardship of rural life in relatively recent times (Cloke *et al.*, 1995a; Woodward, 1996; Haynes and Gale, 2000).

In criticising Smith (1996), Phillips noted that his Marxist political economy focus still absolved gentrifiers of individual responsibility for actions (gentrifying) and instead apportions blame on wider market forces in which they had no control. In the context of Soja's trialectical theory ─ although to be commended on his treatment of the secondspace by examining imagery related to gentrification ─ the neglect of gentrifier agency means that the thirdspace or lived space where people live and practice is not problematised.

What is neglected in both the urban context through the revanchist city and the rural idyll in the rural context is how these spaces become 'lived' in (Lefebvre, 1991).

Aforementioned, Darren Smith (2002) as well as calling for a widening of the spatial lens applied to studies of gentrification, has also called for a more temporally sensitive account of gentrification; examining the life course of gentrifiers rather than considering them at one point in time (i.e. at the point of gentrifying). This opens up the possibility to examine the thirdspace of places as people and places are not fixed in time, they are in a constant state of flux.

The thirdspace is the last piece of Soja's trialectical approach. The thirdspace moves beyond material and mental constructions by viewing space as an arena for practice through human agency. It involves the inter-relationship between the first and second space, but examines space as active, lived and more open. Within the thirdspace, the dominant order of things is challenged. This can take on many guises, with Caulfield (1989); we can see evidence of this thirdspace epistemology through consideration of the desires of marginal gentrifiers (highlighted in Chapter 2). He argues that the desire of these gentrifiers to live in socially diverse inner city communities was related to city building in newer cities where qualities, such as subverting established values, and expressing multiple identities (gay and ethnic identities for example) was in conflict with conservative city construction. Thus, gentrified spaces reflect spaces of rupture, opening up the possibility for less accepted forms of human practice.

The Transformation of English Market Towns: Gentrification

The dualism within the English imagination between town and country has tended to act as a block on an emancipatory rural space (thirdspace). As I have argued previously, rural areas have only tended to be emancipatory for those affluent enough to be able to afford the rising property prices. The rural idyll has been constructed mainly in the first and second spaces; although there is work, highlighting what might be considered as informed by a thirdspace epistemological approach.

Work highlighting the counter-cultural differences within the middle class gentrifiers of Hebden Bridge whereby a non-traditional lifestyle was practiced in a rural market town have begun to feature in the gentrification literature (Smith and Phillips, 2001). A non-traditional lifestyle was also reflected in the presence of a gay community in Hebden Bridge and this somewhat disrupted the taken for granted notion that such gay gentrification was exclusively located in large cities. Within some of Smith and Holt's interviews, respondents mentioned that in the urban, intolerance was experienced due to the rejection by some of gay and lesbian identities (Smith and Holt, 2005). This had led to some moving to Hebden Bridge to escape to the rural, quite similarly to heterosexual moves to rural areas, although with different circumstances initiating migration in some cases.

Now that Soja's approach to space has been introduced, a summary will highlight the key arguments made in this chapter.

5. Summary: Market towns as Possible Sites of Gentrification?

This review has sought to chart the gentrification debate that has originating in urban areas and gradually become recognised in rural areas. Part one considered the theoretical battle during the 1980s that resulted in distinct economic and cultural interpretations of gentrification, however during the 1990s, there was increasing recognition that both approaches could be utilised to help explain gentrification (Lees, 1994; Smith, 1996). There has been recognition of the changing nature of gentrification, reflected in a post 1990s economic boom.

Part two noted gentrification has mutated to consider the widening of gentrification debate, initiated by a number of gentrification scholars (Lees, 2000; Smith, 2002a; Phillips, 2004). Provincial gentrification as argued to diffuse down the urban hierarchy, infecting provincial cities such as Bristol and Leeds in the UK context. New build gentrification was highlighted as a highly contentious issue because property renovation is irrelevant when considering new constructions. Wider demographic changes in the population of England were enabling the 'mutation' of gentrification through new build and into rural areas. Rural gentrification linked to a wider desire to live in the countryside, but rural gentrification differs from counterurbanisation as it focuses on class differences and inequalities.

Part three examined the plethora of gentrifier types and there was some evidence that market towns could also exhibit evidence of gentrification. Work undertaken by Smith and Phillips (2001) indicates similarly to Darling (2005) that nature ─ or in this case manicured nature ─ is used to stimulate gentrification. Phillips (1993) had already identified both

marginal and professional/managerial type gentrifiers in North Norfolk, a known space of second home ownership.

Although detailed breakdown of precise life course stages for gentrifiers are hard to define, due to the pace of residential turnover in gentrified neighbourhoods, previous research in a US context has indicated, as residential location becomes more urban, residential preferences have become more rural (Howell and Frese, 1983).

Howell and Frese noted that the movement of people from metropolitan areas to rural areas is a complex issue, as highlighted, in this review with different processes such as counterurbanisation, ex-urbanization and gentrification used to explain changes in rural areas. Fuguitt and James (1975) note that in the US, people preferred a rural area adjacent to a large metropolitan area and Darling (2005) found this to be the case in terms of rural gentrification in Adirondack Park in New York State where nature was the commodity desired by middle class people buying property in the area. This echoes the point made by Spencer (1995) in the context of counterurbanisation, where the overall population statistics can indicate a rural-urban shift, yet people can be concentrated in more accessible rural areas such as large villages and market towns rather than remote village locations.

Mutation is also reflected in new types of gentrifier that reflect the corporatisation of gentrification, such as super-gentrification. Gentrification is increasingly found provincial cities and has probably been present in rural areas for longer than the literature appreciates, although its impact now is more visible in the popular media, where the decline of rural

villages is attributed to our changing lifestyles and increased personal mobility. As people change over time, so must our definitions of gentrification. Victorian property, which in developed countries around the world (see Jager, 1986 Australia) has been used to define gentrification, should not be used as the primary means to identify gentrifying neighbourhoods. The supply of such property is limited, which would please those researchers who would like to see gentrification remain a relative oddity in the urban system. The next chapter will focus on methodological approaches that will be used in the thesis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction: Giving Space to the People

Market towns have been classified as urban in the Office for National Statistics (ONS) on the basis of a population size, yet they are represented as 'rural' in some cases, as part of a wider rural hinterland with the market towns as service centres (DETR and MAFF, 2000; Caffyn, 2004; Powe and Shaw, 2004). Little space has been provided for the people who live in market towns to articulate how they represent the towns in which they live and how they live within them. This becomes important in a policy context as market towns, as highlighted in Chapter 1, are being used to deal with population overspill from larger urban areas and there is a need to examine why people wish to live in market towns to cater for an increasing number of people.

By employing the firstspace, secondspace and thirdspace to analyse market towns in more detail than simply enumerating their service provision (services such as doctors, transport and retail provision), it has been possible with questionnaires and follow up semi-structured interviews to account for the working class perspective in the market towns studied as well as those identified as gentrifiers. The literature on gentrification has begun to produce accounts of the working class within gentrified neighbourhoods (Slater, 2006; Doucet, 2009) but in the rural context, the power of the rural idyll can mask the significant working class presence. This is discussed a little later in the chapter using the example of Hoggart's work on the rural working classes (Hoggart, 2007).

The next section outlines the research strategy, which includes details of the three primary methods used to answer the three research questions outlined in Chapter 1 (pp.19-20) Questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and conversation analysis were used along with analysis of the GB census.

3.2 Outline of Research Strategy

This section of the methodology outlines the methods used to answer the research questions and will be divided into the following sections. The first section will examine how the case studies were selected through three key themes used to limit selection down to three cases. The second section will detail the questionnaire used to investigate gentrification in Lutterworth, Swaffham, and Towcester. After a description of why a questionnaire approach was used to collect quantitative data, an outline of the sampling strategy along with response rates and the number of interviews conducted will summarise the use of this method. This will also include sample sizes and the number and type of properties selected for each town. Also at the end of the questionnaire sections, a brief section will summarise how the use of the GB census helped to analyse the extent of gentrification as part of Chapter 4 to follow.

Thirdly, the use of semi-structured interviews to understand why gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers choose to live in market towns will be outlined and justified in combination with the questionnaire. The questionnaire employed during the fieldwork was used to recruit interviewees and allowed a basic profile of the interviewee to be constructed. Fourth,

conversation analysis was applied to the transcriptions of the semi-structured interviews and detail will be provided on how interview texts were analysed.

3.2.1 Sampling Techniques: Case Studies

Three case studies were selected to represent different market town types, two were accessible market towns that were located close to major road networks and one town that was remote, linking back to Chapter 1, and the work of Paul Courtney (Courtney, 1998). This approach was adopted as existing research indicated that accessibility and remoteness could affect the character of a settlement (Banister and Gallent, 1999). Those in retirement and the local population according to Dix (1977), are more likely to demonstrate local activity in remote rural areas. Whilst on the other hand, work has noted the social class issues concerning accessibility with the working class partaking in more local activity due to restrictions on employment and transportation (Stokes, 1995). The middle classes on the other hand, are often tied to employment outside the town and the working class due to more limited resources, utilise the local retail offering and services.

Accessible settlements according to where car ownership is high, possess local facilities that are often less developed than remote market towns and thus market towns are not 'self-contained' whilst remote market towns endowed with better facilities, due to local patronage, are more contained with less leakage in terms of out-shopping to other settlements (Courtney, 1998). In a more general context, Moseley (1979: 1) describes accessibility as "relating to people's ability to reach things which are important to them".

On this basis, what is 'important' varies depending on the type of people involved. Older residents will more likely value health services such as doctors and chemists, particularly if they lack access to a car whilst a younger family will more often than not have access to a vehicle and therefore what is accessible varies. The definition of accessibility in this thesis is based on Moseley's simple definition above in terms of the geographic location of Swaffham, Lutterworth and Towcester.

The use of the terms accessible and remote also reflects categories within the 2004 Urban and Rural Definition (Bibby and Shepherd, 2004). This classification aimed to separate out rural areas based on the level of sparsity either sparse or less sparse (see Figure 3.1). Within a GIS programme (ArcView 3.3), linked with a 2001 urban areas data set, it is possible to analyse market towns and link them to the NS-SEC class categories used within the 2001 GB census.

Figure 3.1 Removed due to copyright restrictions

The small town and fringe category includes market towns (and other settlements classed as towns) divided into sparse and less sparse, which reflects remote and accessible settlements. This quantitative approach however could not on its own, prise out market towns worthy of analysis. The above rural/urban definition does not filter out solely market towns. Larger towns with populations above 30,000 (taken as the largest market towns) also fall into the rural/urban classification. The aim was to filter out from the 3532 urban places listed in the 2001 urban areas dataset; only those settlements that could be considered market towns were included. As Chapter 1 indicated, what could be considered a market town has changed over time.

Key characteristics for the selection of market towns were drawn up based on debates within gentrification studies and within the emerging market towns literature. The themes of accessibility, regeneration, growth of population and the promotion of history were all used as factors for determining case selection. These factors were encountered frequently during piloting exercises and initial visits to the case study towns (pilots discussed in the next section). Table 3.1 highlights the final three towns selected and below justification is provided for the four themes outlined.

Table 3.1 Criteria used for case study selection: Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester

Market town	Accessible/ Remote	Regeneration	Growth of population	Promotion of history
Lutterworth	Accessible	Yes	Yes	Moderate
Swaffham	Remote	No	Moderate	Moderate
Towcester	Accessible	Yes	Yes	Significant

Key narratives or stories have emerged within the gentrification literatures that have implications for the study of market town gentrification and have justified the case study selection. Firstly, regeneration has been debated extensively within the gentrification literature in an urban context with inner cities regenerated to draw in professionals (Cameron, 2003; Dutton, 2003). Dutton, along with scholars such as Neil Smith (2002b), have noted the presence of gentrification in more peripheral territories such as Leeds and market towns. These provincial cities are considered more accessible in terms of employment and transportation access, whilst market towns are more accessible than remote village locations with few services.

Market towns in terms of scale and function obviously differ from provincial and regional capital cities such as Leeds. With the increases in personal mobility provided by private car ownership and the lack of employment in rural areas (Findlay *et al.*, 2001), this service role has declined although popular discourse in the 2000 Rural White Paper portrays the service role as vital for rural areas (DETR and MAFF, 2000). Regeneration is seen as a route that can be used to encourage mixed-use developments that provide housing retail and employment space. Closely tied to this regeneration is population growth, with market towns experiencing renewed popularity as spaces to live (Halifax, 2006).

Growth of market town populations is taking place through the concentration of rural housing development within larger villages and market towns, according to a variety of Governmental and non-governmental organisations (Defra, 2004; ODPM, 2004; ARHC, 2006). Attributing population growth with gentrification on its own is problematic;

however, a growing market town indicates popularity with homeowners and reflects local governance strategy to grow individual settlements at the expense of others. The East of England Plan for example justifies the concentration of new housing development in market towns due to their accessibly to key urban areas (Communities and Local Government, 2008).

All towns used as case studies indicated some form of population growth, although by far Towcester was leading this process with the population anticipated to double close to 20,000 people by 2020 (South Northamptonshire County Council, 2009).

During the process of visiting a variety of market towns across the Midlands region, estate agents literature often used the term 'market town' in a historical context to evoke feelings of nostalgia that in turn aids a property sale. The promotion of history focuses on how people are drawn to the heritage of a bygone era linked closely to a rural concept of community. The promotion of history has been documented within the gentrification literature in an Australian context (Jager, 1986). Jager noted the promotion of a Victorian aesthetic within the built environment of Melbourne whereby a rustic, historical look to property was being replicated.

Market towns on the other hand come pre-packaged with a historic urban core, often protected through conservation status. All three case studies have areas of the townscape protected via conservation area status, which limits the development in areas of historic importance. For sampling purposes, the promotion of history was important as this theme

conflicts with growth and regeneration discourse. Towcester was slightly ahead in terms of promoting its history through its roman origins and archaeological work taking place within the town.

The three themes of regeneration, growth and history together influenced the selection of Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester as case study market towns. The next section details the sampling technique for the questionnaire survey and the interviews. I then outline the use of conversation and discourse analysis for analysing the interview transcripts.

3.2.2 Ethical Considerations

As with any field research, there were ethical questions to consider in each of the market towns. In all cases, opt outs were offered for both the questionnaire stage of the research and semi-structured interviews. A research participant could therefore decide to opt out of participating all together or just fill in a questionnaire and not partake in an interview.

With the questionnaire, it was possible to easily anonymised by assigning responses numbers. For the semi-structured interviews, a form was provided which outlined the rationale behind the research and how information would only be used for research purposes, such as publication in a PhD thesis and academic publications. At all times, I wore university ID tags and within correspondence, the University of Leicester logo was used in order to differentiate the research from market research.

A decision that required consideration was whether to protect the identity of the market towns. After much consideration, I decided that anonymising the towns would lower the impact of the thesis in policy circles ─ the identity of people would be protected and anonymised. In depth ethnographic work was not conducted in the market towns, which influenced this decision, although in future work, the protection of a town's identity would be a consideration.

3.2.3 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was important for the following reasons. Firstly, it would provide indications of gentrification through questions on income and education and property, seen as key aspects of gentrification and second, the extent to which market town gentrification was similar/dissimilar to that in the existing gentrification literature. Of particular interest was the possible presence of new build gentrification that involves new housing stock and middle class colonisation. As the review of the literature indicated, this aspect of gentrification has become contentious, as it has disrupted the commonly held view among gentrification researchers that the process involved the gentrification of older, inner city property.

Before introducing the sections of the questionnaire, I will briefly discuss the piloting exercise for the questionnaire. Each section of the questionnaire will then be introduced followed by the sampling strategy that will include details on the characteristics desired to identify gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers in each case study market town. Finally an outline of how the 1991 and 2001 GB censuses were employed will be set out.

3.2.4 Piloting the questionnaire

The piloting exercise took two forms for the questionnaire. Firstly, twenty questionnaires were distributed amongst the populations of each of the three market towns studied (Swaffham, Towcester and Lutterworth). This provided a picture of how the initial questions would be perceived and answered. The second strategy was to also distribute questionnaires among local stakeholders in order to obtain feedback. Stakeholders were derived from local market town partnerships where individuals were interested in the type of material being collected and were interested in the final results. This exercise was also useful as stakeholders could also identify questions that overlapped with existing surveys conducted in town as part of existing research, thus reducing duplication.

The results of pilots sent by random to residents in the market towns brought up several issues, including unclear scales, re-working of questions and the aims behind some of the questions. For example, concerning scales, the spacing between numbered responses was highlighted. The formatting of question nine where a five point scale from ‘extremely important’ to ‘not important’ was used was too cluttered and additional spacing between responses was applied. Rewording of questions was quite common with the substitution of academic terminology with plain English. Many written notes were kindly provided based on the pilots with the summary being that some questions such as income and occupation were too personal. The reasons for this included personal privacy and why income would be a useful variable.

Income ranges were specified rather than questions asking for precise income data, although following concerns in the pilots, a box was added 'not prepared to say'. In summary, the pilots for the questionnaire provided insights into how the questionnaire questions were perceived. The pilots also initiated changes to the questionnaire script to make questions clearer or to add detail.

3.2.5 Questionnaire Sections

The questionnaire was divided into four sections, first a section was created that obtained information on each of the three case study towns, followed a section devoted to home improvements. Lifestyle and occupation questions were then included, as these were often more personal in terms of the activities respondents undertook and employment related questions. The final section used on the questionnaire focused on consumption, the motivation being to identify middle-class tastes (see appendix, 3.1).

Within each section a mixture of qualitative and quantitative questions were employed. The quantitative data was used to collect basic demographic characteristics of respondents whilst the qualitative data aimed to draw out mini stories that could inform future semi-structured interviews. The research methodology used to investigate market town gentrification was not intended to be statistically significant, the aim was to capture basic information (through the quantitative data), and narratives that would inform more detailed questioning for semi-structured interviews.

Beckett and Clegg (2007) successfully utilised a questionnaire instrument to draw out qualitative narratives, with the key advantage being that the interviewer was not present which led to rich qualitative data that previously was revealed through traditional interviews. Whilst traditionally, the semi-structured interview has been seen as the preferred option over a questionnaire for the collection of qualitative data, I interlaced the questionnaire with qualitative questions rather than include one section that was generally quantitative. This had the advantage of making the format of the questionnaire interesting for respondents including simpler, quantitative questions first and leading into more detailed qualitative responses.

The first section aimed to collect data on the attitudes and characteristics of the gentrifiers in the case study towns. Although the full questionnaire is available in the appendix, the key questions examined how respondents defined their town in terms of urbanity and rurality (with space to comment further). Length of residence was important for understanding differences between the two accessible market towns of Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. I was interested in relating this to existing studies of gentrification in villages and larger urban environments. The key motivations for moving into market towns were also established through this section (see question nine appendix 3.1). Similarly, to the last series of questions the reasons for attempting to identify the motivation for market town living was to match the policy rhetoric with what reasons gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers were moving into market towns for.

The second section of the questionnaire aimed to investigate property improvements that were important for establishing local development activity. I focused on internal and external renovation to see what type of improvements are made by gentrifiers in market towns and the extent to which property renovation was important for those respondents identified as gentrifiers.

Lifestyle and occupation formed the third section of the questionnaire. Whilst looking at the capital invested in property has been seen as integral to a production-orientated approach to gentrification, the questionnaire also interrogated consumptive practices. Property acquisition can also be seen as an act of consumption reflected in a wider set of consumption practices brought about by changes in the composition of the workforce (Warde, 1991). Women in particular Warde (1991) argues, could be driving gentrification through their orientation towards a career and being part of a dual career household (Green, 1995). The trends accounting for this according to Green (1995) include:

- Low fertility.
- Rising number of small households.
- Increase in the female participation rate in work.
- Increase in non-manual occupations.
- Flexible employment patterns.

As Bondi (1999) noted, the main focus within gentrification studies has been to link gender with class rather than note the significance of life course. Thus, the third section of the

questionnaire aimed to capture this picture concerning market towns and the stage of the life course the respondents had arrived at (young adults, family rearing, and retirement).

The life course of gentrifiers has become an important, if neglected, methodological issue. In an urban context, the work of Gary Bridge (2003) has looked at gentrifiers moving out of Bristol's historic housing stock and moving to more peripheral urban and rural areas including market towns. The research indicated that life course could significantly affect the decision making of gentrifiers with residential locations compromised to meet the needs of housing and educational needs of children moving from primary to secondary school. The age and the stage of the life course would thus be important in identifying the characteristics of possible market town gentrification.

3.2.6 Sampling Strategy

The questionnaire used within the study was conducted through application of a systematic sampling strategy. I had to decide whether the sample was derived from the electoral role register that lists individuals eligible to vote or sample from land registry records that included lists of properties sold between April 2000 and March 2008 (at the time of study). Electoral rolls at first appeared a logical choice, as they were essentially lists of eligible voters. The methodological literature indicated there were a number of disadvantages including those people who are mobile and have no fixed abode, such as the homeless, as well as younger people not being eligible and people born outside the applicable country, a characteristic of electoral rolls in other developed countries (Wayne *et al.*, 1997). There is also the issue that individuals can opt out of appearing on a publically available register.

Electoral roll records are fairly complete records of the population, but pilots in rural areas on using the electoral helped identified some issues. Access to the register was restricted due to limited staffed hours in locations in the market towns where a roll was held. New legislation has led to supervision being required to view electoral roll records in county council offices. In larger urban areas with well-staffed council offices, this was not a problem; however, in smaller market towns obtaining access to records for enough time to identify name changes over a five-year period for a town of 10,000 people or so was difficult.

Land Registry records of properties sold were used instead as the sampling frame for obtaining gentrifiers and people not considered gentrifiers. The key difference compared with using the electoral roll records was the shift from selecting individuals towards selecting houses or property. The H.M. Land Registry Database is a list of all property transactions, whether through mortgages or cash purchases and the registry logs property transactions after completion of a property transaction and the submission of documents to the registry. This Land Registry Database, containing all records of property transactions, has the advantage over the Halifax and Nationwide House Price Indexes as they lack the inclusion of cash purchases, as well as these indexes only including mortgage applications through these lenders (Wall, 1998).

Land Registry records have been recorded online since April 2000 and properties for each market town were sampled up to March 2008. The Land Registry records for properties located in the three case study towns were accessed via **www.upmystreet.com** rather than

the Land Registry directly. Although attempts were made to deal directly with the Land Registry, obtaining house price data and a list of properties down to market town level was problematic, with the online database only allowing the user to download house prices for county council areas, such as Leicestershire. Upmystreet allowed me to access house prices for each town, the date of the sale and the geographical distance from the central postcode of each market town.

A three-mile buffer was established to selected properties for questionnaire drops. The buffer excluded those properties that fell outside a three-mile radius of the market town, primarily so that outlying hinterland villages that in some cases were proximate to the fringe of the market towns investigated, were not included. Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 summarise the stratification of the questionnaire samples by property type.

Table 3.2 Weighting of questionnaire sample against property type (Lutterworth).

Housing Group	Housing type	Weighting	Sampled houses	Completed questionnaires
Group 1	Terraces/flats	13.50%	27	9
Group 2	Semi-detached	33%	66	17
Group 3	Detached	53.50%	107	27

Table 3.3 Weighting of questionnaire sample against property type (Swaffham).

Housing Group	Housing type	Weighting	Sampled houses	Completed questionnaires
Group 1	Terraces/flats	33%	66	9
Group 2	Semi-detached	38.50%	77	20
Group 3	Detached	28.50%	57	24

Table 3.4 Weighting of questionnaire sample against property type (Towcester).

Housing Group	Housing type	Weighting	Sampled houses	Completed questionnaires
Group 1	Terraces/flats	23%	48	17
Group 2	Semi-detached	33%	66	13
Group 3	Detached	43%	86	38

***Note: Not all column totals add to precisely 100% due to SPSS rounding errors when rounding to whole numbers. The errors, if present, are very small.**

The number of flats and maisonettes were limited so this category has been merged, therefore flats and terraces appear as one category. It can be seen from the above tables that across the three market towns, detached properties represent the highest proportion of properties sampled. Another point to note was the difference between the two more accessible towns of Towcester and Lutterworth and the remoter market town of Swaffham. The accessible towns had more detached housing as opposed to Swaffham, where semi-detached housing was more dominant.

There are some flaws to using housing as a means to stratify a questionnaire. Firstly, with housing affordability a contemporary political issue, terraces and flats may no longer be solely dominated by the working class. Inner city terraces for example, are being used as investment properties for students renting whilst they attend university. In addition, terraced houses can go up in value in affluent areas ─ they are Victorian and this can attract the middle classes, particularly at earlier stages of the life course and particularly the social and cultural professionals that form part of the new middle class who are often imbued with less economic capital (Ley, 1994; Ley, 1996). The basic point is that housing can be used for multiple purposes including commercial usage, which a quantitative questionnaire

cannot always identify. This is where using second homes, as a proxy to identifying gentrification can be problematic, as what appears to be second home ownership can literally be a commercial property such as shop or a house that the person in question could not sell.

After pilots within the first case study town studied, which was Swaffham, it was decided that rather than randomly sampling from the Land Registry, a systematic random sample was employed. The justification for this was that initial marking up of the Land Registry sampling frames was proving time consuming, as each property had to be assigned a random number. For the larger case study town of Towcester that had a population in excess of 10,000, assigning thousands of properties a random number interfered with the fieldwork schedule of delivering questionnaires via the drop and collect method (outlined in the following sections).

Applying a systematic random sample of the Land Registry lists for each market town streamlined the sampling process. A systematic approach involved selecting properties predefined points, for example sampling every 10th property on my Land Registry sampling frame. The random part comes in selecting a random starting point. For this research, a formula was applied:

Total number of properties / Sample size (200) =

(From Land Registry) (e.g., 15 so every 15th property would be selected)

3.2.7 Sampling Strategy: Composition and Sample Sizes

The samples were made as representative as possible through the inclusion of housing types as a means to stratify the samples in each market town. Two hundred questionnaires were dropped in each market town using a drop and collect approach. An even number of questionnaires were dropped in order to maintain comparison between the towns.

Table 3.5 Questionnaire response rates for each case study market town

Market town	Questionnaire response rate (200 sample)	Number of questionnaire responses
Swaffham	31%	62
Towcester	34.5%	69
Lutterworth	26.5%	53

This involved either making face-to-face contact with the potential respondents where possible, in order to build rapport or by posting the questionnaire through the letterbox. The respondents were drawn from a sampling frame, obtained via Land Registry data as outlined previously. This included property sales between April 2000 and March 2008. By sampling between these periods, recent arrivals would be captured via the questionnaire instrument and the semi-structured interviews would limit these respondents down to selected gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers for interview.

As discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2), gentrifiers are distinguished through a variety of criteria and debates. The factors this research will take into account are set out below:

- That gentrification is a process of class colonisation (Phillips, 1993).

- Gentrification does not necessarily involve direct displacement (the working class may still be present).
- As with the rest of society, gentrification is subject to mutation based around changing tastes and fashions, particularly the work of those such as Peterson and Kern (1996), charting the omnivorous consumption of upper-middle class Americans. Although the middle-class may desire distinctive property, the supply of mature, Victorian property that can be renovated is limited in supply. Gentrification itself mutates, taking on new forms and reconfiguring where and how it operates (Lees, 2006).
- It is not simply the case that gentrification is urban gentrification generalised into rural areas, such as market towns. Changing fashions and tastes have meant market towns are now more prominent spaces in which to locate ─ gentrification will therefore be represented differently in terms of the characteristics, and the type of gentrifiers produced. Redfern (2003) notes as gentrification has spread, it has become more unremarkable and less niche. It has become difficult to distinguish gentrifiers from trends in middle-class lifestyles.
- In terms of rural gentrification, gentrifiers must demonstrate a desire to move to a rural environment or demonstrate evidence that would indicate that they were disenfranchised from previously residing in an urban location (Smith and Phillips, 2001).

The basic criteria that define gentrifiers, such as income, education and occupation type and responsibly that have become common identifiers within the literature were used to

shortlist people for interview. For all the debate within the literature, very little is revealed on what income levels are supposedly indicative of typical gentrifiers. Middle class incomes are implied so the questionnaire provided a range of income bands for respondents and are outlined in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Income bands used within the questionnaire deployed in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester

Income Band	Explanation
£2,000 to £4,999	This group of is anticipated to include 'non-gentrifiers' and aims to uncover the opinions of those who are not part of the property market appreciation taking place in many market towns.
£5,000 to £7,499	
£7,500 to £9,999	
£10,000 to £14,999	The diversity of incomes includes those in manual occupations and the case studies include one remote market town (Swaffham) where incomes on average fall below £17,000. Retirees are often drawing pension, which fall significantly below their past occupations and exacerbates further complexity of incomes. Assets can often be locked up in property. Gentrifiers therefore can also be drawn from this group.
£15,000 to £19,999	
£20,000 to £29,999	
£30,000 to £49,999	These two income bands, beginning from £30,000 are anticipated to include the bulk of gentrifiers in the case study areas. As mentioned above, these income categories include those paying the higher rate of income tax, currently levied at 40%.
£50,000 to £99,999	
£100,000 to £149,999	Higher income groups present within the market towns can be drawn from either the public or private sector. The personal mobility of these groups and their income means that their connections reach beyond the confines of the market towns in which they inhabit.
£150,000 to £199,999	
£200,000 to £249,999	
£250,000 or more	

Some members of the non-gentrifying population could form part of high-income households and this is why the questionnaire did not solely rely on income and education to identify gentrifiers. The respondents were also asked to identify the occupation of other household members and their occupations to counter cases where gentrifying characteristics were present without a large income.

Education was more straightforward than income for use in identifying gentrifiers with a questionnaire instrument. Degree level qualifications have been used as a key criterion for identifying gentrifiers, particularly in studies by Tim Butler and Darren Smith where high levels of education indicated strong likelihood of gentrification (Butler and Robson, 2003b; Smith, 2005; Smith and Holt, 2007).

In the market town context however, the presence of groups with middle-class income levels and higher education qualifications is a strong indicator of changes in market town populations that could be considered as gentrification. Ley (1982) made the point that Canadian cities did not demonstrate similar trends in the USA for rent gaps where property was purchased as an investment with the hope that the property would increase in value and more rent could be accumulated. Status change of households was taking place "quite independent of the housing stock involved" in the Canadian context (Ley, 1982: 526). This is why no assumptions were made before going into the field in regards to any gentrification that might be identified.

The final key variable that was considered on the questionnaire was the occupation of respondents. The key in market towns is establishing whether the gentrifiers moving in are occupying these professional and managerial positions in society. Market towns have traditionally had a working class base employed in agriculture and later, industry. As highlighted in earlier chapters, the traditional forms of employment highlighted above have significantly declined in rural England with the seismic shift from productivist to a post-productivist rural environment (Halfacree, 1997, 1999). As part of this shift, new actors have been able to "stamp their identity upon the British countryside" (Halfacree, 1997: 70) and the middle-class have been the most crucial actors in recent times.

Occupation therefore is a key variable towards determining the extent of gentrification as part of the new post-productivist countryside where increases in population, clean environments, community life, leisure, pleasant landscapes, healthy lifestyles and leisure have usurped traditional activities of food production and traditional agrarian lifestyles (Marsden, 1999). The significant presence of relatively new people employed within professional and managerial occupations would indicate that gentrification is taking place and might result in some market towns moving into a post-productivist phase of development.

Although there is no exact measure of what constitutes a middle class income, we can use measures such as the implementation of the higher rate of income tax, currently levied during the financial year 2008/2009 at incomes of £34,801 and over. It was important to understand the characteristics of interviewees in terms of income for recruitment purposes.

The National Statistics Socio Economic Classification (NS-SEC) was the most up to date social class schema at the time (used in the 2001 GB census). This was applied to relate occupations not just pre-existing notions of class through work (routine, semi-skilled, professional etc) but to the level of responsibility people had in their work and whether the work undertaken was performed under contract with a salary.

3.2.8 Sampling and Identifying the Gentrifiers (Semi-Structured Interviews)

The semi-structured interviews aimed to identify whether the market town gentrifiers conform to existing gentrifier types highlighted in Chapter 2 or alternatively, that they are simplistic and do not take into account the diversity of market town environments. A variety of age ranges were sought, although respondents were dictated by those who ticked a box to say that they were comfortable with follow up contact after completing a questionnaire.

The justification for considering age is that gentrifiers have often been considered to predominantly be young professionals in an urban context (Lang, 1980; Meligrana and Skaburskis, 2005; Zimmerman, 2008), typified by having a college/degree education and linked to ideas of a cultural new class or creative class (Ley, 1994; Ley, 1996; Florida, 2004). As mentioned previously, recent contributors to the market town literature indicate the aging of market town populations (Gilroy *et al.*, 2007). This means that the traditional conception of a 'gentrifier' could be called into question in the market town context. Research by Bridge (2003; 2006) also indicated that gentrifiers might be prepared to move

outside attractive and gentrified neighbourhoods in order to bring up families to negate the lack of supply of family sized homes in gentrified spaces in Bristol by moving to areas on the fringes, such as market towns. Evidence collected in the field will examine whether there is evidence in other parts of England to support what Bridge identified.

3.2.9 The Working Class in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester

I have summarised the characteristics that were used to select gentrifiers for the purposes of semi-structured interviews. Although the attributes are quantitative or categorical in nature, they conform to the characteristics present within the academic literature. However, in order to understand the gentrifying populations of market towns, the sampling of working class was used to investigate gentrification from the perspective of those living within the case market towns. This inclusion of working class was enabled by sampling terraced housing and semi-detached dwellings within the sampling frame (Land Registry data). Although it is recognised that middle class people also might inhabit such housing, having walked all three market towns, the housing estates appeared highly sectionalised, with council housing clustered in one part of the town and the more affluent housing estates clustered elsewhere.

3.2.10 The Limits of Social Class

Having discussed about sampling gentrifiers and the importance of the working class, it has to be noted that the concept of social class has come in for much criticism, particularly economic class categories. The arguments used against materialist class analysis are based

around the production of actual classes that possess a collective class-consciousness (Pahl, 1989).

Abram notes that many rural scholars have moved beyond simply aggregating social classes into narrow, predefined groups and cites the work of Cloke, Phillips and Thrift for examining how visions of rural living are socially constructed (Cloke *et al.*, 1995b; Abram, 1998). This in turn, leads to the production of numerous class fractions rather than a holistic 'middle class'.

I am aware of arguments made by John Law in the context of social structures, which should be seen as 'performed' rather than merely analytical categories (Law, 1992), however, the attacks on class analysis that have taken place (particularly in relation to Goldthorpe's class schema) have missed the point ─ analysing social class on a national scale is of upmost importance. Although the scope of class studies based on census data will always be limited, it provides policy makers and scholars with a tool to examine social inequalities. This is the starting point needed to further influence policy makers to consider qualitative methodologies, such as ethnographies and life history interviews that can reveal how class intersects with other social issues such as gender inequality, identity, the labour market and economic changes (Green, 1997; McDowell, 2000; McHugh, 2000; Skeggs, 2004; McDowell, 2006). Another related issue in geography has been the disconnection with social geographies with the rise of cultural geography and this, I believe, has led to the sidelining of the 'social' in academic human geography (Smith *et al.*, 2011). Regardless of whether a methodological approach is 'materialist', measurement is important to

understand the severity of inequalities that are maintained and even heightened through gentrification.

3.3 Using the GB Census: Comparisons between 1991 and 2001

The use of GB census data will primarily fit into Chapter 4, which looks for evidence of gentrification. There are thought to be 1,000 or so market towns in England, although we cannot be precise on this figure as towns that could once be considered as having a market function have declined or alternatively they have become too large (beyond 30,000 in population terms). Identifying these towns is important for analysing the key trends amongst different types and sizes of market town. The GB census was used to produce a sample of market towns that can be analysed for their class composition and their geographical location (i.e. where market towns may cluster). This would include market towns of between 1,500 people and 30,000 and these are the cut off points for both larger and smaller market towns that have become established within policy circles and academic work, although The Halifax definition of market towns started at 3,000 people (Defra, 2005; Halifax, 2006; Shepherd, 2009).

This analysis was undertaken in three stages; firstly, a population threshold of between 1,500 and 30,000 people was used to separate off smaller urban settlements from larger towns and cities. Secondly, using the SEG categories (Socio economic groups) for the 1991 GB census and the 2001 NS-SEC class categories obtained from the CASWEB application, it was possible to identify the class composition of urban settlements. Thirdly, Rural Services Data from 2010 was used to eliminate suburban type settlements that were

possibly acting as dormitories for larger urban areas, with settlements around Manchester being a good example of this in the North West of England.

3.3.1 Defining Market Towns for Analysis: Stage 1 Identifying a Population Cut-off Point

Both the 1991 and 2001, GB censuses were used to detail key characteristics of each market town's population, which would best indicate the extent of gentrification. Primarily, the data selected aimed to uncover the 'middle-classness' of market towns.

Through searching various sources, many lists of market towns were produced for a specific purpose. Defra (2005) for example produced a list of larger market towns that included market towns with populations of up to 30,000 people. What became apparent during my research was the need to establish my own definition of market towns for the purposes of identifying evidence of gentrification. Many of the existing definitions of market towns had utilised population as a variable to help allocate public service provision in market towns, therefore to examine social class required additional data.

A formula was created in the ArcView GIS program to query those settlements that met the population criteria from a total of 3532 urban settlements listed in an urban layer file:

([All_people]>=1500) and ([All_people]<=30000)

When enabled, this formula excluded settlements populated with less than 1,500 people and those settlements with over 30,000 people. This left 1893 urban settlements, which can be seen reduces the number of settlements for analysis quite significantly. The next section will indicate detail on how rural service data was utilised in a definition of market towns used in this thesis.

3.3.2 Defining Market Towns for Analysis: Stage 2 The Service Formula

Rural service data for 2010 was the second element of the GB census based analysis used to create a definition of market towns. The data was obtained from the Commission for Rural Communities (CRC). It was employed as criteria to define smaller and larger market towns and thus filter out those settlements that were not considered market towns in the context of their service functionality. Urban places by definition constitute those areas with a population of more than 1,500 people and smaller settlements than this were filtered out of the analysis. Because of this, market towns in most cases fall into the category of being urban rather than rural. Several key services were used as a basis to separate market towns from other urban areas (see overleaf).

There were some problems with the CRC rural services data. Originally, the data used was from 2007 and used distances in kilometres from postcodes in order to work out how far individual addresses were from different public services. The services data from 2007 used distances, which were separated out into different categories, overlapped in many cases. Most services used in their rural services series were 4km distance from an address point. The service data was distributed in categories as follows:

0-2km, 2-4km, 4-6km, 6-8km, 8-10km, 10-12km,12-14km, 14-16km, 16-18km, 18-20km, 20km

Here we can see the issue, for example, an individual address within a market town might be within 0 to 2km but also 2 to 4km of a GP surgery, which makes it difficult to judge precisely how far any given household is from a GP. An individual household could be anywhere from less than 1 kilometre to up to 4 kilometres (2.4 miles), which is a considerable distance if no car is available.

Rural Service thresholds- (From Commission for Rural Communities, 2008)

Banks & building societies	4km	(Other services, I have to define the thresholds)
Cash points (all)	4km	(1km = 0.62miles, 2km = 1.24miles)
Cash points (free)	4km	
GP	4km	
Jobcentres	8km	
Petrol	4km	
Post Office	2km	
Primary school	2km	
Secondary school	4km	
Supermarkets	4km	
Dentists	4km	
Pubs	**2km**	
Convenience stores	**2km**	

Table 3.7 (overleaf) shows an amended list of rural services used to identify market towns compared with the original list of rural services provided by the CRC for use in ArcView 3.3.

Table 3.7 Commission for Rural Communities rural service data and an amended list of services.

Type of Service (CRC)	Accessibility distance	Amended list (Services in WCtowns And SCtowns)	Accessibility distance
Banks & building societies	4km	Banks & building societies	4km
Cash points (all)	4km	Cash points (all)	4km
Cash points (free)	4km	Cash points (free)	4km
GP	4km	GP	4km
Jobcentres	8km	Pharmacy	4km
Petrol	4km	Petrol stations	4km
Post Office	2km	Post Office	4km
Primary school	2km	Primary school	2km
Secondary school	4km	Secondary school	4km
Supermarkets	4km	Supermarkets	4km
Dentists	4km	Dentists	4km
Pubs	2km		
Convenience stores	2km		

(1km = 0.62miles, 2km = 1.24miles)

By querying a database of all these services and facilities, it was hoped that smaller villages that were not market towns would be eliminated from my analysis. Therefore, those settlements that did not contain these facilities within the specified distances were eliminated from the analysis, leaving the sample of market towns for use in Chapter 4. The services data has been used to identify market towns that have an adequate provision of services. This is based on the premise that market towns are different to rural villages where service provision is much lower due to there being smaller residential populations to sustain key services.

Market towns had to have 100% coverage within a specified distance. By using population and service provision, it was possible to create a sample of market towns to analyse with the social class, education and occupation variables. With the population formula combined with access to rural services, I have calculated the number of places this would leave for a sample of market towns to analyse.

3.3.3 Defining Market Towns for Analysis: Stage 3 Identifying the Class Composition of Market Towns

The final stage in creating a definition of market towns involved the NS-SEC class schema, which been briefly mentioned already, that classified individuals based on their occupation, level responsibility and size of organization worked for to take some examples. These factors can all be compared with the 1991 GB census, although the questions asked between each census have varied over time (Office for National Statistics, 2004). Changes in concepts and definitions mean it is not always possible to compare the censuses, with categories in the new NS-SEC and in how ethnicity is recorded, open to interpretation. Where possible, these difficulties will be highlighted in analysis chapters. The purpose of this stage of the analysis was to examine the class composition of market towns. An average was calculated for the working class, intermediate class and the service class. From this, two market towns were selected for being above the average value (Lutterworth and Towcester) and one town was selected for its working class composition (Swaffham).

The use of quantitative data via a GIS system to identify potentially gentrifying market towns was considered as part of Soja's (1996) firstspace approach. The next section

introduces the use of semi-structured interviews, which were used to explore the second and thirdspace of market towns, as outlined at the beginning of the chapter.

3.4 Semi-Structured Interviews

The questionnaire research and the use of GIS to help define market towns for the purposes of this thesis (to look at the class composition of market towns) reveals the material firstspace, the physical fabric of towns, such as their built environments. Interviews, it was felt, could provide detailed information, probing beyond the fixed responses within a questionnaire. They were considered appropriate for investigating the secondspace (representations and thirdspace (lived practices) of gentrification in market towns.

The original purpose of sampling from the year 2000 within Land Registry Records was to identify a sample of residents who would have experienced the recent policy changes aimed at market towns in the context of increased development of town fringes as well as increased media coverage. Recent arrivals therefore were anticipated to be able to narrate their own migration story through to residence in a market town.

The approach which I adopted for conducting the interviews, was derived from Rubin and Rubin (2005), which is a responsive approach that considers the position of the researcher during the interview process. It involves learning from knowledgeable interviewees, asking additional questions (which I consider as ‘probes’) in response the answers given by interviewees.

> *"Responsive interviewing approaching a problem in its natural setting, explores related and contradictory themes and concepts, and points out the missing and the subtle, as well as the explicit and the obvious"* (Rubin and Rubin, 2005:viii).

This is an interpretive constructivist approach, post-modern in character where multiple or conflicting views can be true at the same time. The view taken by the social constructivism community as to the purpose of interpretive social constructionism was to consider meaning as something that was not inherent (Harris, 2007). Meaning is thus not readily apparent and in the context of semi-structured interviews, identity is forged and negotiated through social interactions (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001; Vryan *et al.*, 2003).

This is an interesting approach as gentrifiers as research participants are often preconceived as objects of analysis in that they are already easily identifiable when the realities of research in the field are often more messy and has also been apparent through the multiple types of gentrifiers identified in Chapter 2.

3.4.1 Selection of Interviewees

This section of the methodology considers the characteristics of the interview sample taken in the three case study market towns of Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. Those respondents of the questionnaire who were selected for interview were separated out in the statistical package SPSS. A filtering command within the programme was used to achieve this.

If condition is Satisfied **If (condition) = Interviewee=1 (2 or 3)**

This command allowed just the interviewees to be selected from the market town data. Numbers 1, 2 and 3 were used to represent each market towns interviewee (Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester). The formula queries whether the questionnaire respondent was also an interviewee (yes/no) and if this was the case, SPSS filters out those respondents who were not interviewed. This was exported as a separate file to avoid processing problems.

In total, 39 interviews were conducted with 10 undertaken in Lutterworth, 16 in Swaffham and 16 in Towcester. I was reliant of the goodwill of local people in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester and I was fortunate that not all were gentrifiers and this reflected in my questionnaire strategy in dividing my sample into three housing groups in order to target a diversity of property types. This might not have been possible if, as previously planned, I had randomly sampled 200 names off the appropriate electoral register.

Attempts were made to contact key policy makers in the then Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and regeneration bodies such as the West Northamptonshire Development Corporation (WNDC) and local politicians. Such organisations have been seen to influence thirdwave gentrification where the state and private capital are intertwined in gentrification (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Paton, 2010; Rérat *et al.*, 2010).

During the fieldwork programme, potential interviews did not materialise and the policy environment was changing which was exemplified when the coalition government of 2010

between the Conservative party and the Liberal democrats where Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) were discarded. In the case of RDAs, their agendas were fluid and could change on a year-by-year basis, which was not conducive to a PhD research project. Funding originating from the Market Towns Initiative (MTI) also dried up and this resulted in the shrinkage of some market town partnerships, even in relatively affluent market towns. If the market town in question did not possess significant external funding, it was very difficult to undertake significant activity that would affect a town economically.

3.4.2 Approach to Conducting and Analysing the Interview Material

The whole approach to conducting semi-structured interviews was used to build a picture as to the reasons and motivations that informed an interviewee's move to a market town. An approach of allowing my theory of market town gentrification to develop as the research progressed enabled a market town narrative to develop (Glaser, 1973).

Originally, the goal was to analyse interview transcripts through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), however, having applied the method to my interview transcripts I concluded that I was not interested in how words were uttered or the actual structure of interviewee syntax. What became clear were my interests in the overall discourses and themes that emerged from the interview process. This led me to consider a 'constant comparative method' (Glaser, 1965) where as a researcher, I constantly re-evaluated my interview transcripts based on new items of information, such as a new bulletin or a local newspaper article that would enable me to relate market towns to gentrification. This approach is outlined overleaf:

Figure 3.2 The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis (Rapley, 2007)

1. Read/listen/re-read materials
2. Start applying codes/key words
3. Comparisons are made between codes until they are refined
4. Evidence may emerge that contradicts and refines the whole analysis (deviant case analysis).

3.4.3 Question Ordering

"*Asking questions and getting answers is a much harder task than it may seem at first. The spoken or written word has always a residue of ambiguity, no matter how carefully we word the questions and report or code the answers"* (Fontana and Frey, 1998:47).

The questions were arranged using a simple method adapted from Berg (Berg, 2009). Ordering of the questions was important to build rapport but also to make it easy for the interviewee to gain confidence. This method is outlined as follows:

1) Easy to answer questions come first (Q. Do you think Swaffham is a rural town).
2) More important questions based around a single topic (Q. Had you moved from a city or large urban area before moving to Lutterworth?).
3) Introduction of more sensitive and important questions (Q. Several improvements have been made to your home and these were motivated by modernising the

architecture and creating more living space. Could you describe in more detail what you have undertaken?).

4) Validation questions relate to the sensitive questions but were worded differently to see if the key sensitive questions worked.
5) Questions that shift the focus to new topics.
6) Steps 3) and 4) are repeated.

In addition to this model of asking questions, the semi-structured nature of many of the interviews allowed a brief script to be prepared before an interview. Questions could then be linked to the three research questions, which define the research in the thesis.

3.4.4 Question Types

During the semi-structured interviews, different question types were asked. Again these utilised the work of Berg (2009) and the three question types. Firstly, essential questions aimed to target specific or desired information (Morris, 2006). With analysing the extent of gentrification, essential questions varied depending on the characteristics of the case market town. For example in Swaffham, to understand both rural and urban representations of space (research question two), a question was often asked concerning how influential the rural environment was in making a decision to move to Swaffham. With this town, the remote character and older demographics of the population meant the essential questions varied. Contrast this with Towcester where children and schools were more influential, the essential questions altered to reflect the differences between towns.

Secondly, extra questions were re-worded essential questions. This was a fail-safe system of validation to make sure that essential questions were answered. An example of this in the semi-structured methodology is outlined below:

Q **You mentioned about the rural setting, what is it about the rural setting that was appealing?**

> *A Interviewee: "It is a rural setting, yet I can get on the motorways very quickly. I can go and visit friends in the North and be there in an hour and a half. I do like the rural, the rural setting, I can be out in the countryside in a short space of time, like we, I don't go to a pub in Towcester, I go to one in Grafton Regis. I go every Wednesday for lunch. We have built up quite a circle of friends, they want to know what you are doing. They know more about me than those that live either side of me. Even to the extent that one of them I e-mail when I am away, he tells me what is going on in the pub. The pubs in Towcester do not appeal to me".*

By asking this question in a different way, a more detailed response could be obtained. This approach also offered the advantage of providing additional themes required to ask follow up questions, which are often termed probes.

The third question type was throwaway questions. These were the questions were used to change the focus of the interview in case of deviation from the intended topic. Although Keats (1993) argues that the role of the interviewer should be established from the outset, the actual process of conducting semi-structured interviews means that the interviewers role

is not fixed and is quite transient from fieldwork experience. Throwaway questions were placed at the start of interviews, where they were used to steer the interviews towards the remit of the research questions (see Chapter 1, pp.19-20).

3.5 Summary

The research strategy included three research methods (questionnaire, GB census analysis and semi-structured interviews) and the intention was to relate them closely to the three research questions that consider Edward Soja's trialectical approach to understanding space through a first, second and thirdspace perspective (Soja, 1996). The differences between accessible and remote market towns was important for considering which towns would be included in the study and in the ethics section 3.2.2, it was noted that the identity of the town would not require protection as all data collected, including interview quotes, would be anonymised.

The questionnaire was divided into sections reflecting the key debates within gentrification which include the characteristics, class, occupation, settlement origin (in the case of rural gentrification) and reasons for moving to a market town. There has been considerable debate over what represents a typical gentrifier (Redfern, 2003) and the questionnaire is an instrument designed to investigate these characteristics, whilst providing the opportunity to differentiate between market town gentrifiers and those present within other urban and rural environments (villages and cities).

The analysis of the GB census data was used to create a definition of market towns that would inform Chapter 4 of the thesis and provide the basis for identifying the extent of gentrification across England. It is recognised, however, using such an approach conforms to a firstspace approach to market towns with analysis conducted through quantitative methods. The flaw in this approach was that the statistics produced in Chapter 4 were raw averages and could not possibly account for variations that might be present. For example, two market towns could statistically have a similar proportion of middle class, but the market towns themselves could exhibit quite different types of gentrifier when detailed fieldwork was undertaken. It was recognised that the use of social class using a Marxist orientated approach based on class categories would be controversial when class theorists have begun to examine the cultural connotations of social class. My intervention in this debate was that we need to understand the relegation of socially informed human geographies that have had less of a presence in recent scholarship in comparison with cultural geography (Smith *et al.*, 2011).

Semi-structured interviews were considered important for the research strategy on several fronts. Qualitative data provides the researcher with voices from the gentrifiers and working class populations and allows more scope for obtaining additional information not easily gathered via a questionnaire instrument. I aimed to bring myself into the interview process, conversing with the interviewee. Adopting a neutral position within an interview is difficult to maintain, as the researcher ultimately heads into the process with an agenda (Rose, 1997).

These interviews provide the means to analyse representations of rural and urban space that form the secondspace of market towns. The thirdspace, a 'lived' space of human practices, was investigated towards the end of the interview process via questions that asked for information on changes in personal activity such as leisure and consumption between their current residence and previous places of residence. A constant comparative method was employed, which resulted in six key discourses that informed the writing of Chapter 6.

Chapter 4: Evidence of Gentrification within English Market Towns

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to consider evidence from the 1991 and 2001 GB censuses of the population and relate this to market towns and gentrification. The first part of the chapter introduces the definitions that have been used to classify market towns in order to inform the second part of the chapter, where I will discuss the creation of a market town typology.

This typology placed market towns into two groups; working class and service class market towns and from these two groups, three towns were selected for more in depth study in Chapter 5. The third section will use comparisons made between the 1991 and 2001 GB censuses to examine the class composition of the two samples of towns highlighted above in order to compare them with England as a whole. Finally, I will conclude and evaluate the extent to which class data has been useful in examining market town gentrification. This reflects the perspective of the chapter which has drawn upon Ed Soja's 'firstspace' approach, part of his spatial trialectical approach outlined in Chapter 2 (Soja, 1996). The 1991 and 2001 GB censuses conforms to Soja's notion of firstspace ─ it creates a geography that can be easily mapped and measured in relation to things ─ and class data from the census certainly fits within the framework that forms a firstspace perspective. This then leads into the chapters to follow, which detail market town gentrification from the second space and thirdspace perspectives that complete Ed Soja's trialectical approach to space. I will now move on to consider definitions of market towns.

4.2 Defining Market Towns

More recently, market towns have undergone a number of definitional changes. Within the last decade, market towns have been seen as places of between 2,000 and 20,000 people that service a rural hinterland of smaller villages (DETR and MAFF, 2000; Countryside Agency, 2003). The then Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) noted the impact of large retail stores, such as the supermarkets, in eroding the retail landscape of traditional market towns and slowly but surely, the traditional representation of the agricultural market town has been disappearing (DETR, 1998).

It has to be noted, however, that market towns have gone through periods of growth, decline and change. The markets that have been characteristic of the historic market town have had to change and adapt, from selling many wares towards specialisation and in the contemporary era, the 'markets' in market towns have been declining to the extent that many traditional market towns no longer have a weekly market. This is despite the Rural White Paper of 2000 arguing for a renewed focus on their role as service centres.

Collis *et al*., (2000) have noted that the vitality of market towns acting as district service centres has depended upon the mobility of the resident population in order to inject capital in local market town economies. Town centres such Hyson Green studied by Whysall struggled with the opening of a new supermarket, which diverted trade from the existing retail stores. Alternatively, a market town in Warwickshire called Atherstone had a highly mobile population and thus the town was likely to leak trade to out-of-town shopping facilities ─ a supermarket in this context could draw people into Atherstone for top up

shopping purposes (Whysall, 1995). Each market town appears to have its own set of unique characteristics that can affect its vitality and thus the likelihood of being gentrified.

In a significant report entitled '*Rural Economies*' by the Performance and Innovation Unit (PIU) in the late 1990s, the falling contributions of primary industries (agriculture and extractive industries) to the rural economy were highlighted, it being suggested that these changes had directly affected traditional market towns which were unable to adapt to changes in the UK economy (Caffyn, 2004). Growth in the UK since has occurred predominantly within the service economy, but it was argued in the PIU report that this growth had been geographically uneven ─ traditionally, the service industry that employs the service class (in which we are interested) has been based in the South East of England (Thrift and Williams, 1987).

A spill over effect of this service sector Thrift argues, has occurred whereby this service industry and its associated employment have clustered due to several factors; the service class have the power to dictate the location of new service based industries, as their skills are in demand (Goldthorpe, 1995; Keeble and Tyler, 1995). Secondly, this led to service industry jobs locating in areas preferable to the service class. Thirdly, the service class forms part of a commuting class and the spatial extent of their labour markets was much wider (Coombes *et al.*, 1985). Fourth, service class reproduction and the location of good schools was a factor in their concentration and these schools are located in particular places, particularly private schools. Fifth, in order to distinguish themselves from other classes (Bourdieu, 1984), places with restaurants, theatres and specialised shopping have

clustered in middle class areas and sixth ─ as a result of this space of consumption, this provides a strong impetus for service industries looking to employ well qualified individuals and service their consumption needs.

Although the aforementioned factors mean that the service class has been over represented in the South East region, there is evidence to suggest the service class has been decentralising for some time from their stronghold within the South East towards suburban and rural areas (Pinch and Williams, 1983; Herington, 1984). Pinch and Williams identified this as far back as the 1960s and also through the work of Ray Pahl with *Urbs in Rure* (Pahl, 1965) where affluent urbanites were identified within the metropolitan fringe desiring to maintain employment in the city but to live in a more pleasant, rural environment. Thrift and Williams (1987) noted this:

> "*The service class has become more prominent in towns outside London which have a small town residential environment but are still within commuting distance of the capital, in freestanding cities like Norwich, in service towns like Canterbury and in villages in rural areas*" (Thrift and Williams, 1987: 242).

But what was also crucial, which does not fit with the chocolate box rurality of commuter villages in the metropolitan fringe, was housing estates (Deverson and Lindsay, 1975). This harks to the suburban existence of the service class with these larger estate homes with double garages often commanding a premium. Market towns, as identified in the Rural White Paper, were targets for rural housing development rather than villages and this means that the emphasis has changed in terms of where government would like people to

live. In one of Thrift and Williams case studies, 'The Plymouth commuter-shed' as it was termed, contained Tavistock, a rural market town of 9,000 people at the time with a high service class component as well as a retiree population and by 2001, the population had increased to 11,018 a change of 18.3%. The town centre was characterised by small shops and specialists, which harked back to a time when supermarkets were not so dominant.

Although the term rural gentrification was not used in the PIU report, the authors noted what has been previously outlined ─ that new mobile and affluent social groups were moving into rural areas, however a by-product of this was that the service class incursion into the countryside masked marginal groups within society and rural service decline. This was also identified in the United States in the 1970s where small country towns could increase in population and yet experience a decline in rural service provision. The report called for a strengthening of the role of market towns within the wider rural economy as centres of economic activity and as a space to provide key services.

With market towns receiving little attention within the literature on gentrification (for exceptions see Smith and Phillips, 2001; Smith and Holt, 2005; 2007) ─ rather than examine a series of affluent, already gentrified market towns, I decided to utilise two samples representing working class and middle class market towns. This reflects an argument I made in Chapter 2, based on the work of Darren Smith (2002) that as gentrification scholars, we have tended to focus upon 'already' gentrified settlements and also a developing literature has begun to examine the working class or 'non-gentrifiers' as part of the gentrification process (Slater, 2006; Doucet, 2009).

The Rural White Paper also raises concerns about the definition of a market town. Definitions up to this point had been quite sporadic and not measurable, as they were based around the market town possessing a historic market charter ─ the right via royal degree to hold a market on a given date and time as argued earlier. In much literature, produced by the then Countryside Agency, market towns were considered to have populations of 2,000 to 20,000 which was a rather arbitrary figure and not based on applied research.

The Rural White Paper promoted a shift in emphasis towards delineating small and large market towns. Threats such as the expansion of large food stores in market towns on their fringe (DETR, 1998) and the internet could render the traditional market town centre defunct and irrelevant into the 21st Century. The concentration of services and businesses economically at least, in market towns and large villages was deemed the only sustainable method of maintaining rural based services:

> "*We now need to improve the role of market towns and their potential to support a more sustainable pattern of development by ensuring that they are a focus for a range of private and public services to which people need access*" (DETR and MAFF, 2000: 75).

The template in Figure 4.1 (overleaf) outlines the differences between small and large market towns in regards to their service provision.

Figure 4.1 Market town template for the East Midlands (adapted from DETR/MAFF, 2000: 77).

	Larger Market Town **(10,000-25,000 people)**	Smaller Market Town **(2,000-10,000 people)**
Retail	Local traders & national multiples. Post Office, farmers market and/or other retailing of local produce. Existing livestock markets.	Post Office & some weekly specialist needs. Farmers market and or other retailing of local produce. Existing livestock markets.
Financial services	Main High Street banks & building societies. 24-hour cash.	At least one bank & one building society. 24-hour cash.
Healthcare	Large Health Centre with dentist & pharmacy & Ambulance Station.	Small Health Care Centre/large doctors surgery, dentist & pharmacy.
Education, community and social services	Adult education facilities, youth centre. Further education provision and full access to remote learning. Secondary school. Dedicated IT facility.	Secondary school, base for youth facilities, access centre for further/adult education. Remote learning and ICT links.
Cultural facilities (sports, arts and leisure)	Library, range of cultural facilities, leisure centre (with pool), local cinema. Pubs and restaurants. Facilities for teenagers.	Library facilities. Cultural events/local arts venue. Sports pitches with changing rooms, sports hall, weekly cinema. Pubs and restaurant. Recreation park.
Natural environment	Trees/woodlands. Habitat and open space linked. Watercourse corridors and floodplains enhanced.	Tree/woodlands. Habitat and open space linked. Watercourse corridors and floodplains enhanced.
Employment sites	Workspace and serviced sites (wide range). Re-use of existing buildings and brown field sites.	Adequate range of sites/premises plus workspace provision and serviced sites.
Employment opportunities	Full-time Job Centre	Part-time Job Centre
Business support/advice	Access Small Business Service and Citizens Advice	Visiting support – Small Business Service and Citizens Advice.
Childcare	Permanent Nursery and out of hours childcare.	At least one facility and out of hours childcare.
Public administration	Permanent Local Authority presence and/or Town Council office. A town centre manager.	Access to a District/County Council sub-area office. Shared town centre management.
Tourism	Tourist Information Centre – wide range of overnight accommodation.	Tourist Information access in a multipurpose centre. Range of overnight accommodation.
Police, fire, courts	Magistrates Court, police station, fire station and or links to multipurpose centres.	P/T police office/fire station and or integrated emergency services.
Public and community transport	Daily town and rural public transport (evening and weekends). Bus station and taxi services.	Daily public transport to surrounding villages/towns. Evening/weekends to major towns & Taxi.
Town centre uplift	Historic buildings, traffic management and pedestrian access plan.	Identify buildings for environmental uplift.
Housing	Range of housing to buy or rent. Local point to advise on availability.	Range of housing to buy or rent. Access to point to advise on housing availability

The difference between smaller and larger market towns was made through the services in which they provided. Generally, this meant that the larger market towns (10,000 to 25,000 people) were seen to have more extensive health provision through a large rather than a small healthcare centre, compared with smaller market towns of 2,000 to 10,000 people that according to the East Midlands template, can only be expected to possess a small healthcare facility. The problem with many elements of this definition is that the services are already hard to measure, for example, adequate tourism and childcare provision.

The division between smaller and larger market towns as well as other settlement types will be investigated later in this chapter in relation to gentrification as we do not yet know which market towns are the most likely to be gentrifying. It is important to distinguish which types of market town are gentrifying; this will be outlined in the next section.

The large and small distinction between market towns has a couple of additional variations. The Halifax group of estate agents have within the last decade, tracked the house prices of market towns and they used a definition of 3,000 to 30,000 adapted from a report commissioned by The Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE, 2004) . Again, as with the former Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (MAFF) who produced the 2000 Rural White Paper, this definition is adopted on the basis that it represents typical market towns and ones that are growing ─ 30,000 is 20% larger than the figure quoted in the East Midlands market town template for larger market towns.

Shepherd (2009) who has recently created a typology of market towns has provided a further extension of the definition. This most recent update on what constitutes a market town alters the population threshold from 1,500 to 40,000. The first figure (1,500) accounts for the smallest urban areas within contemporary census geography. Opening up the population threshold of market towns to 40,000 reflects the continuing development of many market towns as residential centres and Shepherd notes that increasing the population threshold might include urban settlements that might not have traditionally constituted market towns in the sense of having a traditional market charter. The definition also used services as a basis of the new definition, and by using both population and services levels, Shepherd (2009) identified eight groups of market town, characterised by people's demography and occupation.

Figure 4.2 Typology of market towns, divided by demographic characteristics economic activities (occupations).

Group 1: Middle Aged, Managerial occupations

Young middle aged groups (25-44) of intermediate and managerial occupations with people working in public administration occupations, high proportion of carers and low numbers of low qualified workers. These settlements tend to be on the outskirts on major cities and urban areas.

Group 2: Single persons, routine occupations (261 places, 16.3%)

People were living alone working within routine and lower supervisory and managerial occupations, with people in living in rental accommodation. There was evidence of low car ownership and thus low public transport usage. Geographically these places were concentrated in Cornwall and Devon, Norfolk and South West Wiltshire.

Group 3: Older Persons, Leisure occupations (123 places, 7.7%)

Single pensioners, people work in hospitality and part-time employment. People were working from home and a high number of second homes. Concentrations of this group were located around coastal areas (Isle of Wight, Devon and Norfolk) and attractive parts of Hampshire, Gloucestershire and North Yorkshire.

Group 4: Young families, administrative occupations (129, 8%)

People tend to be 25-44 and with women looking after the home. Occupations tend to be higher professional, managerial, and public administration. Located in the 'Golden belt' that runs through Oxfordshire, Buckingham, and Bedfordshire to Cambridge with an offshoot location in Berkshire.

Group 5: Professionals, commuting (188, 11.7%)

Group 5 contained a high proportion of professional/managerial workers and people employed in intermediate occupations. People in these towns tend to be employed in financial services and unlike in the other groupings, commuted over 20km to work. There were high proportions of Asian/British Asian households relative to other groups of settlements. Geographically, these settlements are based around the London commuter belt with some based around Bradford/Leeds and Greater Manchester.

Group 6: Disadvantaged, Routine employment (181, 11.2%)

Towns classified here had poor health scores and a lack of a car, presence of social housing. Primarily, they were based around the former coalfield areas of Derby, Nottingham and Teesside.

Group 7: Routine jobs, agriculture/manufacturing (209, 13%)

This group of towns was characterised by routine and low skilled jobs, based in agriculturally intensive areas (Norfolk, the Fens, mid Somerset and Lincolnshire). In addition, these towns were based around major manufacturing areas including the East and West Midlands, West Yorkshire and Humber.

Group 8: Age mix, professional occupations

Professional and managerial workers, high educational qualifications, differ from group 1, with a much wider age range. The towns here differed from group 6 through less commuting and people living in detached houses. Location is similar to group 4 in the golden belt leading to London.

Whilst these categorisations provide useful types of market town, as Shepherd recognises, a number of towns that would not constitute market towns in the sense that they are suburbs of major English cities. This was an inevitable outcome of such a typology. The approach used in this thesis aims to eliminate those settlements included in groups 1 and group 5. The towns remaining would therefore be more representative of typical market towns. The next part of the chapter discusses the creation of a typology to identify gentrifying towns.

4.3 Identifying 'Gentrified' Market Towns: Creating a 'Typology' of Market Towns

The basic methodology for creating a typology of market towns was included in Chapter 3 therefore here; I go into more detail about the rationale for adopting the methodology for identifying market towns in England. The first stage of the process used to create a sample of market towns was to establish a meaningful population break of 1,500 to 30,000. This ensured that large towns that were turning into commuter belt towns (particularly around London) were excluded from the analysis where possible. In some cases, such as Guilford, such towns had often grown to in excess of 40,000 or more people.

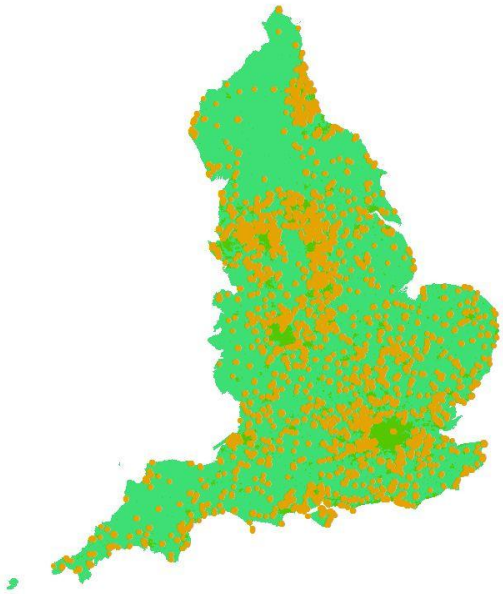
4.3.1 Stage 1 Identifying a Population Cut-off Point

This population break was based on the 2004 Rural/Urban Classification whereby an ONS definition of urban settlements was applied which defined urban areas as built up areas built over a contiguous fashion, with a minimum area of 20 hectares and a minimum population of 1,500. The 30,000 break refers to the largest market towns, which was higher than the East Midlands market town template, which set a limit for larger market towns at 25,000. Within the urban settlement hierarchy, those settlements with populations of 25,000 or higher account for 383 places in England. As Shepherd (2009: 1) has pointed out:

> "*There is no consensus on a population basis for 'market towns' and thus it was very difficult to create a meaningful statistical population break that would encapsulate market towns*".

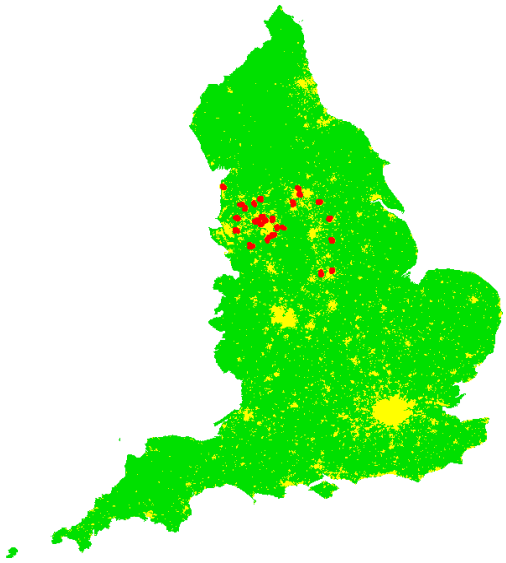
Applying the minimum size of an urban area (1500) with the population limit of the largest market towns (30,000) population limit produced a list of 1,893 settlements. It was felt that population on its own was insufficient to identify market towns without including other variables. Figure 4.3, indicates where many settlements (yellow) clustered around the major urban areas (green). Many of these urban areas would not be considered market towns in the traditional sense of possessing a market or service functionality to their rural hinterlands (Powe and Shaw, 2004).

Figure 4.3 showing urban places of populations between 1,500 and 30,000.



My own analysis indicated many of the settlements over 30,000 were northern mill towns or based around a ring of settlements around the London urban area (see Figure 4.4 overleaf). Although mill towns could have previously been market towns, many of these have also become quite large; this analysis will not eliminate all the towns that Shepherd identified as merely dormitory towns for commuters.

Figure 4.4 Towns over 30,000 in population, meeting my service criteria (Stage 2 of market town definition).



With the 30,000 cut off, there was for example still a clustering of towns around the fringes of the London urban area. The definition for selecting samples is not perfect, particularly if population is used as the sole basis to define market towns, which is what government departments who commissioned the Rural White Paper had done, employing a 2,000 to 20,000 cut off.

This definition of market towns was widely cited by the then Countryside Agency for delineating market towns. A list of 207 'key' markets based on unpublished data, created by Defra, indicated that there were key larger market towns of between 10,000 and 30,000 people. Many classic market towns have been seen to expand in recent times and this could be a consequence of changes in planning, such as the Planning Policy Statement 3: Housing (PPG3) whereby market towns and larger villages have been targeted within the last decade for growth and improvements in transport (ODPM, 2001; Communities and Local

Government, 2010). I therefore added two additional elements to my definition: rural services (Stage 2) and social class (Stage 3). In the next section, I will outline how services were applied to my definition of market towns in order to create my typology.

4.3.2 Stage 2 Adding Services into a Definition of Market towns (The Services Formula)

A rural services review established in 2000, suggested that people should have access to a minimal range of services through eleven standards covering education, health and social care, broadband, postal services and emergency services. A review conducted towards the end of 2006 by the CRC noted several flaws. In the North West of England for example, it was found that national standards based on the above service areas had very little impact in defining and delivering public services (CRC, 2006). All this work has been part of a wider suite of policy reviews, which have set normative standards of accessibility that have attempted to deal with the problem of a remote settlement pattern (Cloke, 1977; Cloke, 1979).

These problems have included a perception that social and economic problems are less prevalent in rural areas, such as in medical facilities (Paykel *et al.*, 2000). On the other hand, Wenger (2001) in the context of rural aging notes that the differences between urban and rural areas in this regard were minimal but that a different approach was required in rural areas to reflect the dispersed nature of the population living within them.

Gentrification studies have used the idea of the close proximity of services as a basis for the back to the city school of thought (outlined in Chapter 2) that argued gentrification in the 1970s and 1980s was based upon the movement of people back into the inner city rather than migration to the suburbs (Spain, 1992). The inner city offered close proximity to employment, forgoing the need for a long commute and a close proximity to cultural and consumption sites ─ retail outlets, arts facilities and restaurants was seen as desirable to gentrifiers (Zukin, 1987, 1990; Patch, 2004).

Market towns do not always provide the same types of services, but it is possible to measure accessibility via several key services provided by the CRC, which has been updated annually since 2000. There is debate as to whether market towns act as service centres as the 2000 Rural White Paper would have policy makers to believe, with Powe (2007) posing the question as to whether market towns are service centres or tourist attractions.

The most diplomatic response is that market towns assert differing roles within the urban and rural settlement hierarchy, often depending on their geography. For example, coastal towns traditionally provided for domestic holidaymakers whilst other market towns draw in shoppers to traditional markets. At the time of writing, a new a dataset of rural services was produced by the Commission for Rural Communities (CRC) for 2010, which differed from the previous datasets from 2000, in terms of its methodology. The 2000 to 2009 rural services data used straight-line distances of postcodes to households and service outlets,

whilst the 2010 dataset, instead, utilised distance to services data based on the road network that the CRC argued would produce more accurate results (CRC, 2010b).

Below is a list of key services that rural places are deemed as requiring access to within a specified distance. In the table below firstly a list provided by the CRC, lists services and the distance to which they should be accessible (left column). Within the amended list of services, 100% of households in my definition of market towns should have access to the rural services within the specified distance (the second list). The list I have used excludes a number of services for the following reasons. The CRC notes that people in rural areas should have access to a Job Centre within 8km (4.8 miles). However, according to the recent State of the Countryside Report (2010), Job Centres, petrol stations and Post Offices have seen the greatest declines in rural areas, including market towns (CRC, 2010a). This is largely due to changes in government policy affecting two of the three services.

Table 4.1 Commission for Rural Communities rural service data amended list of services.

Type of Service (CRC)	Accessibility distance	Amended list (Services in WCtowns And SCtowns)	Accessibility distance
Banks & building societies	4km	Banks & building societies	4km
Cash points (all)	4km	Cash points (all)	4km
Cash points (free)	4km	Cash points (free)	4km
GP	4km	GP	4km
Jobcentres	8km	Pharmacy	4km
Petrol	4km	Petrol stations	4km
Post Office	2km	Post Office	4km
Primary school	2km	Primary school	2km
Secondary school	4km	Secondary school	4km
Supermarkets	4km	Supermarkets	4km
Dentists	4km	Dentists	4km
Pubs	2km		
Convenience stores	2km		

(1km = 0.62miles, 2km = 1.24miles)

Pharmacies were included as they were part of the rural services dataset; however, they were not a feature of the CRC list of services that were measured (left side, Table 4.1), possibly due to issues of comparing service access over time. Job Centres have seen large scale closures in rural areas as state investment has been withdrawn from villages and market towns where Job Centres are present (Bushell, 2009). It was clear from the dataset I had collected that many towns in England lacked Job Centres; indeed this was reflected in one of the case study locations selected, a Job Centre was closing whilst I was conducting field research.

Post Offices have also seen decline, particularly as part of the Network Change Programme which started in in 2007, and this has seen 2,500 closures in both rural and urban communities, with rural closures partially nullified by the creation of 500 outreach Post Offices (National Audit Office, 2009). However, Post Office access is still relatively high in both urban and rural environments, although the CRC suggested that households should have access to a post office within 2km (1.2 miles). Many towns however, with the recent closures, did not have access within such a short distance and the distance to which this service should be accessible was therefore increased to 4km. This was comparable with the distances established by the CRC for access to many other services, apart from primary schools.

Hospitals, as with Job Centres and Post Offices, have also seen significant changes in rural areas, with many settlements that had small hospital facilities (often non-emergency) that have been reviewed for reorganisations or possible closures, again, this was reflected in one

of the case studies, Swaffham, where plans were considering the role of the local hospital (Attend, 2011). As a result, hospitals were also excluded from the amended service list.

If we look at settlements that contain less than 1500 people, 604 urban places were identified and of these, 180 settlements met the service criteria established in Table 4.1. Examining urban settlements with a population equal to or higher than 1500 and up to 10,000, 1471 places can be identified. Looking at the whether these settlements meet the service criteria established, 806 urban settlements or 54.79% managed to achieve this, so it can be argued that there is a relationship between settlement size and service provision.

Thus far, in creating a classification of rural market towns, two methods have been used. First, a population break has been established of between 1,500 people and 30,000, which is seen to encompass both small and large market town settlements although excludes very large ones which may well be more like commuter settlements. Secondly, rural services data reduced sample sizes, to 1,123 urban settlements and reduced the sample of market towns to those with basic service provision rather than large villages with few key services, which can be picked out in the GB census as market towns. The next section introduces the last element in creating a sample of market towns which is social class; which has often not be used to delineate market towns.

4.3.3 Stage 3: Identifying the class composition of market towns

The allocation of people to a working, intermediate and service class is based around a class debate that has emerged in rural studies in recent years (Hoggart, 1997; Abram, 1998;

Phillips, 1998a, b; Hoggart, 2007). The countryside has been portrayed as a 'middle class territory', where increasingly affluent newcomers have been seen to dominate social and cultural life within small rural settlements (Murdoch, 1995). The middle class in rural areas have also been held responsible for significant population change through counter-urbanisation (argued in Chapter 2).

Hoggart (2007) used the ONS Longitudinal Study data to examine working class households in a rural context. His findings indicated that there were not significant differences between the working class population declines in rural or urban areas. In fact, the findings point to a resilience of the working class to adapt to the colonisation of some parts of the countryside. This contradicts the discourse established by Murdoch's 1995 study of a middle class capture of the countryside, although it could be argued that certain areas of England have already been 'captured' by the middle class such as the South East of England. Parts of Norfolk and the North of England have not been dominated by the middle class to the same extent.

This is why a comparison of the 1991 and 2001 GB censuses of the population was required to indicate where class change has occurred and which parts of England have experienced the most change (Hoggart, 1997; Phillips, 2007). Phillips noted that analysis of the NS-SEC for England, found that there were concentrations of petite bourgeoisie, which are part of the middle class and have been neglected in the pursuit of research concerning the new middle class (Canada & USA) and the service class.

The research of Hoggart (1997) noted the flaws in arguing the countryside has become a more middle class space. Between 1971 and 1991 there was growth in the professional and managerial workers of the service class, these were in rural wards that already had higher levels of professional and managerial workers compared with the rest of England at the time. Remote rural area only had a service class 1.7% higher than the national norm and this indicates that gentrification is likely to be selective, based in particular settlements.

Whilst the working class has tended to be neglected within gentrification studies, those people who occupy intermediate class groups within society have also arguably often subsumed into an inflated middle class category. This can also be linked to debates concerning gentrification and gentrifiers, whereby a variety of gentrifier types has been identified and these have predominantly been seen as part the service class.

The petite bourgeoisie have been relatively ignored; with a dualism create between the gentrifiers and the working class in which they displace. Wright (1985) identified small employers as being located in a contradictory position within the class structure. Breen and Rottman (1995) argue that small employers are deemed both petty bourgeois and bourgeois (see Figure 4.5). There has been confusion in the class structures created by academics as to whether they have in fact, created social classes or in the end, produced at set of economic classes (as Breen 1995 would argue what Wright 1985 achieved). This, I believe, stems from official sets of class categories such as the British Registrar General's five-category classification. The five classes included professional, intermediate, skilled, partly skilled and unskilled occupations and this class schema has been considered as a

class classification as it was a method of grouping occupations that had a similar prestige within society (Breen and Rottman, 1995).

Figure 4.5 Removed due to copyright restrictions

Studies of gentrification have often placed gentrifiers into the salariat of professional and managerial workers and whilst I am attempting to sample market towns that are service class in character ─ that does not mean all gentrifiers are drawn from one class solely.

Those people in the intermediate class often occupy lower middle class administration occupations and lower supervisory positions, such as assistant managers in retail outlets and different members of a household can hold different class positions. This intermediate class also includes small employers and own account workers that Phillips (2007) identifies in his statistical study of the NS-SEC classification, so there is a debate as to whether some parts of the intermediate class form part of the middle class in which gentrifiers are drawn.

This intermediate group of the middle class has not traditionally featured within gentrification studies. However my position was that that the intermediate class ─ for which the small employers and own account workers (as they are known in the 2001 GB census) are included ─ possess a different set of employment relations. The intermediate class are not bound by the same service relationship as gentrifiers who located in Goldthorpe's classes 1 & 2 (or NS-SEC classes 1 & 2 of professional and Managerial workers).

The intermediate occupations, those are classed as III, IV and V within Goldthorpe's eleven class model in Figure 4.6 vary from the routine non-manual to supervisors of manual workers. These are comparable with the NS-SEC classes 3, 4 and 5, which included intermediate occupations, small employers/own account workers and lower supervisory/technical occupations. If these are taken as being part of the middle class, a very large middle class is the result.

Figure 4.6 Removed due to copyright restrictions

Naturally, such an approach to delineating class that I have just outlined risks criticism from poststructuralists because the use of economic class groups of the 2001 GB census was not compatible with a focus on intersection between issues such as gender, ethnicity and sexuality. In the context of looking at class, poststructuralism has sought ─ through deconstruction ─ to break down binary oppositions. Gentrification studies have attempted to break down oppositional categories such as the established resident versus the incoming gentrifier and urban versus rural gentrification debates (Phillips, 2004; Slater, 2006; Doucet, 2009).

However, I agree with the view of Gary Day (2001) that class analysis in this relatively new poststructuralist era within the arts and social sciences has led overly to a focus on the intersections between race, class and gender and has neglected the economic component established in class schemas such as the Goldthorpe class categories.

Social mobility between 1958 and 1970 declined (Blanden *et al.*, 2005). Alan Milburn MP, more recently found this trend to be continuing, with the professions ─ particularly the medical and legal professions ─ dominated by those with private educational backgrounds (The Panel on Fair Access to the Professions, 2009), yet studies of class have been more recently influenced by the culturally informed poststructuralist angle towards analysing class (Crompton, 1996).

If we update the work of Day (1998), he noted that of the seven class categories updated by the ONS in 1998, four out of the seven classes could be allocated to the middle class. This

is still the case with the updated NS-SEC, although I would argue, rather than there being a polarisation between working and middle class groupings within class classification systems, there is in fact an intermediate groups of classes (as highlighted previously in this section). Day (1998) was referring to classes 1 to 4, which includes own account workers and those owning small businesses, which I have argued are part of the intermediate class.

Other scholars, such as Hoggart (2007) have similarly allocated people to a significant intermediate group of classes. I believe this covers groups of people who may in fact earn a middle class level of income, for example, a successful self-employed builder, but they may not display the cultural consumption associated with middle class groups.

The next section will examine the results of census analysis conducted between 1991 and 2001 through analysis of the 2004 Rural/Urban Classification and how this relates to market towns.

4.4 The Typology of Market Towns: Evidence of Gentrifying Towns?

A sample of towns where the population was skewed more to the working class (WC towns) was established along with a sample that was skewed towards a more service class population (SC towns) to investigate the characteristics of both gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers. These towns were selected using the class figures for England, which were 29.1% for the working class and 38.2% for the service class. These acted as a cut off; therefore towns would fall into the definition if their associated output areas met the population and service variables already established and then possessed a class statistic

equal to or higher than England (see above), then they were added to the market towns sample of either WC towns or SC towns. The WC towns sample comprised of NS-SEC classes 6 (semi-routine occupations) and NS-SEC 7 (routine occupations), whilst the SCtowns sample comprised of NS-SEC classes 1 (higher professional and managerial occupations and NS-SEC 2 (lower managerial and professional occupations). Table 4.2 compares the two samples with the rest of England.

Table 4.2 Class make up of England compared with the working class and service class market town samples.

Morphology	Working class	Intermediate class	Service class
England	29.10%	32.68%	38.22%
WC towns	30.04%	34.05%	35.91%
SC towns	21.42%	32.34%	46.23%

If we examine the table above, the intermediate class is spread evenly across the two market towns and is comparable to England. The intermediate class has been excluded from the working class and service class samples due to its consistent presence across urban settlements ─ they are not distinctive and gentrifiers are a distinctive part of the class structure of England as members of the service class. The NS-SEC class 4, which includes small business owners who were part of the old middle class might, in some instances contain people on high incomes (for example builders).

Builders and those employed within trades that might service the consumption of gentrifiers, through property renovations in a rural context. I would point to the work of Goldthorpe, who noted the distinction between those people who possessed a *service* relationship to their employer and thus gained considerable autonomy over their own work and those on basic labour contracts have less flexibility (Goldthorpe, 1982, 1995).

Returning to the example of a builder, they might earn a higher overall income in some cases than the gentrifiers and as Chapter 2 indicated, gentrifiers have not always been imbued with substantial incomes (for example marginal gentrifiers); it was their social and cultural distinctions that marked them out from other classes in society.

However, there was a significant issue with using class to create two samples of market towns. Each urban settlement is made up of output areas of varying class compositions. Some towns, upon close examination, were quite obviously either working or service class in their composition, however, some towns defined in my samples appeared in both the WCtowns and SCtowns samples as different output areas in the town were classed as either being working class or service class. This posed a dilemma, as duplicate market towns could not feature in both samples. In order to negate this issue, the market town samples were visually inspected for duplicate town entries and where over 50% of output areas fell into either the working class or the service class groups then the town in question was allocated to the category. This finally produced accurate working class and service class samples of market towns, with 538 working class towns and 513 service class towns.

4.4.1 1991-2001 GB Census Comparison across Time

The results that I will discuss are based on the two market town samples identified in the last section of the chapter: WC towns and SC towns. The aim is to outline the key trends in these market towns and then compare the towns with the rest of England, to examine the most likely sites of gentrification. The section to follow examines 2001 GB census data, whilst section 4.5 compares the 2001 data with statistics from the 1991 GB census.

4.4.2 Class Composition of Different Settlements in the Rural/Urban Settlement Hierarchy: 2001

Table 4.3 below highlights the key trends within the two market town samples and their class composition. It can be seen that the two samples of towns are quite different and this was the point of the analysis, to pick out different types of market town like settlements from the urban settlement hierarchy. Identifying gentrifying towns also means that we have to set different standards for what could be considered market town gentrification.

Table 4.3 Class compositions of two market town samples and England as a whole.

Class description	NS-SEC % Working class market towns	NS-SEC % Service class market towns	NS-SEC % England as a whole
(1) Higher managerial/ professional managerial occupations	7.76%	15.85%	12.01%
(2) Lower managerial & professional occupations	22.28%	30.38%	26.21%
(3) Intermediate class	12.20%	13.54%	13.48%
(4) Small employers & own account workers	9.56%	10.35%	9.20%
(5) Lower supervisory & technical occupations	12.29%	8.45%	10.00%
(6) Semi-routine occupations	19.24%	12.85%	16.39%
(7) Routine occupations	16.67%	8.57%	12.71%

*=>Equal to or more than

However, the differences are quite stark between the working class and service class market towns, with NS-SEC class 1, with an 8.1% difference in the higher-level professional and managerial workers between the market town samples. This is a similar case with NS-SEC class 2 where 22.3% of working class market towns are made up of NS-SEC class 2 compared with 30.4% within the service class towns, an 8.1% difference between the two.

Table 4.4 Class composition of England based on the 2004 rural/urban classification (1)

Class description	NS-SEC % RTF_LS	NS-SEC RTF_S	NS-SEC RD_LS	NS-SEC RD_S	NS-SEC%: England
Total output areas	14,588	768	3213	102	163,250
(1) Higher managerial and professional managerial occupations	11.74%	6.51%	15.23%	9.04%	12.01%
(2) Lower managerial and professional occupations	26.50%	20.75%	28.56%	23.26%	26.21%
(3) Intermediate class	12.47%	9.10%	11.63%	7.71%	13.48%
(4) Small employers and own account workers	10.59%	14.71%	17.47%	24.54%	9.20%
(5) Lower supervisory and technical occupations	10.48%	12.18%	7.78%	9.41%	10.00%
(6) Semi-routine occupations	15.70%	20.25%	11.27%	15.49%	16.39%
(7) Routine occupations	12.53%	16.51%	8.05%	10.54%	12.71%

Table 4.5 Class composition based on the 2004 rural/urban classification (2).

Class description	NS-SEC % RV_LS	NS-SEC RV_S	NS-SEC U_LS	NS-SEC U_S	NS-SEC%: England
Total output areas	4,480	122	139,610	367	
(1) Higher managerial and professional managerial occupations	14.38%	8.83%	11.93%	5.39%	12.01%
(2) Lower managerial and professional occupations	28.25%	23.06%	26.10%	19.46%	26.21%
(3) Intermediate class	12.80%	10.53%	13.69%	8.70%	13.48%
(4) Small employers and own account workers	13.56%	16.48%	8.65%	13.12%	9.20%
(5) Lower supervisory and technical occupations	8.72%	11.42%	10.03%	13.02%	10.00%
(6) Semi-routine occupations	12.73%	16.64%	16.68%	23.21%	16.39%
(7) Routine occupations	9.55%	13.03%	12.93%	17.10%	12.71%

Key (Tables 4.4 & 4.5)

RTF_LS **Rural town & fringe less sparse**

RTF_S **Rural town & fringe sparse**

U_LS **Urban less sparse**

U_S **Urban sparse**

HID_LS **Hamlets & Isolated dwellings less sparse**

HID_S **Hamlets & Isolated dwellings less sparse**

V_LS **Village less sparse**

V_LS **Village sparse**

In rural areas, as can be seen in Tables 4.4 and 4.5, only within two of the rural settlement categories (Rural Dispersed, Less Sparse and Rural Village Less Sparse) has a service class

population above that of England as a whole. Hoggart's point appears statistically to have some credence in that the middle class are only capturing particular rural geographies and not necessarily all of rural England. The patterns appear to relate to sparsity; the less sparse an area is, the more likely that higher-class groups will occupy that space.

Table 4.6 Middle and working class within Rural/Urban classification (2004)

Social class	RTF_LS	RTF_S	U_LS	U_S	RD_LS	RD_S	V_LS	V_S
Working class	28.23%	36.76%	29.61%	40.31%	19.32%	26.03%	29.67%	40.31%
Intermediate class	33.54%	35.99%	32.37%	34.94%	36.88%	41.66%	35.08%	38.43%
Service class	38.24%	27.26%	38.03%	24.85%	43.79%	32.30%	42.63%	31.89%

Table 4.7 Smaller and larger market towns: NS-SEC class 2001

Smaller market towns		Larger market towns		England	
Working class	27.12%	Working class	30.50%	Working class	29.10%
Intermediate class	34.02%	Intermediate class	33.32%	Intermediate class	32.68%
Service class	38.86%	Service class	36.18%	Service class	38.22%

Tables 4.6 to 4.7 indicate the diversity of class relations across England. Firstly, Table 4.6 outlines rural and urban settlement categories used in the 2004 Rural/Urban classification. What is apparent in England overall is that sparse areas, although small in number, particularly areas classed as 'less sparse village' (V_LS, 4,480 output areas) contain much higher levels of service class people as opposed to urban areas containing over 10,000 people (NS-SEC U_LS). The point here is that although the village settlement categories from the 2004 Rural/Urban classification appear very middle class, they make up only 2.82% of the English output areas that have been used during the census analysis for this chapter.

The urban sparse category was based on a small number of output areas (367); however, the other settlement categories used in the 2004 Rural/Urban classification can tell us an interesting story about rural and urban change within England. All the less sparse settlement categories including rural town & fringe, urban, hamlets & isolated and villages; all possess lower proportions of working class people compared to their sparse counter parts.

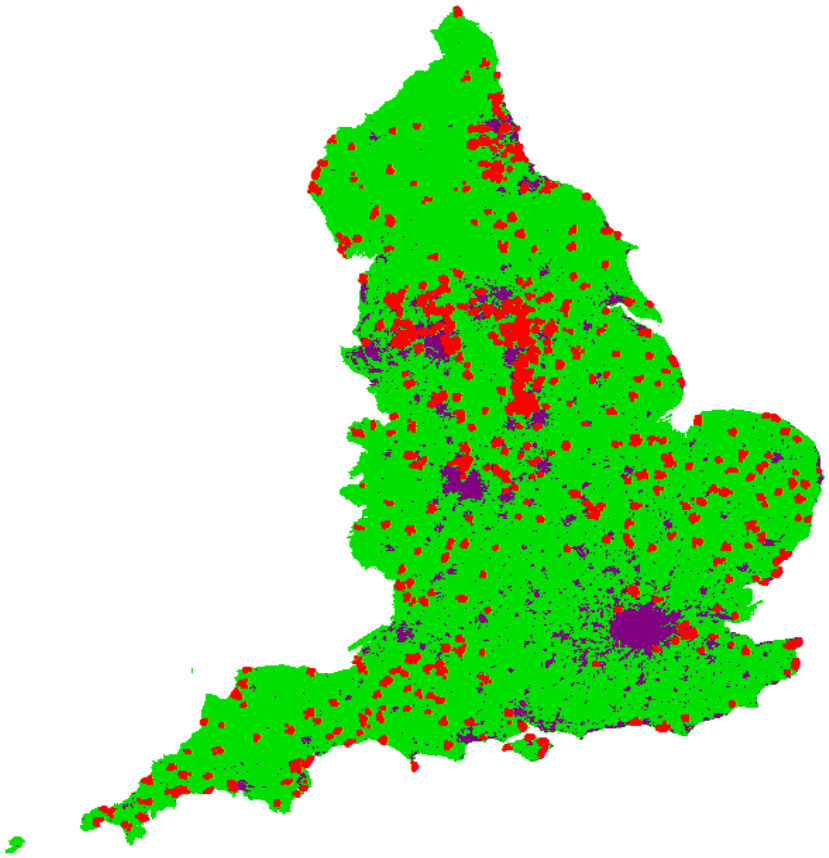
People living in dispersed village settlements appear far more likely to be drawn from the service class and move through different property markets and make up more than 40% of the population compared to the figure of 38.2% for England overall.

The rural town and fringe category was derived to be able to pick out settlements such as market towns in the rural/urban hierarchy and this category picks out 1,821 settlements. The flaw with this group is that it includes settlements with populations under 1,500, which is the minimum requirement in the GB census to be classified as an urban settlement. Many of the towns fall within populations of 2,000 and 10,000, excluding the recent introduction of larger market towns (Bibby and Shepherd, 2004; Frost and Shepherd, 2004; Shepherd, 2009). The data in the tables on the previous page indicate that settlements in the rural town and fringe category closely resemble larger urban areas above 10,000, which are part of the urban less sparse category.

Noting the service class market towns (SC towns, Table 4.2), we can see there are market town settlements that are the polar opposite of the working class market towns with a

working class population of less than 25%, below the figure for England (29.10%). Looking at Figure 4.7, the WC towns clustered more tightly in Northern England.

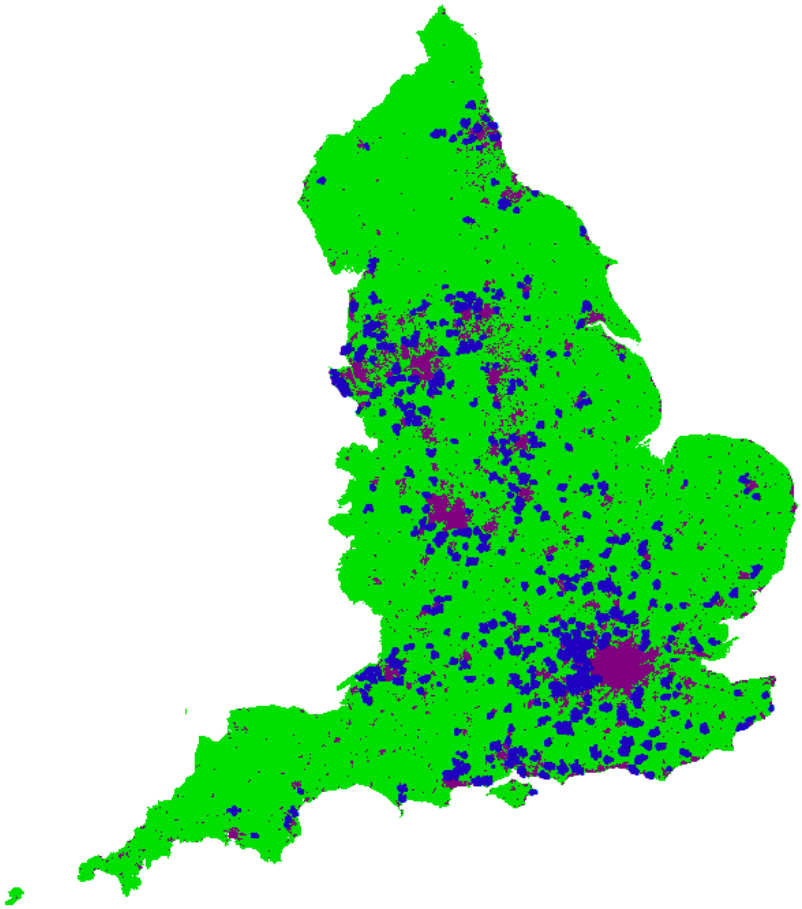
Figure 4.7 Sample 1 – Distribution of working class market towns of which 538 were identified (WC towns).



***Purple polygons indicate the polygons of urban areas, which include market towns**

In Figure 4.8 (overleaf), the service class market towns appear more scattered across England, particularly with the Northern urban areas, where the market towns are not as tightly packed. The next section will look at some of the issues with comparing the 1991 and 2001 GB censuses, which have been used to identify class change within market towns across England.

Figure 4.8 Sample 2 – Distribution of service class market towns of which 513 were identified (SC towns).



4.5 Market Towns and Class Change Over Time: Issues with the Censuses of 1991 & 2001

There are many issues with comparing the 1991 GB census with the 2001 census that were described in Chapter 3 (methodology). I have managed to compare class change over the census period of 1991 and 2001 although unlike the previous section, I was unable to compare the differences between urban and rural settlements. The 1991 GB census was aggregated in such a way as to make comparison unreliable. It did have a rural definition,

but this was not aggregated to Enumeration Districts (EDs), which would have been the closest units to outputs areas used in the 2001 GB census.

In this section, I attempt to provide a picture of changes in socio-economic class, where they are apparent between 1991 and 2001. As with the 2001 data using the NS-SEC, this is split into working classes, intermediate and service class. Table 4.8 outlines how I allocated the 1991 Socio-Economic Groups (SEGs) to the working class, intermediate class and service class. The SEGS were the best way to compare with the newer NS-SEC classification scheme used to identify social class in the 2001 GB census.

Table 4.8 Allocation of SEGs (Social Economic Groups) to the service, middle and working class.

Working class SEG	Description	Intermediate class SEG	Description	Service class SEG	Description
SEG 7	Personal service workers	**SEG 2.1**	Small employers (established)	**SEG 1.1**	Employees large establishments
SEG 8	Foremen and supervisors	**SEG 6**	Junior non-manual	**SEG 1.2**	Managers large establishments
SEG 9	Skilled manual workers	**SEG 12**	Other professionals/ own account	**SEG 2.2**	Managers in small establishments
SEG 10	Semi-skilled manual workers	**SEG 13**	Farmers employees	**SEG 3**	Professional self-employed
SEG 11	Unskilled manual workers	**SEG 14**	Farmers own account	**SEG 4**	Professional employees
SEG 15	Agricultural workers	**SEG 5.1**	Ancillary workers and artists	**SEG 5.2**	Foremen and supervisors non manual

The SEG categories used in the 1991 GB census were allocated using a look-up table. The look-up table allocated the 1991 SEG categories to the operational categories of the 2001 NS-SEC, although the accuracy of this conversion is said to be around 87% (ONS, 2008). This problem was noticed when attempting to allocate SEG 5.1 of ancillary workers and

artists and SEG 6 with junior non-manual occupations. These categories tend to inflate whichever class category they are allocated to and it thus becomes difficult to disaggregate the 1991 SEG categories to make a direct comparison with 2001 GB census data.

Personal investigation of the 1991 and 2001 GB census revealed that the occupational groupings that make the service class of professional and managerial workers was easier to compare across time. NS-SEC classes 1 and 2 included higher and lower level professional and managerial occupations and these groups have changed little in terms of how they are defined between 1991 and 2001. This was also why two samples, one of working class market towns (WC towns) and another of service class towns (SC towns) was created, because many of the intermediate SEG groups were difficult to aggregate to the 7 NS-SEC classes, without misrepresenting the class data.

Table 4.9 Comparison of social class in England (1991 to 2001).

GB Census 1991	England	Census 2001	England	% Change
Working class	37.78%	Working class	29.10%	- 8.68%
Intermediate class	43.53%	Intermediate class	32.68%	-10.85%
Service class	18.72%	Service class	38.22%	+19.50%

Examining Table 4.9, there have been significant changes in the class composition of England. We can see that the service class has seen remarkable gains, twice that of the working class and intermediate class. Examining Table 4.10, within these working class towns, the service class population was 11.25% lower than the service class towns but if we add the intermediate class, again, working class towns are 17.38% down on the service class sample.

Table 4.10 Comparison of sampled towns to the rest of England.

Class group	1991 (WC towns)	1991 (SC towns)	% difference	1991 (England)
Working class	45.33%	27.95%	17.38% (WC)	37.78%
Intermediate class	40.57%	46.71%	6.14% (SC)	43.50%
Service class	14.10%	25.35%	11.25% (SC)	18.72%

Table 4.11 Comparison of sampled towns between 1991 and 2001.

Class group	1991 (WC towns)	1991 (SC towns)	2001 (WC towns)	2001 (SC towns)
Working class	45.33%	27.95%	36.88%	21.43%
Intermediate class	40.57%	46.71%	34.06%	32.60%
Service class	14.10%	25.35%	29.06%	45.98%

The 1991 and 2001 GB census comparison has used output area data and as Shepherd and Frost (2004) noted in an article on rural service provision, the boundaries of market towns (see purple polygons in Figures 4.7 and 4.8) do not match the census geography of England to make comparison between censuses difficult. It appears that detailed case study work could help ascertain the extent of gentrification in market towns in different ways ─ from this quantitative data we only get a picture of class composition; which is important but it is not the sole predictor of gentrification. It has however added class into debates surrounding market towns, which is important to understand their contemporary geography.

Utilising a case study approach would aid examination of market town gentrification in more detail due in part to some recent contributions to human geography research concerning scale in human geography (Marston *et al.*, 2005). Such research has sought to 'flatten' scale within human geography by utilising site based ontology, connecting practices, relations, events and processes ─ in other words, sites (in this case market towns)

are connected to other sites (other market towns). This logic applies to examination of gentrification in market towns; we can see service class market towns pulling away from the working class towns and the service class concentration is higher in these towns compared with England as a whole (see Tables 4.10 & 4.11).

Studying individual towns would enable comparison with the trends shown in this chapter and with other sources of data such as spatial plans, which have been conducted by regional Government Offices' and regional partnerships to plan for population and economic growth. The key flaw of using the GB census data alone is that in a market town context, it only covers up to 2001 and many market towns have experienced significant population growth since the 2001 GB Census (Powe and Shaw, 2004). The last part will conclude this chapter and introduce the contents of Chapter 5.

4.6 The Case Study Market Towns: Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester

The previous parts of this chapter have argued is that in order to examine market towns likely to show evidence of gentrification that population alone cannot be used as a basis to judge the relative affluence of market towns. Service provision in terms of key public services and the class composition add more detail to national census statistics that often reveal uniform spatial patterns. The South East has a dominant proportion of the service class that have been seen as typical gentrifiers historically and that remoter rural regions such as Yorkshire and Humber, Norfolk and the South West often lag behind in terms of the proportion of service class people compared with the South East.

We can see that the class statistics for the two sample groups vary wildly and the purpose of this final section of the chapter is to provide more detail concerning the three case study towns that have been selected from the working class sample and the service class market town sample. The rationale for selection of at least one town from the working class sample relates to one of my original research questions, which was to ascertain the extent of gentrification in market towns; this aim does not begin with the view that just because a particular market town has a dominant working class population that gentrification is not taking place. In the sections to follow, I outline the selection of three market towns from the two sample lists already outlined in the chapter. The towns examined will be Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

4.6.1 Lutterworth

Lutterworth is a market town located within the county of Leicestershire and within the 2001 GB census; it had a population of 8752 people. This compared with the 1991 population of 7380, which accounts for a significant population change of 15.68%. What is interesting is that Lutterworth, unlike many market towns, has not been allocated as a growth town for additional urban extensions or houses in local and regional developments. When you compare population change across urban settlements in England between 1991 and 2001, overall population in urban areas has increased by 2%. If the UK as a whole is taken into account, the population has increased 0.3% each year between 1991 and 2001, equating to a 3% annual increase in population (ONS, 2010). Therefore, Lutterworth up to 2001 was expanding quite rapidly compared with the national figure of 3%, which has

remained consistent up to 2010 according to the ONS. The town was selected from the service class sample of market towns, as the statistics below indicate:

Table 4.12 Class composition of Lutterworth.

Class group	1991 (Lutterworth)	2001 (Lutterworth)	1991 (England)	2001 (England)
Working class	36.73%	27.34%	37.78%	29.10%
Intermediate class	41.40%	30.60%	43.53%	32.68%
Service class	21.87%	42.05%	18.72%	38.22%

The location of Lutterworth, with easy access to the M1 means that it has the accessibility to enable people to migrate from different parts of England. When house prices were examined between 2009 and 2010, the average price was £171,000 compared with the national average for England and Wales of £161,373 for the same period (Land Registry, 2010; Upmystreet, 2011). It has to be noted the Land Registry record figures, which included England and Wales, mean that with Wales included there is the possibility of deflating prices and the inclusion of the South East means the risk of indicating inflation of house prices.

The town meets the criteria of being a service centre and falls into the category of being a small market town, as set out on with the East Midlands market towns template. In a Midlands context, it was an ideal candidate to examine gentrification, due to the concentration of logistical companies and Magna Park, which is a huge transport hub for the distribution of goods, the largest in Europe.

4.6.2 Swaffham

The second case town selected for inclusion was Swaffham, located in central Norfolk. The geography of Norfolk differs from Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, overall as can be seen from Figures 4.6 and 4.7, a low number of settlements are classified within the service class group of towns and the settlement pattern is much more dispersed than a majority of England.

Table 4.13 Class composition of Swaffham and England between 1991 and 2001.

Class group (Swaffham)	1991	2001	1991 (England)	2001 (England)
Working class	47.62%	39.93%	37.78%	29.10%
Intermediate class	41.13%	32.56%	43.53%	32.68%
Service class	11.26%	27.51%	18.72%	38.22%

The rationale for selecting Swaffham was to examine a case study that could be sampled from the working class group of market towns identified. As can be seen from Table 4.13, Swaffham differs from both Lutterworth and Towcester in that it contains a more dominant working class population. This case study is being utilised to highlight that not all market towns are necessarily gentrifying in the same manor or extent.

Historically, the town has adopted an agricultural role as can be seen by its butter cross, a representation of Swaffham's agricultural past. This agricultural heritage also links to some of the towns present day problems, former agricultural retail units left vacant emphasise that the town has been experiencing a transitionary period, adapting to agricultural change to that of an a service based economy. The housing market compares favourably with the other town case studies; however, these prices must be assessed against

much lower household incomes that remote areas such as Swaffham experience compared with the rest of England. Within the Breckland Council jurisdiction of which Swaffham is located, the average income was only £17,000 (Breckland District Council, 2007). If we examine property prices for 2009 (the whole year), the average price was £141,750, which was considerably less than Lutterworth.

The age profile of the town is much greater than the other two towns being studied and this adds a different dynamic in terms of the study of gentrification. There were indications of an affluent element to the retired population that the raw census statistics for the town could not really illustrate. Through the study of a market town such as Swaffham, it should be possible to examine the extent to which gentrification takes place in towns that are not typically seen as being affluent in terms of their class composition.

4.6.3 Towcester

Towcester is the final case study to be used to examine the extent of gentrification in English market towns and it is located in the county of Northamptonshire. As of 2001, the population of the town stood at 8,073 compared with a population of 7,005 in 1991. This equates to a 13.2% increase in population. The population statistics that have just been quoted from the 1991 and 2001 GB Censuses ─ unlike the two other towns ─ mask some significant changes in the local geography of the town such as the construction of a large estate of houses known as ‘The Shires’.

Between the 1991 and 2001, the town has moved from being a small market town towards being classified as a large market town. It is not just the impact of becoming a larger market town that makes Towcester a significant case study. Its location is highly significant; it is part of the South Midlands growth corridor (South Northamptonshire County Council, 2009). This means the town will expand by the year 2020. As with each town, Towcester met all the population and public service requirements in order to distinguish itself from other urban settlements types, as market towns have historically represented a separate territory within the English imagination, a theme that will form the focus of Chapter 6 of the thesis, which will examine the representations of market towns.

Table 4.14 Class composition of Towcester (1991 to 2001).

Class group (Towcester)	1991	2001	1991 (England)	2001 (England)
Working class	32.09%	25.12%	37.78%	29.10%
Intermediate class	44.13%	32.85%	43.53%	32.68%
Service class	23.78%	42.03%	18.72%	38.22%

What Towcester represents is a market town likely to be a candidate for gentrification, as the growth status is intended to attract value added business and with Northamptonshire being closer to London, there is room for affluent commuters to trade up in the housing market. Like Lutterworth, Towcester has access to major motorways including the M1 and M40 so in accessibility terms, both towns are quite similar and Table 4.14 indicates that the class composition of Lutterworth and Towcester are very similar but Towcester was selected as it represents a more urbane example of possible market town gentrification.

The class statistics have shown their utility in terms of identifying sites of possible gentrification, but cannot tell us if gentrification is actually taking place. The point I am making is that the two service class market towns mentioned in this part of the chapter statistically, appear similar, examining the town centres first-hand reveals that gentrification manifests itself differently in both. In Towcester it was far more overt; the shops and restaurants were more highly priced and the town no longer possesses a permanent market ─ a key defining feature for many people of what constitutes an English market town. The affluence of Towcester economically was also reflected in its property prices, with an average price over 2009 of £198,500 and this was the highest of the three case study towns.

4.7 Summary

In summarising this chapter, it was recognised market towns had almost predominantly been defined through population alone and this had been used as a basis to allocate resources and services. In order to deal with the narrow conception of market towns, two samples of towns were created from a definition that included using a population cut off between 1,500 and 30,000. Secondly, access to key public and private services and thirdly class statistics from the 1991 and 2001 GB censuses of the population were analysed. The working class market towns sample contained 538 market towns as opposed to the service class market towns, which totalled 513. Referring back to Table 4.10, the gulf between the two market town samples widened; in 1991, there was an 11.25% gap between the service class populations of WC towns and the SC town samples. By 2001, the gap between the

service classes in both samples had increased to 20.63%, which means the class difference between the two samples has become more entrenched.

With this key finding, it was decided that I would select three market towns, two that represented the SC towns sample and one case town based on the WC towns sample. The rationale behind this was to look at towns where there was developing evidence of gentrification. With the final three case towns, Lutterworth was selected on the basis that it possessed evidence of a professional and managerial population, with a new housing estate built on the fringe of the main town centre. There were also older terraced houses that contained a working class population that had been resident for a longer period than the gentrifiers, who had often arrived in town within the last five years. Lutterworth was classed as SC town due to having the same proportion of service class people (NS-SEC classes 1 & 2) as Towcester. Swaffham was selected as the sole working class town due to the town's population being characterised as more working class (NS-SEC 6 & 7). Having visited the town, there was evidence of an aging population and that some of the recent arrivals were older, middle class people who had moved from larger urban centres, such as London.

The third case study selection was Towcester and along with Lutterworth, was a service class town. Similar to Lutterworth in terms of the proportion of people employed in service class occupations, the key difference was that the new build housing estate known as 'The Shires' which was completed in 2002 (After the completion of the 2001 GB census) and

was much larger in scale. The town population as of 2001 was just over 10,000 people, with a population at the time of study estimated at closer to 20,000.

In Chapter 5 to follow, I will outline more details on the individual case towns selected and then analyse questionnaire data collected from each market town. Chapter 5, similarly to Chapter 4, has operated from a firstspace perspective, examining predominantly quantitative data, however this was required to understand and document the key differences between working class towns and service class towns.

Official class schemas such as the SEGs and NS-SEC used in the 2001 GB census still treat class as gradational series of categories. I would argue that in light of the research question that informs this chapter, which aimed to look at the extent of gentrification in market towns, they are a useful basis to begin analysis of possible market town gentrification.

Scholars such as Abram (1998), who argue that examining social class through classification schemes does not 'produce' classes with an identity that leads to collective action i.e. the working class would perform and practice different activities and jobs as opposed to the service class (Crompton, 1991, 2008), fail to consider the value of being able to analyse class on a national scale. The 'flattening' of class or the idea of moving away from classifying people would in my view send the message that people live their lives equally across England which has found to not be the case in this chapter.

Abram would also argue that statistical data could not convey the complexities of the 'lived' experiences present in the third space of Soja's trialectical approach to space. However, I hold the view that in order to deal of the real problem of class inequality that processes such as gentrification amplify, that quantifying social class groups is a useful means to identifying places for human geographers and rural researchers to consider in more detail. The purpose of Chapter 5 will be to move from the national scale, towards examining differences between the three case study market towns and to ascertain the key characteristics of working class and middle class residents in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

Chapter 5: Characteristics of the Working and Service Class in Market Towns

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the key characteristics of the questionnaire respondents from Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. Chapter 4 identified market towns with the potential to gentrify and class was shown still to be a significant factor although I acknowledged that the situation on the ground was 'messier' than much of the rural studies literature implied with the idea of the rural being a middle class territory . Working class market towns were also identified, which emphasises the diversity of market towns.

The purpose of this chapter is to look at three different market towns and examine the key characteristics of the middle class and the working class. This relates to my first research question outline in the introduction (Chapter 1) which sought to find out the extent of gentrification in market towns. This chapter aims to use case studies to provide more detail on who the gentrifiers are in market towns and how they conform or differ from existing conceptualisations of gentrifiers. The rationale for including working class people in the analysis was to examine market town change by taking into account the views of working class people also residing in market towns.

This chapter uses quantitative data conforming to firstspace perspectives (Soja, 1996). The data was collected from a questionnaire survey and the data will understand the

characteristics of the working class and the middle class within the case study market towns.

5.2 The Characteristics of the Working Class and Middle Class in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester

This section of the chapter examines the characteristics associated with gentrifiers via socio-economic variables such as social class (through the NS-SEC), followed by the use of variables relating to property, education and then consumption.

Within market towns, there cannot be the assumption that the exact same production and consumption processes are taking place that are associated with urban gentrification; such as the displacement of working class people, the renovation of property and a desire for historical property to name a few. All these factors may well take place in market towns but as noted in Chapter 2, there has been an extensive debate considering whether we can classify new build developments as gentrification and instead it could simply be a case of market towns 'reurbanising' (Buzar *et al.*, 2007).

The starting point for finding an answer to this question is by looking at the characteristics of the gentrifiers (Hamnett, 1992; Ley, 1994; Ley, 1996; Hamnett, 2003). Hamnett was particularly critical of Neil Smith in the 1980s for treating gentrifiers as 'lemmings' rather than as central to gentrification taking place. By lemmings, Hamnett was referring to gentrifiers as being led by capital rather than directly driving gentrification forward through their consumption.

Indeed, Neil Smith (2002) linked gentrification to a 'new global urban strategy' of neoliberal urban policies that have displaced the liberal urban policies (as present in Canada during the 1960s and 1970s). This would have an impact on the type of gentrifiers present in market towns where agriculture and manufacturing have declined and new roles for market towns have been established, such as through tourism and through creating new employment (Caffyn, 2004; Powe and Hart, 2007).

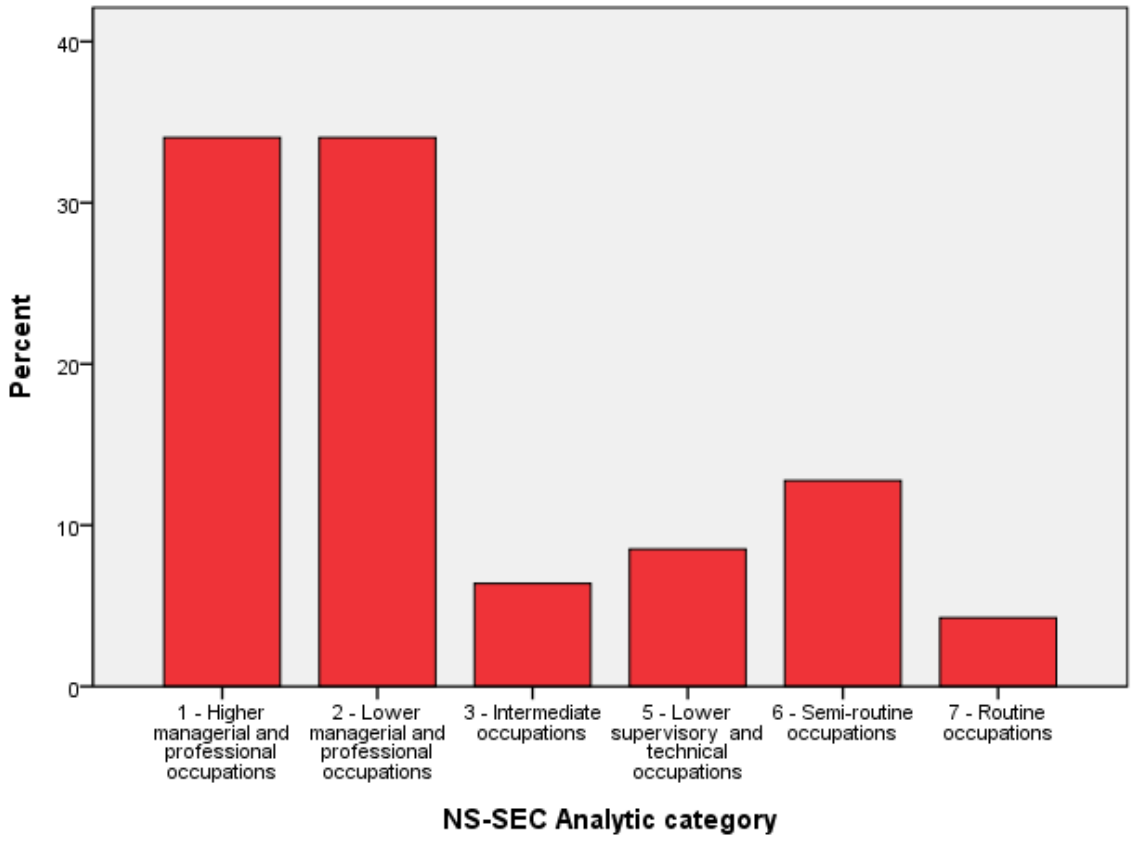
The middle class in this chapter were classed as those allocated a NS-SEC class 1 or 2, which constitute the service class. The intermediate class were allocated to NS-SEC class groups 3, 4 and 5, which reflects arguments I made in Chapter 4 concerning small employers such as trades and builders where their stocks of cultural capital did not warrant a place in the service class, even if their incomes were relatively high. The working class were allocated to NS-SEC classes 6 & 7 which included semi-routine and routine occupational groups.

In the next section, I wish to highlight data relating to the NS-SEC class categories that were used in Chapter 4 to identify class trends across England in the 1991 and 2001 GB censuses of the population using a series of questions that were asked within a semi-structured questionnaire survey administered in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. Descriptions of these towns were provided towards the end of Chapter 4.

5.2.1 Socio-Demographic Profiles of Gentrifiers and Non-gentrifiers: NS-SEC Analysis of Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester

Using the government NS-SEC classification (introduced in Chapters 3 & 4); each respondent to the questionnaire was assigned an NS-SEC analytic category. The results of this can be seen in Figures 5.1 to 5.3 and as a reminder; NS-SEC classes 1 & 2 are taken to be the service class, NS-SEC classes 3, 4 and 5 form the intermediate class and NS-SEC classes 6 & 7 form the working class.

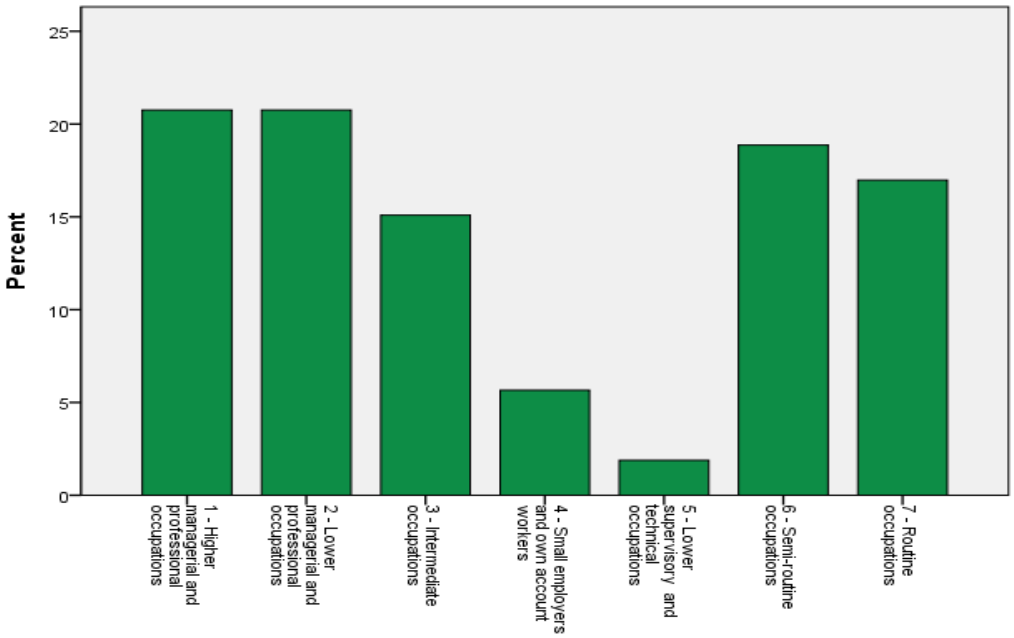
Figure 5.1 NS-SEC analytic categories from Lutterworth.



For Lutterworth, the number of questionnaires that had enough data to calculate an NS-SEC class accounted for 47 out of 53 responses (88.7%). We can see that the service class made up 68% of the respondents, which is much higher than the service class figure reported within Chapter 4 for 2001, which was 37% for England. The other NS-SEC classes are underrepresented in my sample, with NS-SEC 4 not even featuring. This is not surprising considering that the questionnaire targeted mainly the middle class and a small proportion of properties that would enable sampling of some working class residents.

The next largest class were those working in semi-routine occupations, which made up 12.8% of the Lutterworth sample. Lutterworth is worthy of more detailed investigation in terms of how the significant service class population relate to different types of gentrifier. Using other variables collected in the questionnaire survey, it may be possible to account for the lack of small employers sand own account workers (NS-SEC 4).

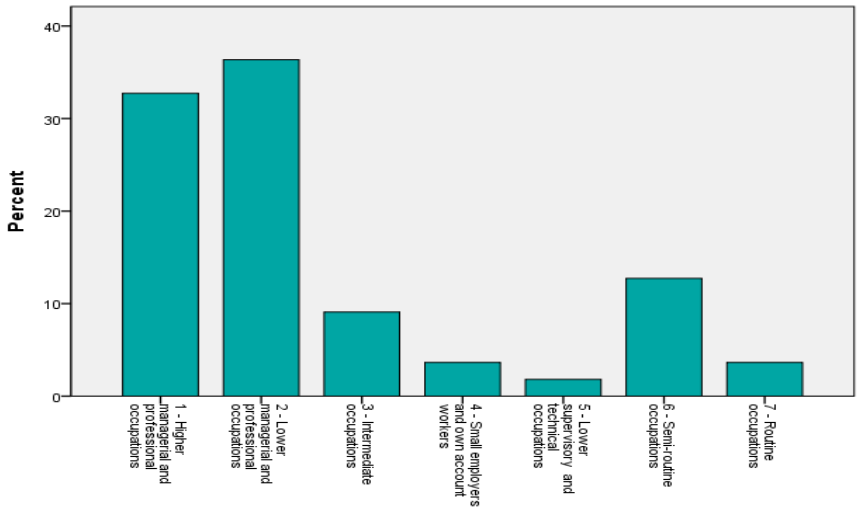
Figure 5.2 NS-SEC analytic categories from Swaffham.



If the class composition of Swaffham is analysed, a wider social structure is represented here. There were 53 out of 62 questionnaires (85.5%) that contained enough data to calculate the NS-SEC class categories. NS-SEC classes 1 & 2 still came out on top with 41.5% of the sample being assigned to the service class, which was 4.5% higher than census figures for England as a whole. However not far behind were NS-SEC classes 6 & 7 that represent the working class. These two analytic groups equated to 35.9% of the respondents ─ indicating a more working class composition within Swaffham than either Lutterworth or Towcester. NS-SEC classes 6 & 7 for England as a whole was about 30%, indicating that the respondents in Swaffham were more working class.

Unlike Lutterworth, there were a presence of small employers and business owners, although the proportion was still quite low in the sample at 5.7%, and the intermediate occupations (NS-SEC 3) were much larger, equating to 15.1%. If we sum NS-SEC classes 3, 4 and 5 to form the intermediate class, a figure of 22.6% is arrived at, lower than the class figures reported in the 2001 GB census (32.5%).

Figure 5.3 NS-SEC analytic categories from Towcester.



Towcester illustrates a similar pattern to Lutterworth in terms of the dominance of the service class. 55 of 69 completed questionnaires contained enough data to allocate the NS-SEC classes with 69.1% of the sample allocated to this class and slightly more respondents allocated to NS-SEC class 2, which were those employed within lower professional and managerial occupations. As with Lutterworth, the other significant groups were those respondents allocated to NS-SEC 6, which made up 12.7% of the Towcester responses. Within Chapter 4, Lutterworth and Towcester were quite similar in class terms in 2001, with Lutterworth's service class standing at 42.1% and Towcester at 42%, therefore my questionnaire has broadly acknowledged these trends.

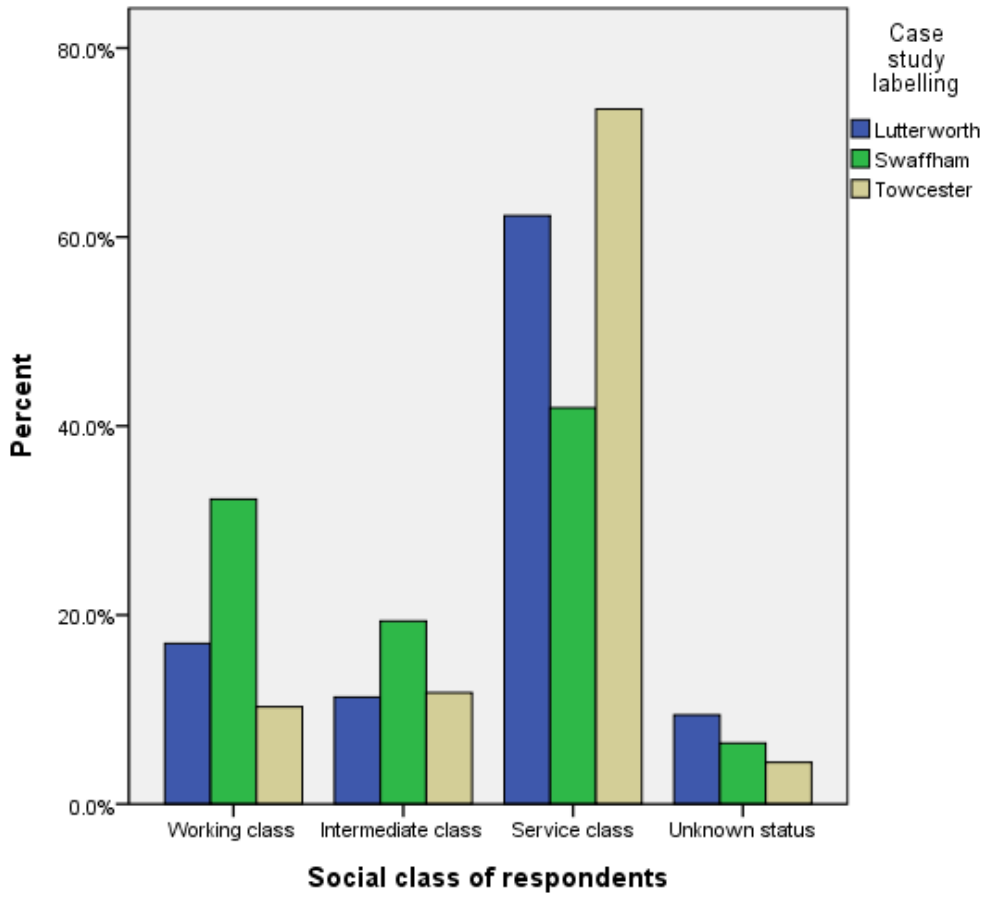
In the sections to follow, a variety of variables will be analysed alongside the social class groups identified in Figure 5.4. These were constructed using the NS-SEC analytic classes so for the working class, this included NS-SEC 6 and 7, which included people in semi routine and routine occupations. Those allocated to the intermediate class accounted NS-SEC analytic classes 3, 4 and 5 which were intermediate occupations, small employers and own account workers and lower supervisory and technical occupations. The service class was allocated to NS-SEC analytic classes 1 and 2, which were higher and lower, professional and managerial occupations.

The sample size for Lutterworth was n=53. If we go through the class statistics for the sample collected, in Lutterworth 62% of respondents were from the service class with the intermediate class accounting for 11% and the working class 17%. The remaining 10%

could not be classified due to a lack of information within the questionnaire. The service class representation was higher than the 42% identified towards the end of Chapter 4.

The sample size of completed questionnaires for Swaffham was n=62. Swaffham was a more working class town, with 32.3% of questionnaire respondents allocated to working class NS-SEC groups. This was reasonably close to the 40% figure for Swaffham as a whole, using the 2001 GB census data. The intermediate class made up 19.4%, which was higher than Lutterworth and Towcester questionnaire samples. The service class in Swaffham accounted for 42%, which was considerably higher than the 27.5% identified in the 2001 GB census.

Figure 5.4 Social class groups in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.



The third town, Towcester, had a sample of n=68 and 73.5% of the respondents to the questionnaire were service class. As with Lutterworth, this was higher than the 42% identified in the 2001 GB census, although since 2001, a very large housing estate was completed in 2002, which could have contributed to the high service class presence here. The working class (10.3%) and intermediate class (11.8%) were under represented compared with the 2001 GB census, where 25% of people were working class and 32.9% were members of the intermediate class.

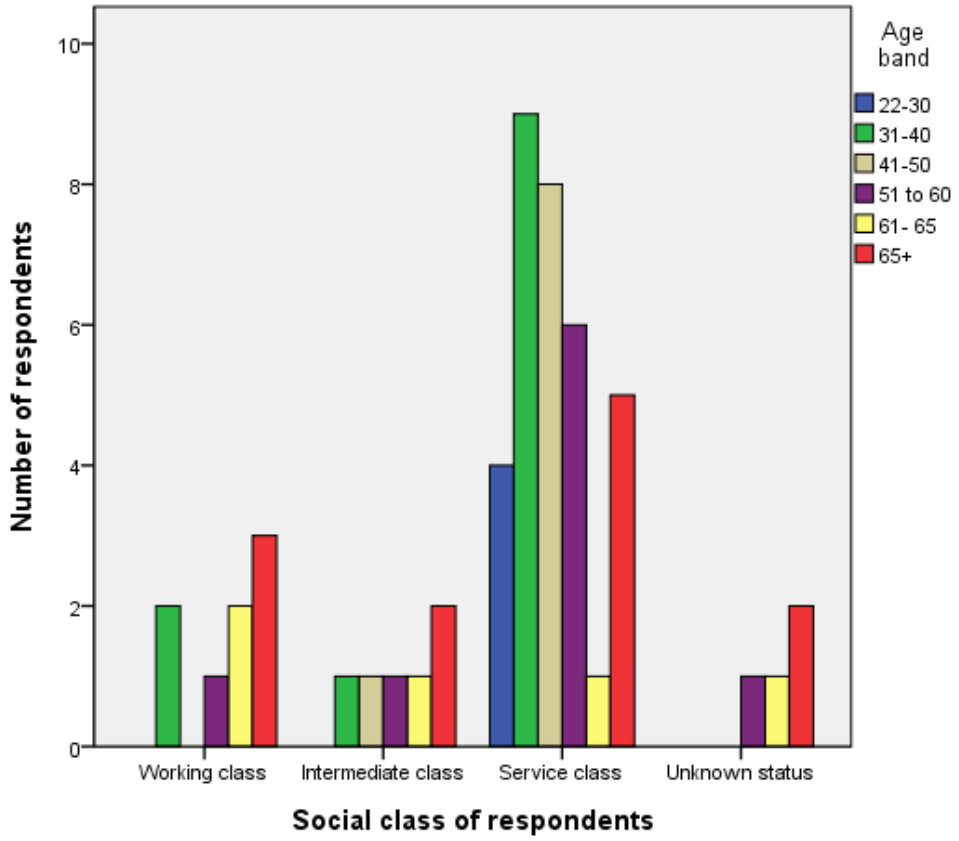
In the next section, having identified the overall class composition of the three market towns being studied, I will move on to consider data relating to the key socio-economic characteristics of the social class groups identified within Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. This will include examination of age profiles, gender, occupational status of respondents and income.

5.2.2 Age of Questionnaire Respondents

Turning to the gentrifiers in Lutterworth first, we can see from Figure 5.5 that the predominant age group for gentrifiers was the 31-40 age category (green), which would certainly fit within existing studies of gentrification that have argued young professionals constitute a majority of gentrifiers (Hall and Ogden, 1992). This age group accounted for 23.5% of all classes. Scholars such as Atkinson (2000) have not used age as a basis for identifying gentrifiers because older people can also be gentrifiers along with young professional people (Parsons, 1979). I do not think this is justification for exclusion of the

age variable in a market town context ─ we need to know which age ranges make up the working class and the middle class in order to analyse geographic differences between places.

Figure 5.5 Social class groups and age in Lutterworth.

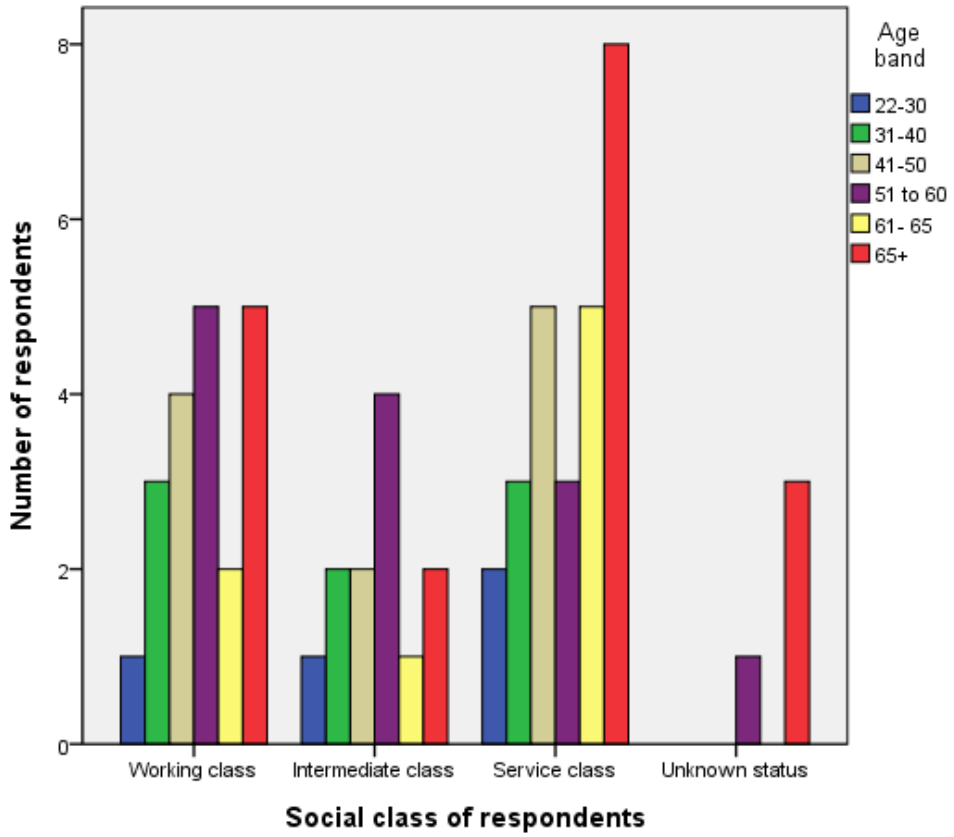


The next group, the 41-50 age categories accounted for 17.6% of responses. Earlier gentrification studies in the 1980s often included younger gentrifiers, for example within the 22-30 age range used in Figure 5.5, which would represent the urban yuppies (Smith, 1987b). Only 4 out of 33 middle class respondents or 7.8% were this young, indicating that delayed entry to the workplace could be a factor in the lower representation of young adults within the service class samples.

The working class were a mixture of age ranges, although no discernible pattern could be identified, other than the number of respondents aged 65 or above was similar as for the middle class or 25% of the Lutterworth sample that responded to this question.

Moving onto Swaffham, as with the other variables used in this chapter will indicate, the working class presence was much more apparent. If we turn to the service class in Swaffham firstly, a majority were over 50 years old (61.5%).

Figure 5.6 Social class groups and age in Swaffham.

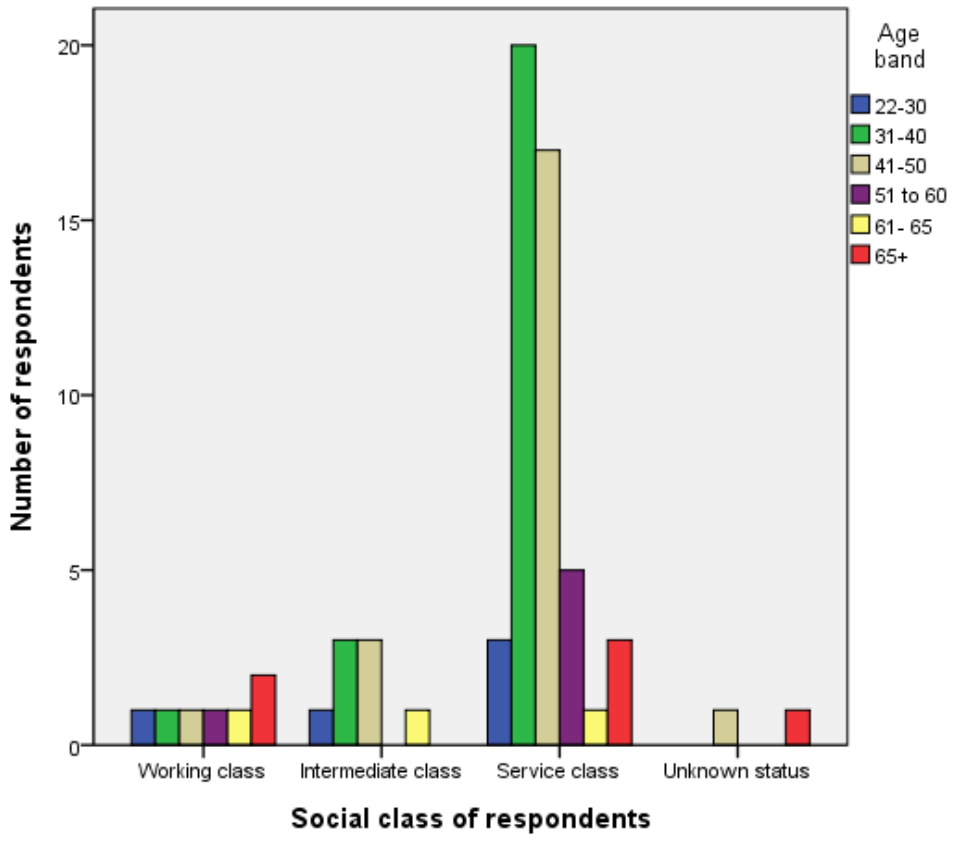


This trend can be seen via the red bar, examining Figure 5.6, the class make up is far more spread, and the retired nature of the population of Swaffham is noticeable. What could be

taking place in Swaffham is not just the town asserting the role of a retirement market town (Powe *et al.*, 2007a) but possible geriatrification, where service class retirees were using Swaffham as a retirement or pre-retirement space. Further evidence of this will be investigated the chapter. The working class also were tending to cluster around the middle age to retired age ranges, with the 51 to 60 and 65+ age ranges quite dominant.

Towcester perhaps has the most skewed data obtained from the semi-structured questionnaire. For the age question 66 responses were received, with 49 from the service class and 7 from the working class and 8 for the intermediate class. Examining the service class, 70% were either 31 to 40 or 41 to 50 (see Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7 Social class groups and age in Towcester.



These two categories stand out significantly; again, as with the other two market towns we do not see many younger middle class people (intermediate or service class) from the 22 to 30 category. The sheer dominance of the service class would indicate that the town is a candidate for consideration as a 'gentrifying' market town.

In summary examining age, there are distinct patterns in each market town. The service class conform to the age ranges that have been broadly established within the gentrification literature, with the 31 to 40 and 41 to 50 categories scoring particularly highly in the cases of Lutterworth and Towcester. The age data in Swaffham was intriguing as the GB census statistics would indicate that the town is working class and would not be a likely candidate for considering gentrification in the traditional sense of young to middle aged gentrifiers residing in the town.

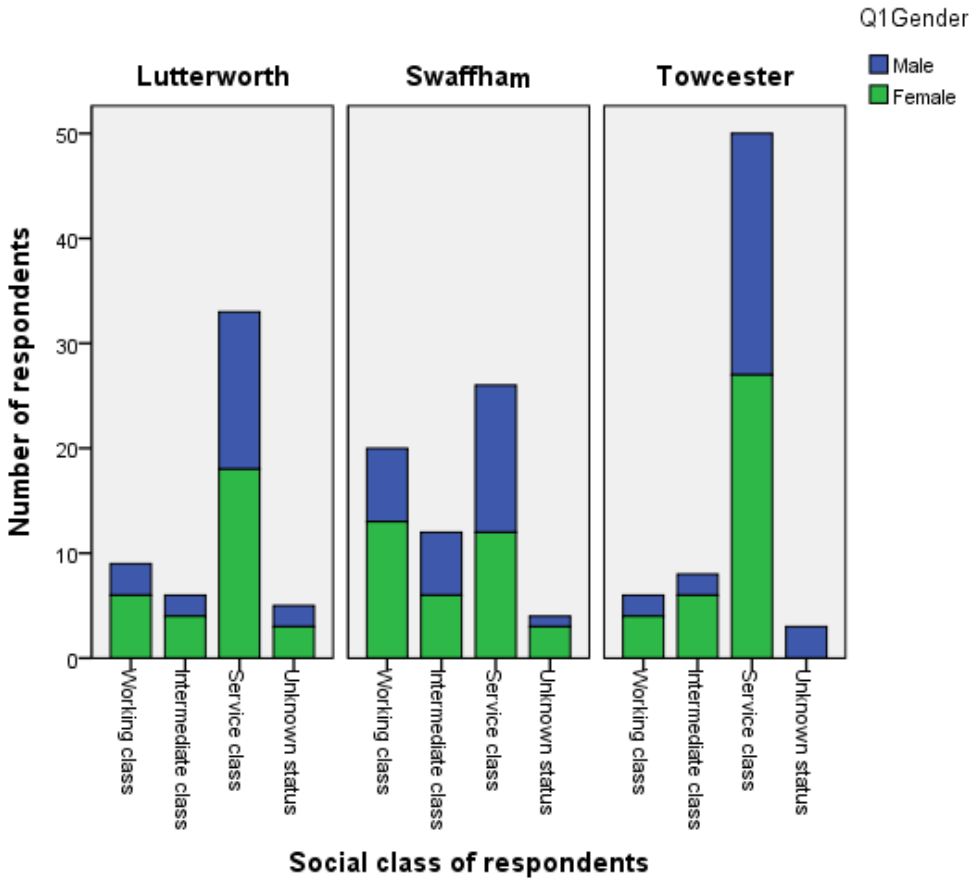
Lutterworth had more of a spread across the age ranges within the service class element of the response. There was a heavy skew to 31 to 40 year olds and 41 to 50 year olds; this certainly is worth further investigation within this chapter as it would appear Towcester has potential as an active site of market town gentrification.

5.2.3 Gender Composition of the Market Town Samples

The gender variable was employed to examine the extent to which female gentrifiers were prevalent in any of the case study market towns, or whether traditional gendered relationships in the home space were present as with Phillip's research into rural

gentrification in the Gower, Wales (Phillips, 1993). For this question within the semi-structured questionnaire, all respondents from the sample answered (53).

Figure 5.8 Social class groups and gender in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.



Slightly more of the women in the sample were from the service class, accounting for 54.5% of the Lutterworth responses for the service class, which was also apparent in Towcester (see Figure 5.8). Within the working class responses, women outnumbered men (6 responses were women, 3 were from men) which could be explained by more women being at home at the time they were contacted, although I made sure that I dropped questionnaires off at different times of the day, so the process was made as random as possible.

With Swaffham the working class market town of the three studied, the gender composition changes, with males outnumbering women. Males accounted for 53.8% of the service class in Swaffham. This could be linked to the older age profile and there being more patriarchal gender relationships in the home (Bowlby *et al.*, 1986; 1997).

Women were better represented in the working class category; accounting for 65% of the total working class responses. When collecting questionnaires, it was notable that it was women rather than the men in the household who would discuss my research, which did not appear to be the case in the middle class houses that were sampled. Many women worked, but did not always indicate this within the questionnaire and this was later ascertained within semi-structured interviews, analysed in Chapter 6.

Towcester demonstrated a more gender balanced sample of gentrifiers than both Lutterworth and Swaffham with 46% of the service class group male and 54% were female. Both the working class and the intermediate classes were underrepresented so it would therefore be hard to draw any conclusions other than women more likely to have filled in the questionnaire survey.

In summary to the gender section, class composition of the case towns is closely linked to their gender composition; in other words, a more balanced gender structure was present in Lutterworth and Towcester. In the variables to follow, this gender data will be analysed to see if gendered relationships could be identified once more data is collated.

5.2.4 Occupational Status of Respondents

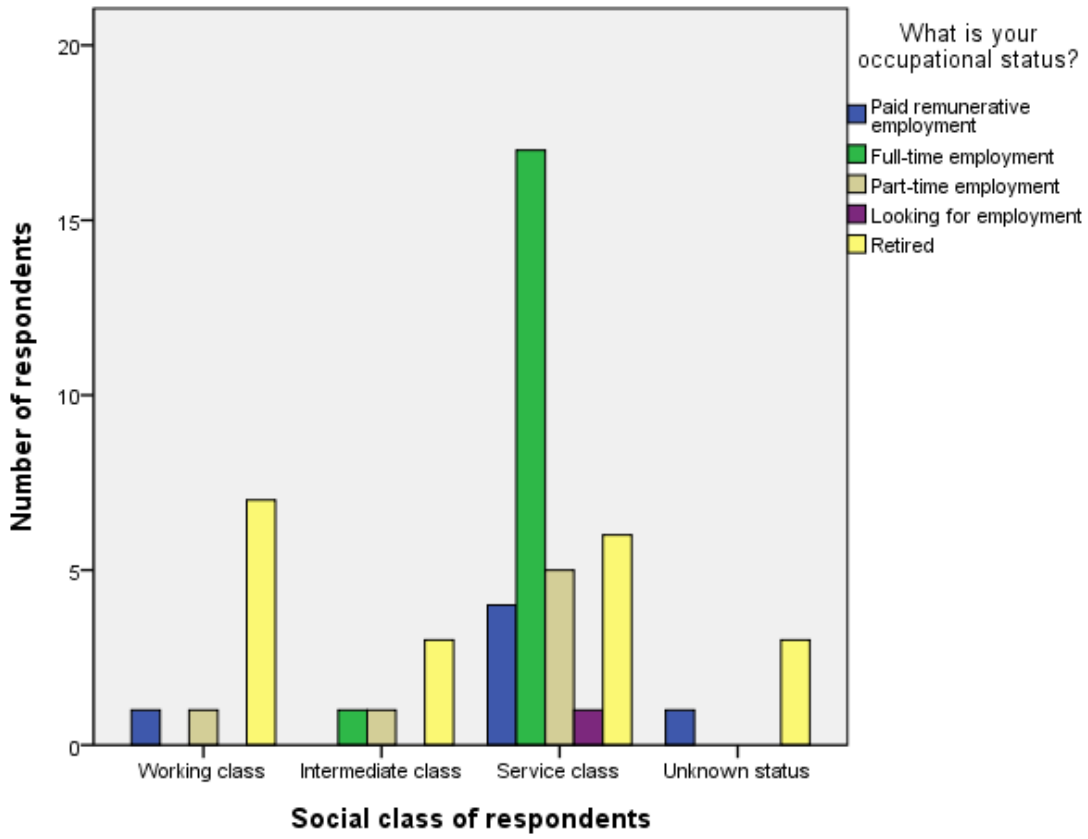
As part of this section based on socio-economic characteristics of the working class and middle class, a question was asked based on occupational status. The aim was to establish how many respondents were in part-time and full-time employment as well as establish the status of those in retirement. Other categories were included such as 'looking after the home' in order to examine the extent of traditional household gender relationships within the case study market towns. A category was also included for those in full-time education and 'other status' category for those people who did not fit into a readily identifiable category.

There were 51 complete responses to this question out of a possible 53, representing 96.2% of the Lutterworth sample who responded. The dominant trend was for respondents to possess full-time employment (green bar) that represented 18 out of 51 respondents or 35.3% of the sample (see Figure 5.9). A category 'paid remunerative employment' was used to try to identify those people in the market towns who might be part of the salariat (NS-SEC 1 & 2), however, it became apparent during the fieldwork and analysis that most people simply entered their employment status as being in 'full-time employment', regardless of their class background.

Within the working class group, there were no people at the time of study who were in full-time employment, 7 of the 9 respondents were retired (77.8%) whilst 6 out of 33 of the service class group (18.2%) were retired at the time of study. An interesting statistic was that 13.7% of respondents in Lutterworth worked part-time (beige bar), which would

indicate not all the service class are necessarily employed in professional and managerial occupations (NS-SEC 1 & 2).

Figure 5.9 Social class groups and occupational status in Lutterworth.



Moving onto Swaffham, there were 58 responses out of a possible 62 were recorded (94%). With both the working class and service class groups, the retirees category dominated, accounting for 43% of the Swaffham sample (shown by the yellow bar). With Swaffham, because there was more of a balance between the working class and the service class, it was possible to decipher relationships between the two groups. Slightly more of the working class were in full-time employment, accounting for 35% of the total responses compared with 26% for the service class who were in full-time employment.

Part-time employment in Swaffham accounted for 12% of responses to the occupational status question, a similar proportion to Lutterworth although four of the seven responses were allocated to the working class. This was reflected by the lack of professional managerial jobs within the immediate area around Swaffham. Those looking after the home accounted for 10% of responses; this was more common than in Lutterworth where no respondents recorded this occupational status in their questionnaires.

Figure 5.10 Social class groups and occupational status in Swaffham.

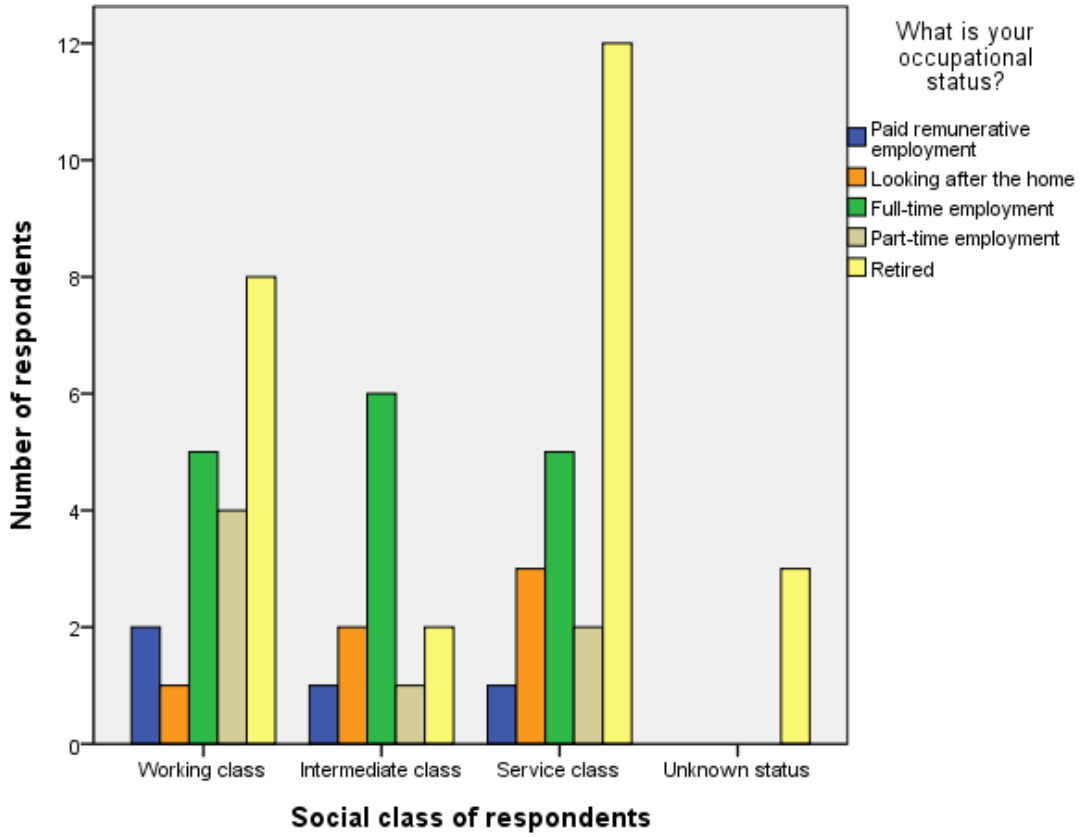
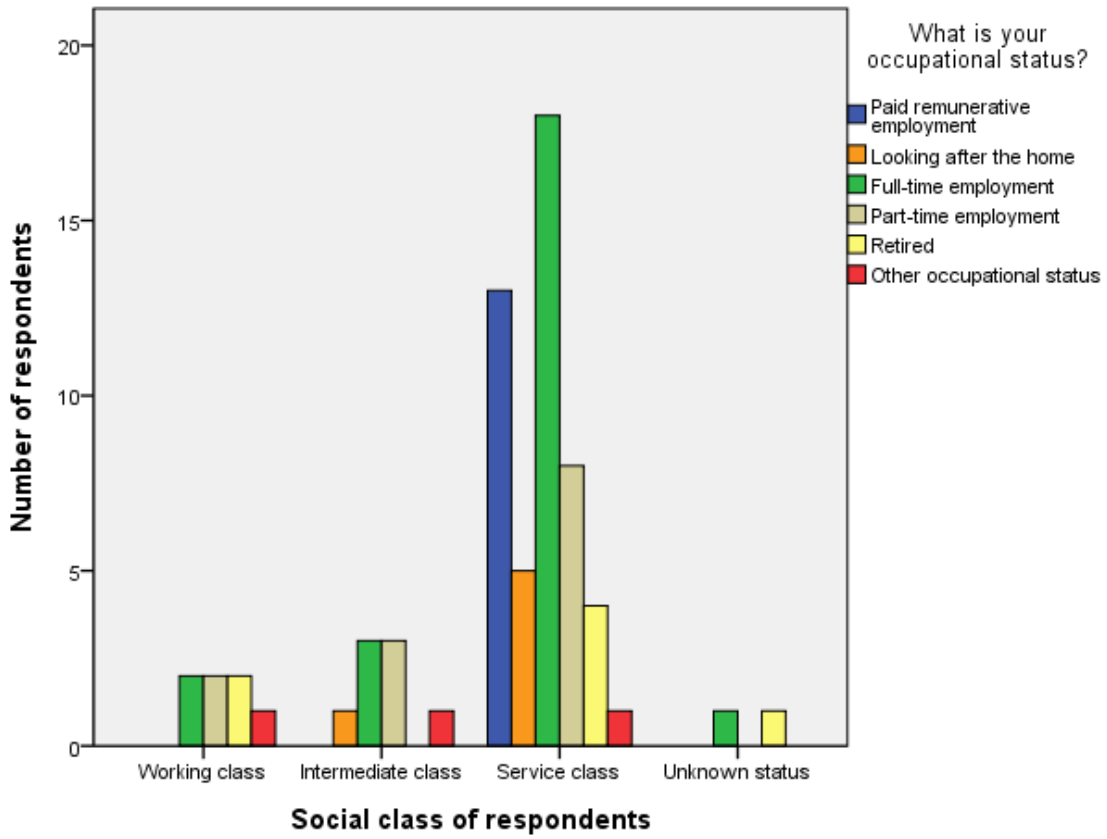


Figure 5.11 Social class groups and occupational status in Towcester



Finally, with Towcester, 66 out of 69 respondents answered the occupational status question (95.7%). We can see that Towcester appears thus far to be more middle class. Although full-time employment was the highest proportion in the sample of the service class, accounting for 27.3% of this group, paid remunerative employment was significant, implying a more service class composition even compared with Lutterworth that had an almost identical proportion of people allocated to the service class in the 2001 GB census (42% respectively). The remunerative employment category to this question appears useful in distinguishing Towcester from Lutterworth and Swaffham, as the respondents recognised the distinction with full-time employment.

If we compare the service class groups of Towcester with Lutterworth and Swaffham, 20% of respondents from Towcester were in paid remunerative employment, compared with 12.1% respondents in Lutterworth and 4.3% in Swaffham. In Swaffham, there was a sole respondent from the service class in paid remunerative employment perhaps due to the retired profile of the town, as already noted.

Those with paid, remunerative employment clustered in the 31 to 40 and 41 to 50 age ranges predominantly. Conversations with local people in Towcester noted that many people in the town were working in Milton Keynes, which had a significant number of headquarters where major companies were based.

5.2.5 Gross Household Income Levels: A key Indicator of Market Town Gentrification

Income has long been held as a key component in identifying possible gentrification of settlements, although income levels have rarely been related to city or country averages and published income data often goes out of date very quickly. Income has featured in gentrification studies and has been related to different types of gentrifiers, such as marginal gentrifiers identified in both urban (Rose, 1984) and rural settings (Phillips, 1993). Marginal gentrifiers often have been found to work in public sector professions (such as nurses and younger teachers). Levels of remuneration were often as competitive compared with equivalent private sector occupations.

Equally, the income of supergentrifiers based in major global cities on six figure salaries (hence the 'super') has recently taken on new precedence within the literature (Lees, 2003; Davidson and Lees, 2005). We could also expect that those people allocated to the NS-SEC classes 1 & 2 would tend to include those people who are earning higher income levels than the non-gentrifiers; the following analysis will examine the extent to which the trend of middle class gentrifiers entering market towns can be justified.

This also raises the issue of whether the service class in the market towns are capital/asset rich or alternatively, rich in cultural forms of capital. The position taken in this thesis is that cultural capital relates to economic capital ─ they are not divorced (Ley, 2003). Zukin argues that 'affluent gentrifiers' cultural appropriations do not lack economic rationality' (Zukin, 1987: 143), yet too easily in the gentrification debate, particularly during the 1980s, the economic and the cultural domains were treated as separate entities. Four forms of cultural capital were identified by Bourdieu, which can be applied to gentrification:

1. Cultural capital as formerly accredited learning (such as higher educational qualifications).
2. Objectified through the consumption of art, books and music.
3. Embodied through human practice such as fashion and taste.
4. Non-accredited through tastes and dispositions absorbed through living in a particular habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Bridge, 2006).

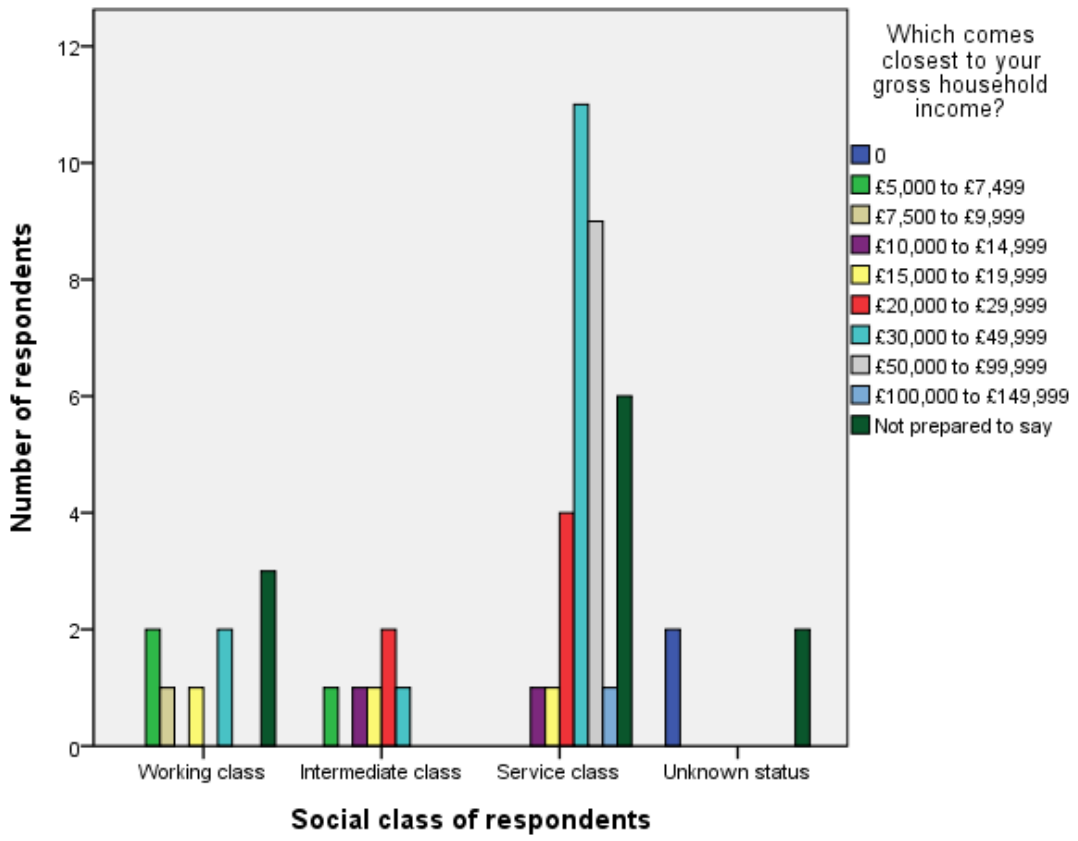
Higher education tends to correlate with higher incomes and the middle class, particularly in counties like England, France and the United States, tend to monopolise the higher echelons of top educational establishments such as the Ivy League, the Grandes Écoles and the Russell group in England. Having a disposition for high art forms intersect with classed identities therefore, income will not be treated in isolation, although it is a good starting point to establish the characteristic of the working class and middle class in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

In terms of selecting a measure of income, Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs (HMRC) only possessed data on individual income levels therefore direct comparison with gross household income was difficult. In addition, in recent years the government has moved away from using gross household income towards net income which excludes income tax national insurance and council tax. Whilst this and other methods such as 'equivalised' income (where income is altered based on household size) are better measures of material living standards, this thesis was utilising income data more in the context of the status of particular income bands and to identify differences between market towns.

For Lutterworth, 50 out of a possible 52 respondents answered the question concerning income, which accounted for 96% of the Lutterworth responses. Although this was a high response rate to what has often been considered a personal question, 11 respondents or 21.2% of the sample were not prepared to reveal their gross household income.

The results of the questionnaire were intriguing ─ 21.2% of the service class were earning between £30,000 to £49,999, which in relation to the regional levels was significant, although comparable regional statistics on household levels of income were hard to come by (gross household income before tax was used in the thesis).

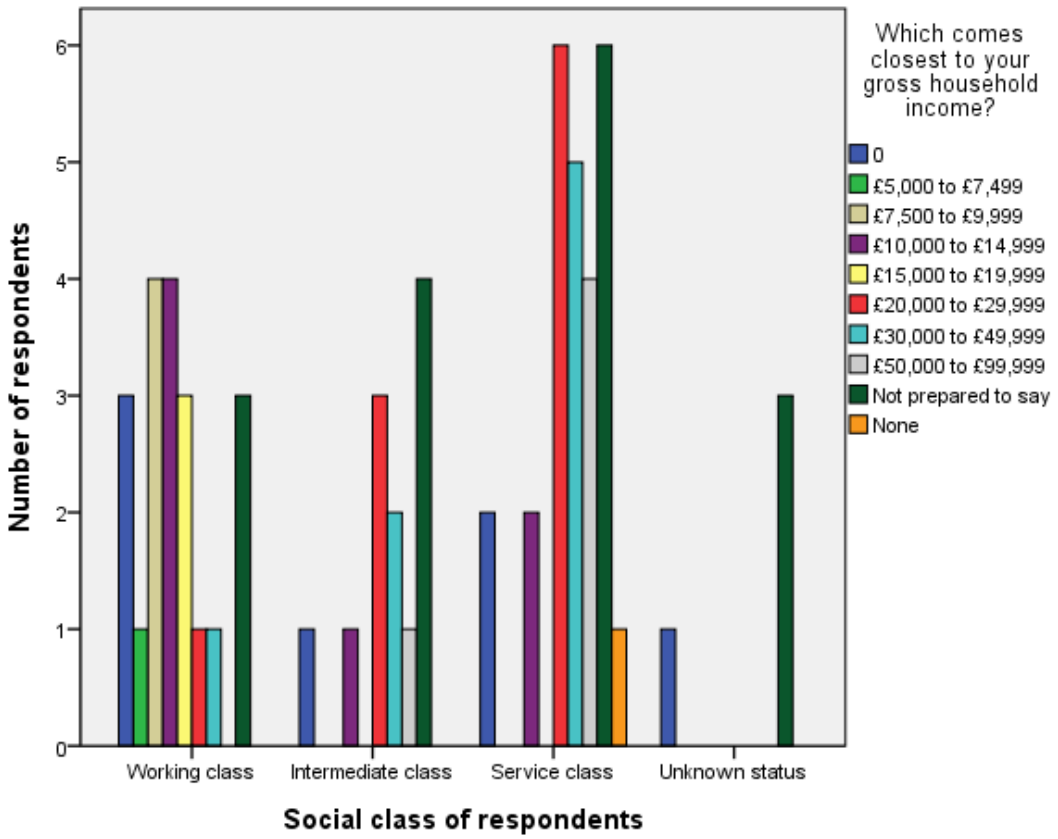
Figure 5.12 Social class groups and gross household income in Lutterworth.



A further 19.2% were earning £50,000 to £149,999, so if we sum these two statistics, we arrive at a figure of 46.2% of the respondents earning between £30,000 and £149,999 who were allocated to the service class group. This accounted for 63.5% of the service class group in total in Lutterworth.

In Swaffham, 16 of the 62 responses (25.8%) were recorded as 'not prepared to say'. These respondents were predominantly service class retirees who thought income data was too personal. For those of the service class who did respond, 34.6% earned between £30,000 and £99,999 or 14.5% of total responses. However, income levels of this service class group were slightly lower with the highest proportion (9.7%) earning between £20,000 and £29,999. This equates to 24% of the service class group earning between £20,000 and £99,999. Although this income range was lower than Lutterworth, it does indicate there was some affluence in Swaffham behind the overall dominance of the working class in the 2001 GB census (40% of Swaffham's population).

Figure 5.13 Social class groups and gross household income in Swaffham.



The working class group tended to occupy the lower income ranges with eight respondents earning between £7,500 and £19,999 (17.7% of total responses). Intermediate class incomes tended to cluster around the £20,000 to £29,999 and £30,000 to £49,999 income ranges, although the sample of responses was much smaller than either the working class or services class.

With Towcester, 65 out of a possible 68 responses answered the question on income. It was hard to ignore the dominance of the £50,000 to £99,999 that accounted for 52% of the service class in the sample (see Figure 5.14). A further 13.2% had gross household incomes of between £30,000 and £49,999.

Figure 5.14 Social class groups and gross household income in Towcester.

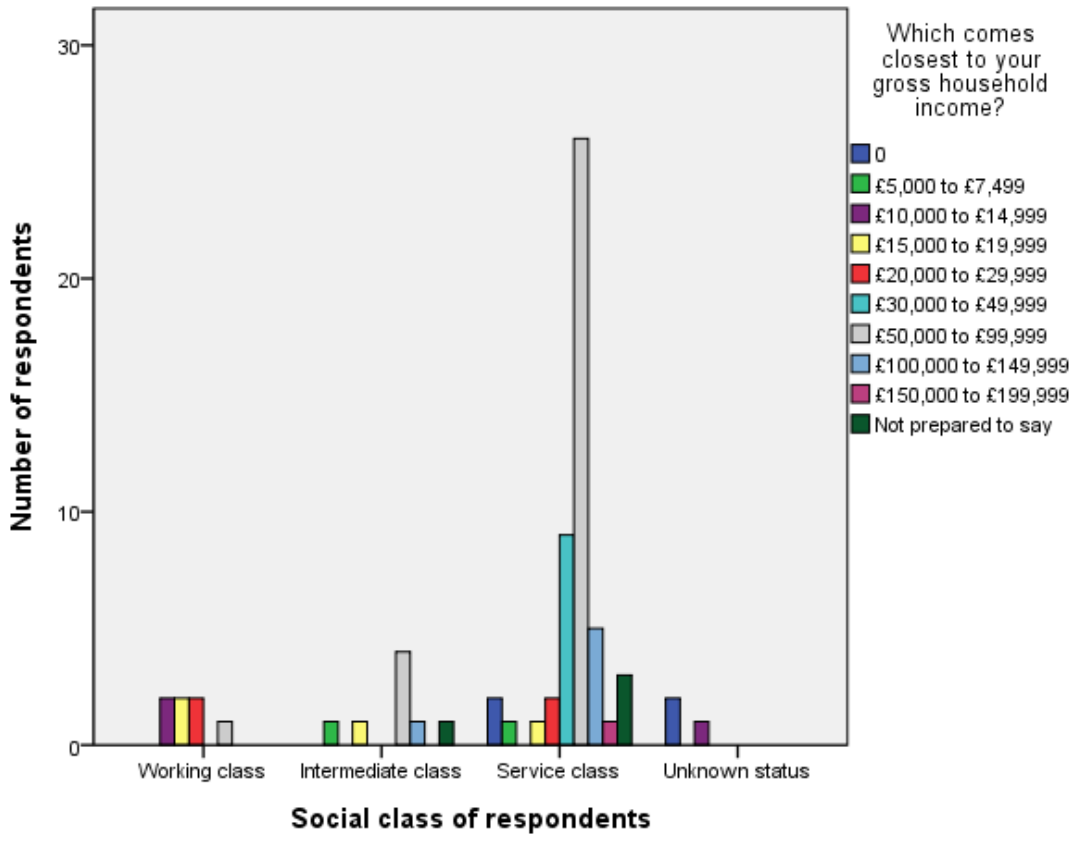


Table 5.1 Showing average and median income (from HMRC, 2008 Table 3.13).

	England	Leicestershire	Norfolk	Northamptonshire
Average Income	£27,400	£23,300	£22,900	£26,400
Median Income	£18,700	£17,600	£17,200	£19,100

Table 5.1 represents individual income statistics for the Counties to which Lutterworth (Leicestershire), Swaffham (Norfolk) and Towcester (Northamptonshire) belong in order to provide some comparison with the data collected through the questionnaire survey. Having examined Towcester, the incomes in this market town were significantly in excess of the average incomes for Northamptonshire whilst the statistics for Norfolk compare to Swaffham reasonably well, although as indicated, there were some very affluent respondents in Swaffham, with gross household incomes in excess of £50,000. The sample in Lutterworth indicated high incomes of between £30,000 to £49,999 and £50,000 to £99,999 being the strongest. Although the GB census statistics for Lutterworth and Towcester appeared identical, this section of the chapter indicated there were differences between the three case study towns. The next part of the chapter will focus on property related variables.

5.3 Property in a Market Town Context

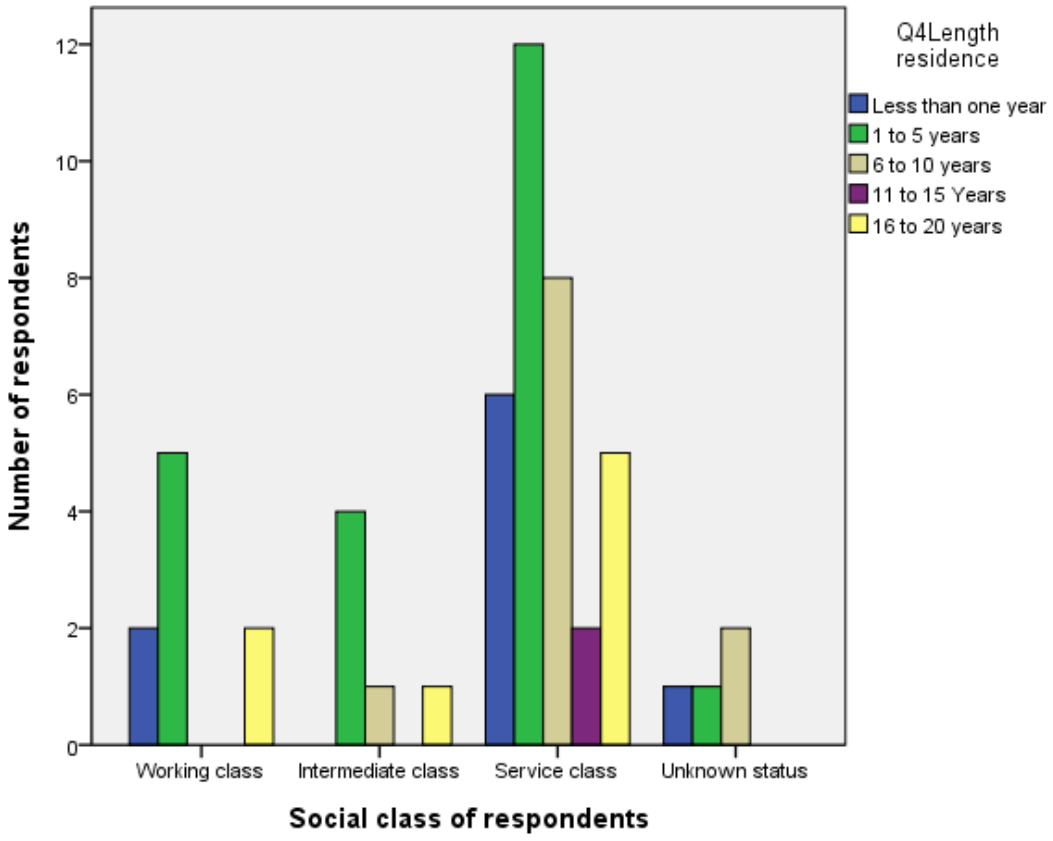
This part of the chapter was included to establish the relationship between property variables included in the questionnaire survey, which included the variables: length of residence, condition of respondent's property, ownership of additional properties, future plans to invest in the property market, property improvements, the motivations behind any

improvements, who undertook those improvements and any further work planned. The goal was to see how integral property was to the working class and middle class and whether there were any unique characteristics that set market town residents apart from other settlement types.

5.3.1 Length of Residence

Length of residence was important for identifying recent migration in market towns. The trends in this section will indicate as to whether the case market towns were relatively static or whether there was property 'churn'.

Figure 5.15 Social class groups and length of residence in Lutterworth.



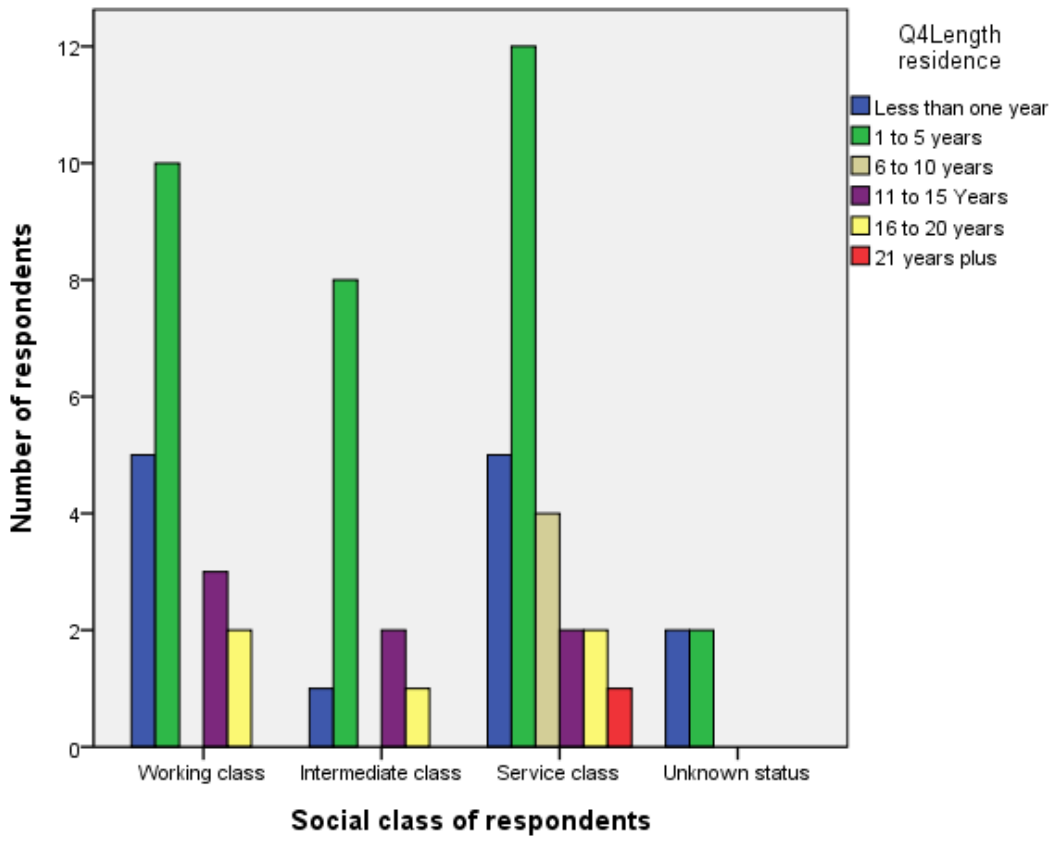
Beginning with Lutterworth, all but one respondent replied to this question. We can see that overall a good proportion of residents (42.3%) had lived in Lutterworth for between 1 to 5 years, which was relatively recent (green bars). For the service class, 1 to 5 years was the most common length of residence for the service class with 12 out of 33 or 36.3% having lived in the town this length of time. Of the service class in Lutterworth, 6 of the 33 service class respondents (18.2%) had lived in Lutterworth for less than one year. For the nine respondents allocated to the working class, 55.6% had moved into Lutterworth within 1 to 5 year period.

This indicates indicated that there was not just a middle class movement into Lutterworth, but also working class migration, supporting scholars such as Hoggart (2007) who have argued that the countryside for which market towns are a part, have not necessarily become 'captured' exclusively by the middle class. With the intermediate class respondents, 4 of the 6 respondents (66.7%) were resident in Lutterworth for 1 to 5 years.

In Swaffham, all the respondents that filled in the questionnaire answered the length of residence question. Over half the respondents (51.6%) had been resident in Swaffham for 1 to 5 years again, with 46% of the service class being recent arrivals, lower than Lutterworth service class respondents (55.6%). The working class were also recent incomers with 50% having moved to Swaffham within the last 1 to 5 years. For the intermediate class ─ which was larger in Swaffham than Lutterworth and Towcester ─ 8 of the 12 respondents (66.7%) had been in residence for 1 to 5 years.

The blue bar in Figure 5.16 also indicates that 25% (5 out of 20 respondents) of the working class responses and 20% of the service class respondents (5 out of 26), were resident in Lutterworth for less than one year, indicating that there may be evidence of very recent in migration.

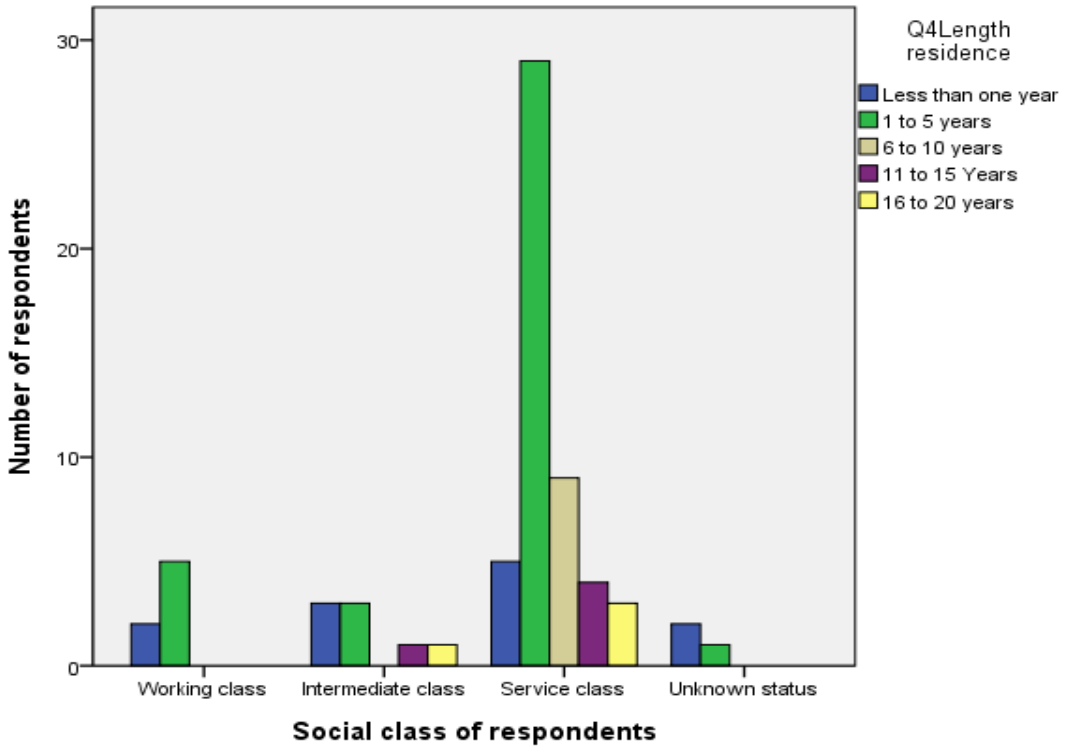
Figure 5.16 Social class groups and length of residence in Swaffham.



All respondents answered the residence question. The graph for Towcester was heavily skewed towards the service class (Figure 5.17) and many respondents in the town had arrived recently, with 55.9% having arrived within 1 to 5 years (green bar). Very few respondents in the sample had been established in the town for a long time. The service class dominance of the Towcester sample was again evident, however across all three towns; there was indicative evidence that many people had been moving into market towns

in recent years. A mixture of both working class, intermediate and service class people were moving into Swaffham and with Lutterworth and Towcester, it was more likely to be the service classes.

Figure 5.17 Social class groups and length of residence in Towcester.



Examining the tenure of people in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester, very few members of the samples rented property. Only Towcester with 8.8% of people renting had any significant evidence of renting.

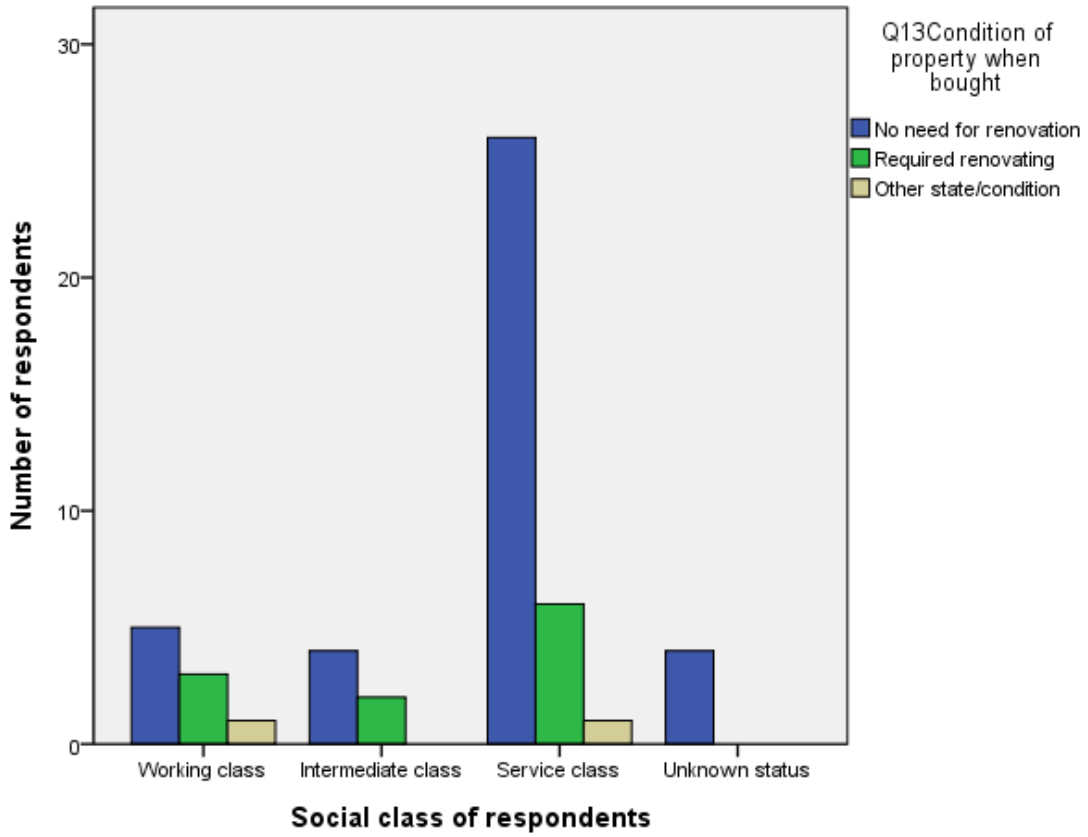
Table 5.2 Tenure type in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester

Market town	Rent property	A tenant of the property	Own a property	Partner or spouse	Total responses
Lutterworth	2 (3.85%)	0	50 (96.15%)	0	52
Swaffham	3 (4.84%)	1 (1.6%)	56 (90.32%)	2 (3.23%)	62
Towcester	6 (8.82%)	0	62 (91.18%)	0	68

5.3.2 Property Condition at Point of Purchase

Starting with Lutterworth, 98.11% responded to the condition of property question. We can see from Figure 5.18 that 78.8% of the service class (blue bar) said their property required no renovation. This might reflect the stage of the life course that the service class group are at within Lutterworth as with Towcester, where the service class were younger than Swaffham.

Figure 5.18 Social class groups and condition of property in Lutterworth.



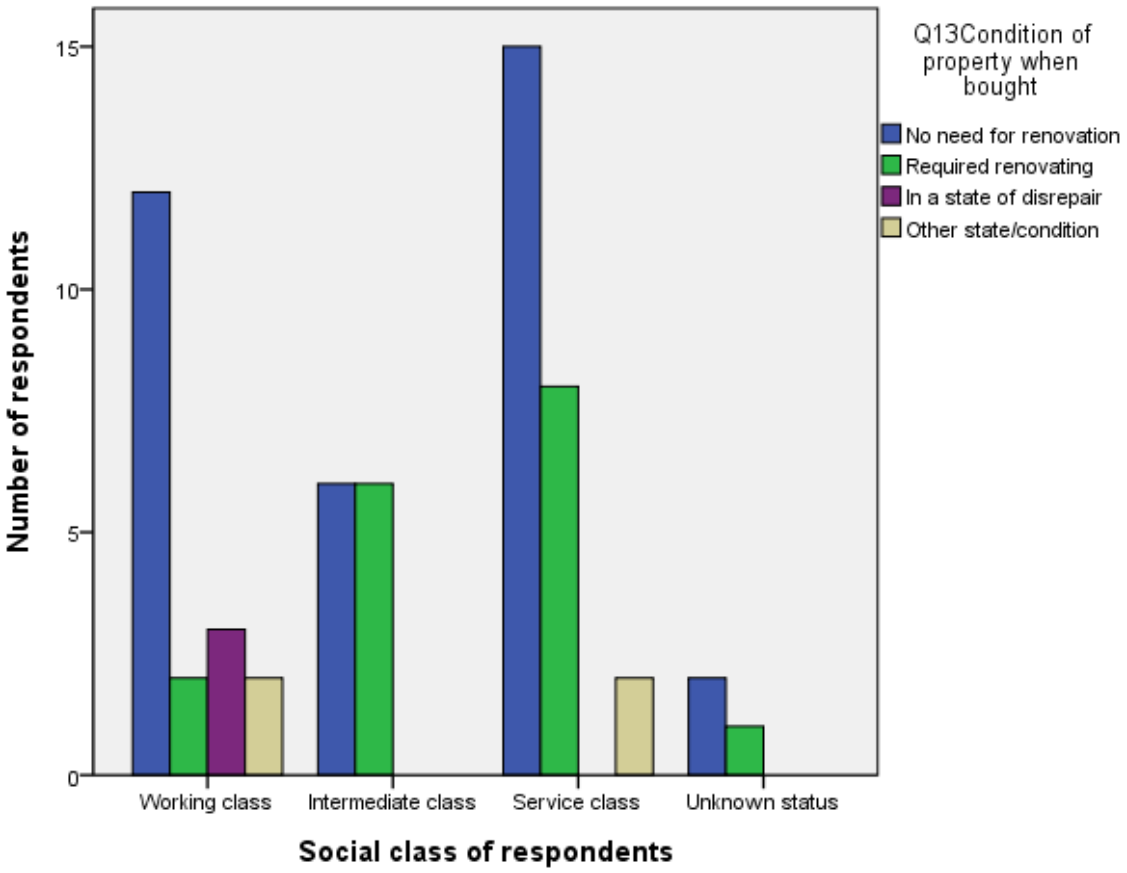
What also was apparent when undertaking fieldwork was that although Lutterworth contained older Victorian properties, which have been associated with gentrification in developed countries such as Australia, Canada and England (Glass, 1964; Jager, 1986; Ley,

1988; Bridge, 2006), they were only present in the historic core of market towns. Lutterworth has seen extensive housing development on its fringe and these properties appear to be targeted at middle class families looking to move out of cities such as Leicester.

The number of working class was relatively low compared to the service class (9 as opposed to 33), with more of the working class as a proportion in Lutterworth renovating their property (33.3%). This was compared with 18.2% for the service class, although the number of working class responses was too small to know if these were just outliers or part of a trend.

Turning to Swaffham, where 59 out of 62 respondents answered the question (95.2%), no relationship could be ascertained between the working class and service class (as can be seen in the graph above). As can be seen from Figure 5.19, most property owned required no renovation at the point of purchasing. If we check the service class and how many needed to renovate the property once it was purchased, 32% of the service class were required to renovate, which was higher than Lutterworth. For the working class, only 10% renovated property at the point of purchase, yet of the intermediate class, 50% of respondents needed to renovate. This could be evidence of geriatrification where people were adapting their houses for older age when their personal mobility was constrained and there was evidence of housing adaptions taking place as fieldwork was being undertaken in Swaffham.

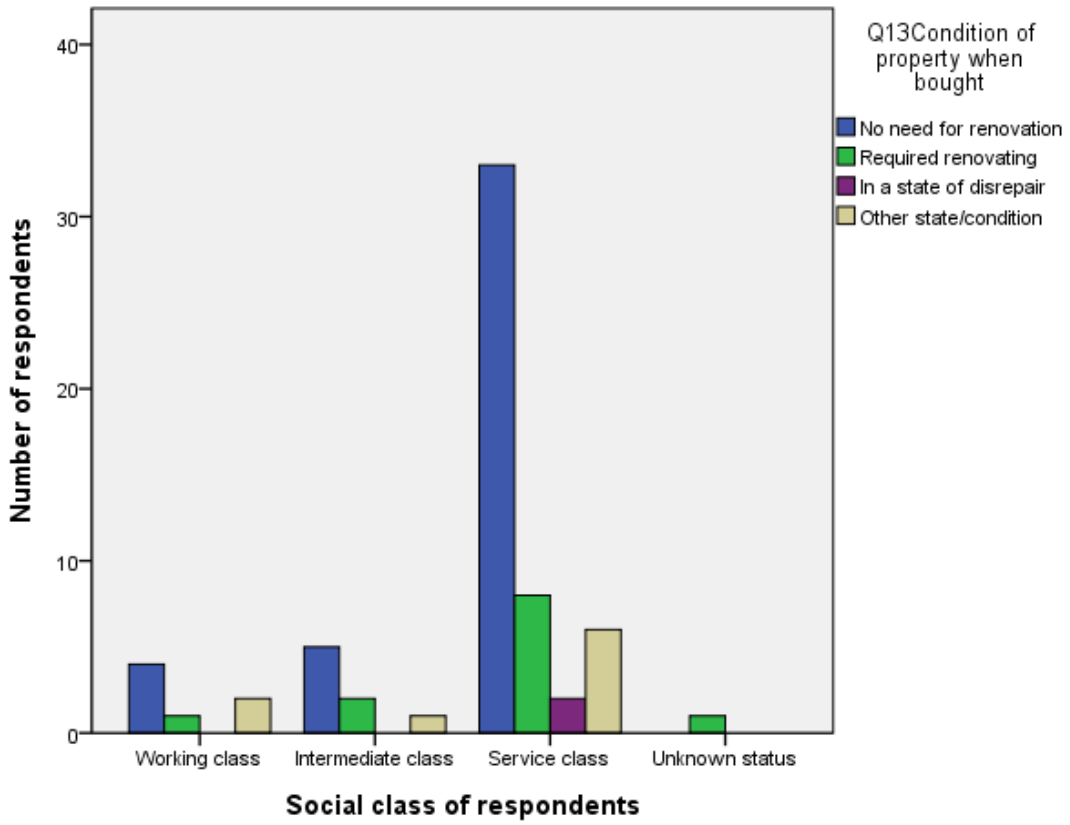
Figure 5.19 Social class groups and condition of property in Swaffham.



Existing academic work, such as that by Helms (2003), implies gentrification has always followed the renovation of older housing stock, built to a low density. This might be the case in select inner city neighbourhoods in certain cities within the United States; however the housing stock in market towns, certainly more recently, has been subject to stricter density requirements and to the construction of smaller houses (Barker, 2004). Ley (1996) argued that the definition of gentrification should be broadened to consider both renovation and redevelopment and the redevelopment aspect in terms of new build property was a particular feature of Towcester. New build gentrification opens up the possibility of gentrification without significant renovation activity taking place, which is why it has

become such a contentious issue in gentrification studies (Davidson and Lees, 2005; Boddy, 2007; Davidson and Lees, 2010). For Towcester, where 95.7% of the respondents answered, the pattern of a lack of renovation matched Lutterworth more so, particularly for those identified in the service class, with 16.3% of respondents who were required to renovate their property at the point of purchase. This was still a significant figure although as mentioned, a large new build housing estate was constructed soon after the 2001 GB census was conducted in 2002, which reflected large numbers of the service class who purchased new build property.

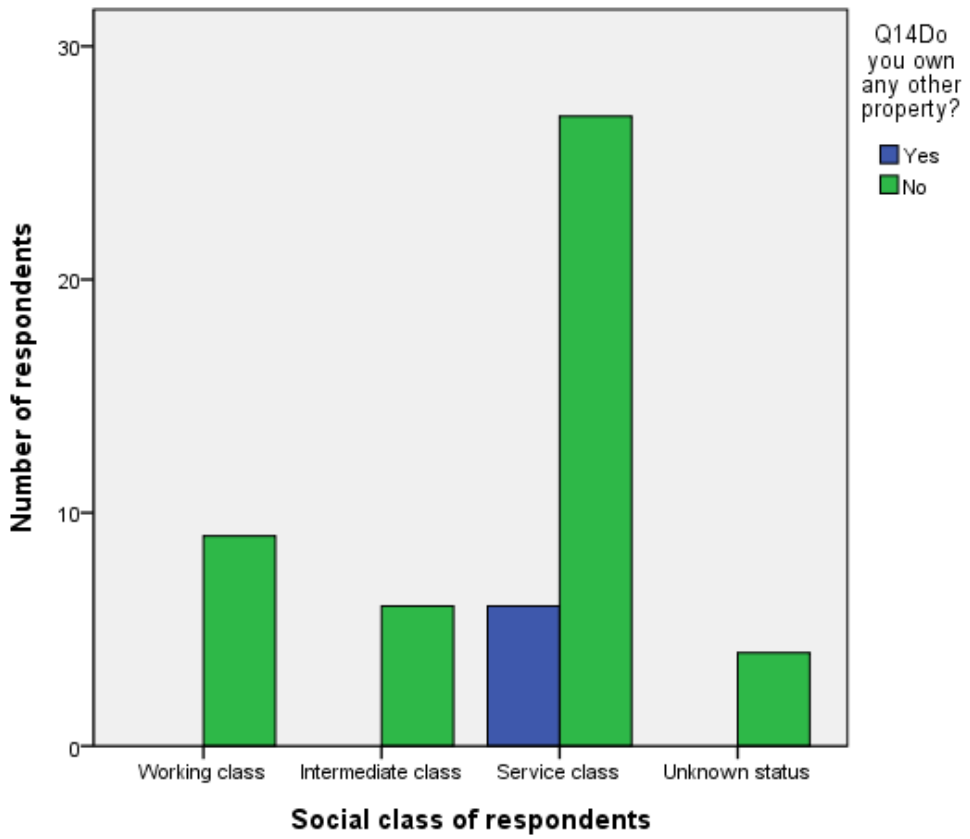
Figure 5.20 Social class groups and condition of property in Towcester.



5.3.3 Second Homes and Additional Properties

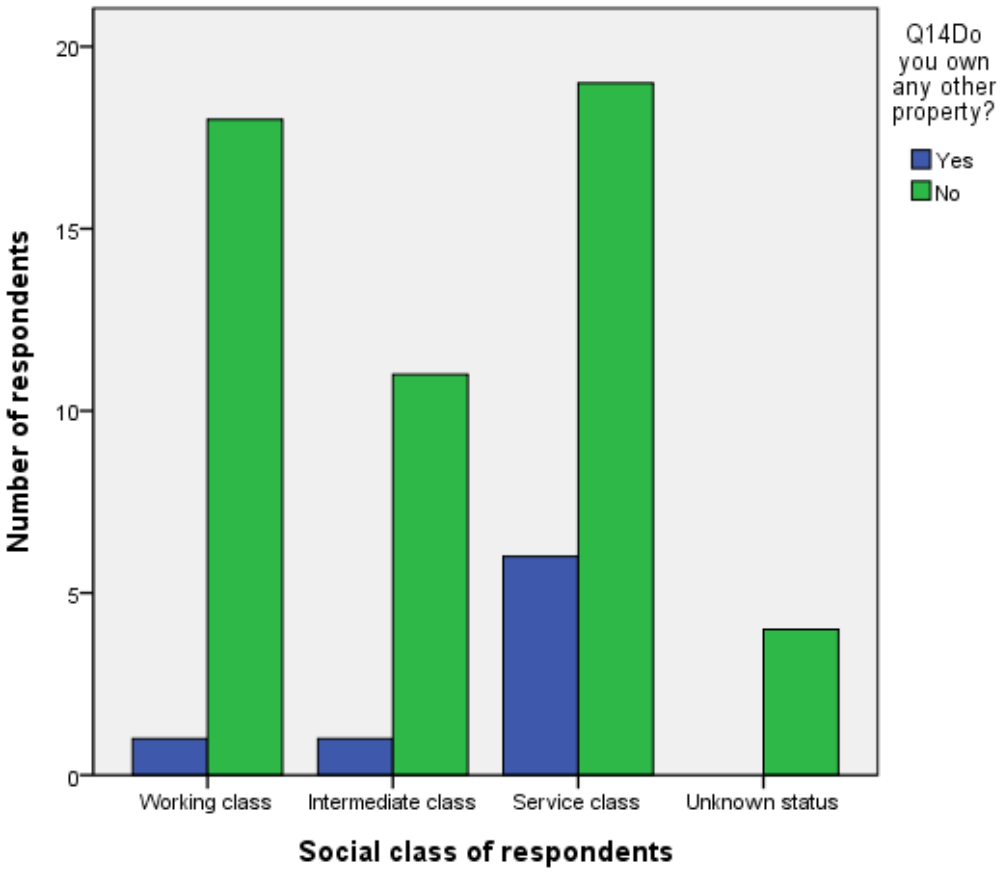
Second homes and additional properties were used as a basis to see if the service class in particular owned additional property. Neil Smith (1982) identified landlord gentrifiers during the 1980s within major cities such as New York and the following analysis will look at whether we can find evidence of people in market towns owning additional property.

Figure 5.21 Social class groups and ownership of additional property in Lutterworth.



Beginning with Lutterworth, 98.11% of those who responded to the questionnaire answered the question relating to second/additional homes. With the service class, 6 of the 33 respondents owned an additional property, either commercially as a second home or for investment purposes, which accounted for 18.2% of the service class respondents.

Figure 5.22 Social class groups and ownership of additional property in Swaffham.



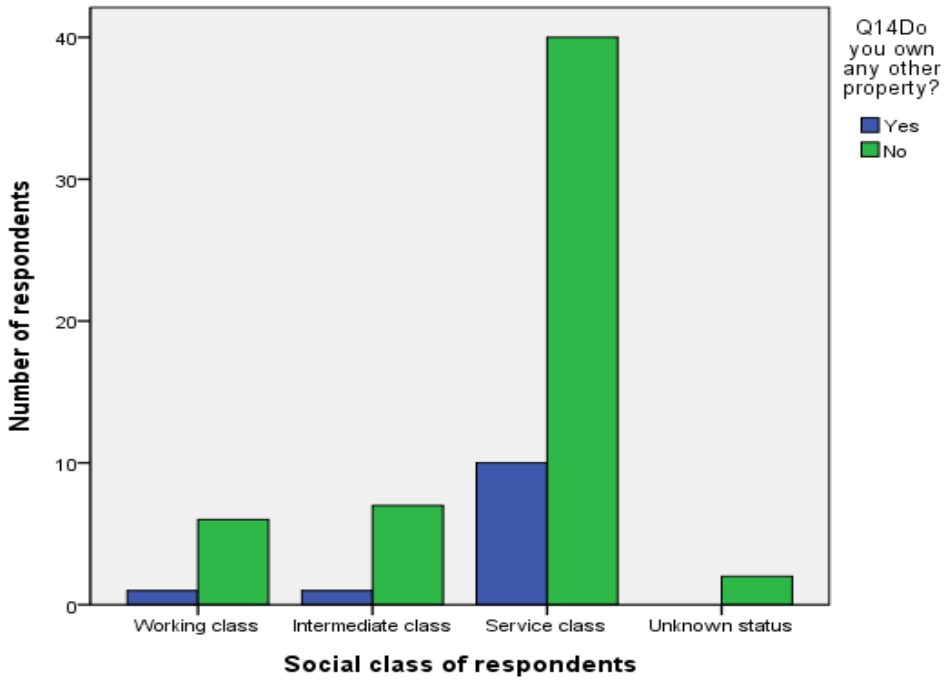
Within Swaffham, 60 of 62 respondents (96.8%) replied to the question on additional properties in Swaffham. One member of the working class in Swaffham did own an additional property as opposed to six members of the service class (24%). This proportion was higher than Lutterworth, which was interesting bearing in mind the earlier class statistics for Swaffham, which indicated it had the lowest proportion of people allocated to the service class. Examining Table 5.3, not all the respondents who owned additional property were local to Norfolk with some owning property in London for work purposes, which is often more associated with North Norfolk where there is an established holiday home market.

Table 5.3 Swaffham and second property descriptions

Second property description	Reason for owning
Swaffham commercial/Domestic grade II listed	Investment
Heathlands 4 bed detached	N/A
1 Bedroomed flat	Relocation (in the process). Partner has new job
Semi-detached house in Narborough	Long-term investment
In Tunbridge Wells	To live in
Bungalow (4 bedroom) on 3 Acres	N/A
London terrace House	Where we work

For Towcester, 67 of 69 respondents (97.1%) provided a response to the home ownership question and the pattern overall reflects the other two towns, with the service class most likely to own additional properties (20%) more so than the working class (just the one respondent).

Figure 5.23 Social class groups and ownership of additional property in Towcester.

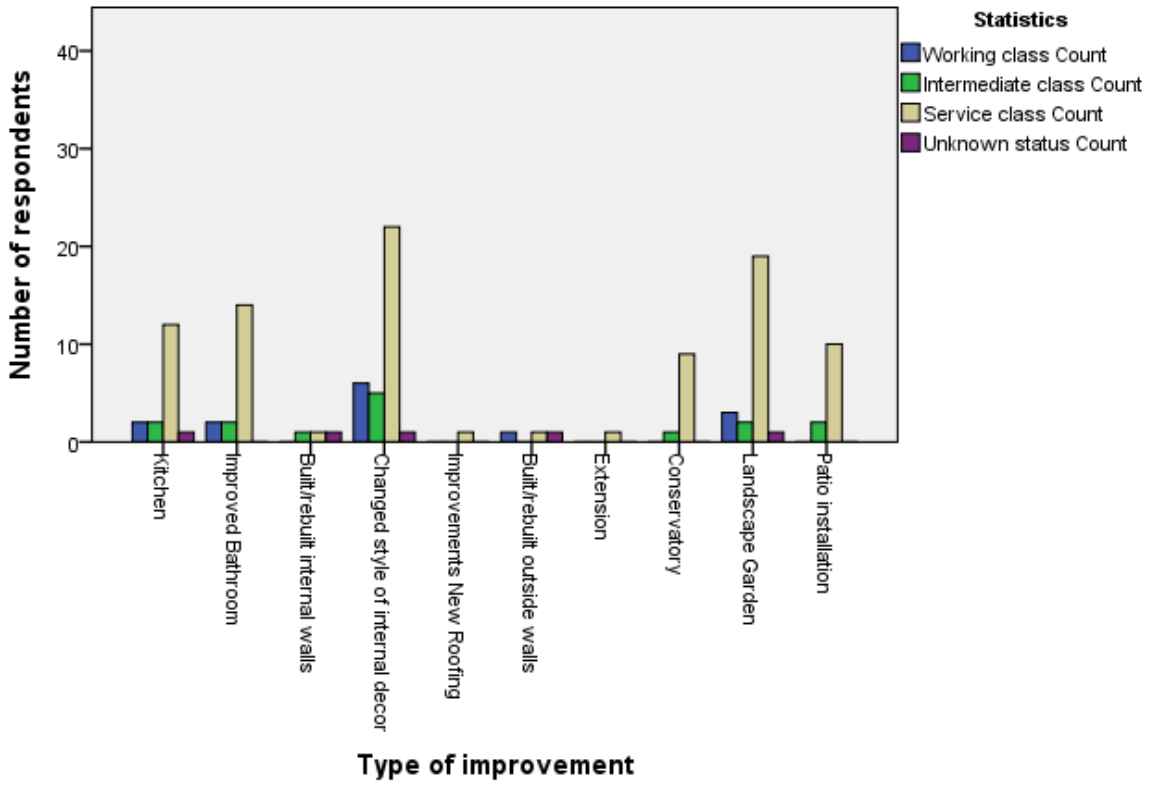


In summary, the service class in the case towns were more likely to own second dwellings. When taken into account with national trends, the service class appear more likely to own second properties. The next section will look at the property improvements questionnaire respondents in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester made to their properties.

5.3.4 Improvements Made to Properties

The purpose here is to establish the key trends concerning market towns and looking back at the previous questions in this part on property variables, the new build property factor might influence proceedings.

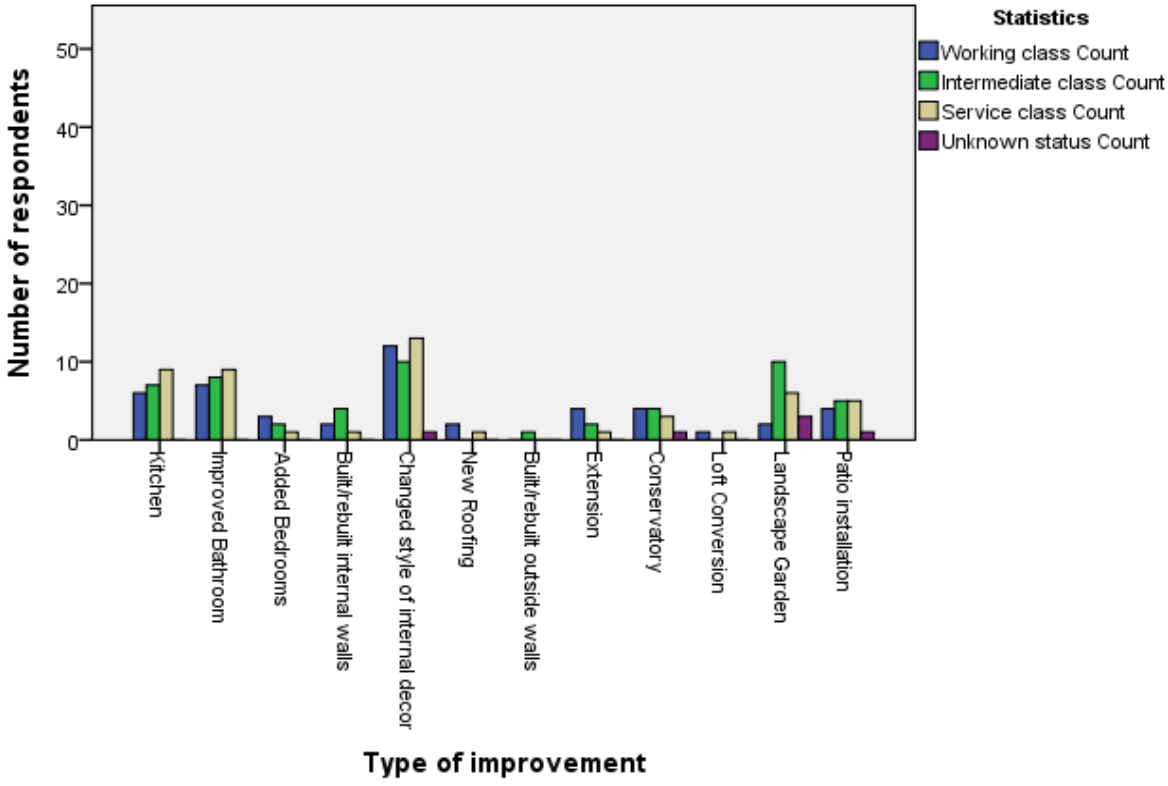
Figure 5.24 Social class groups and property improvements in Lutterworth.



In Lutterworth 40 of 53 respondents to the questionnaire, survey answered the property renovation question, or 75.5%. The most common response was to improve internal decoration, which accounted for 81.5% of the service class, (respondents could pick more than one improvement) and 85.7% for the working class group. What was interesting was that many of the improvements made to property were quite 'modern' in character, for example, 19 of the 27 service class respondents (70.4%) had landscaped their garden, 12 of 27 (44.4%) had improved their kitchen and 9 of 27 service class respondents had added a conservatory (33.3%).

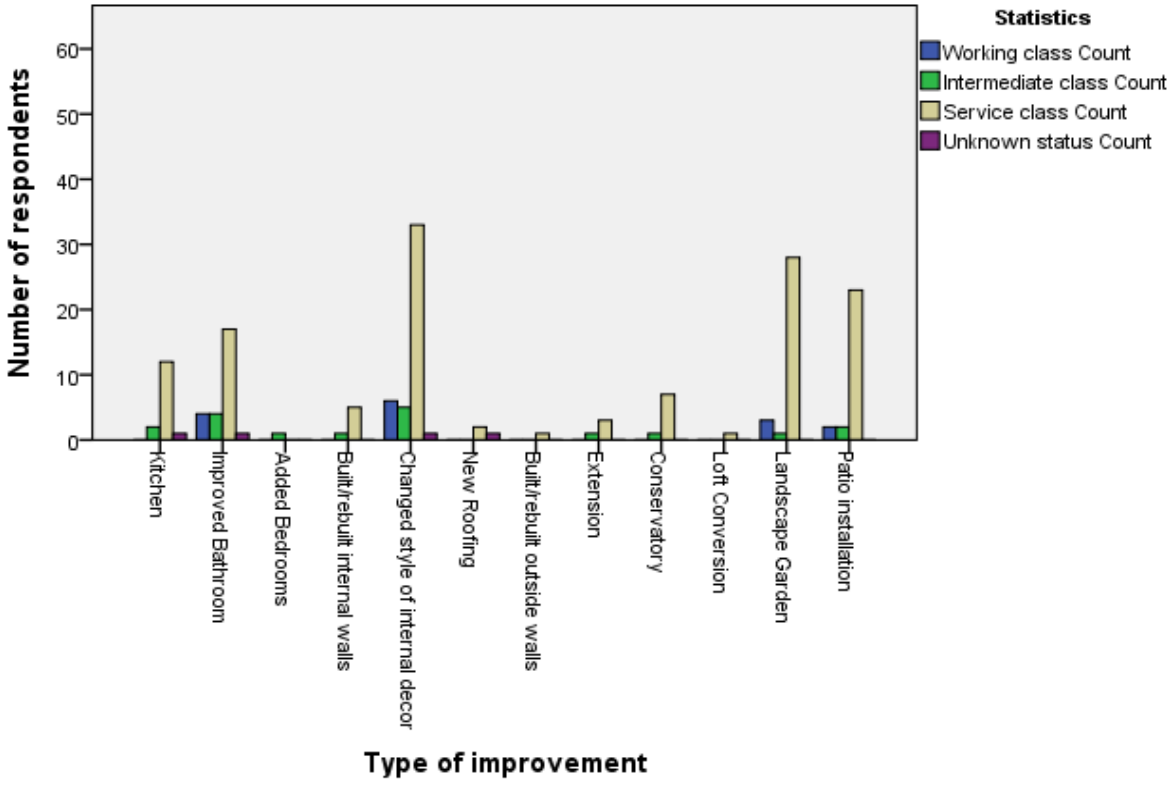
Internal décor, as it happened, could be quite diverse from applying wallpaper to making significant stylistic changes (as noted in interviews in Chapter 6). This is a drawback of using methods such as questionnaire to which provide us a firstspace representation of market towns ─ a firstspace approach cannot account for the complexities of the real word environments in which people live. In addition, with property that does not need renovating from the outset, this perhaps represents a service class that is time poor and at a later stage of their life course, therefore they are not looking to renovate a property. This activity does not seem to be 'distinctive' (Bourdieu, 1984), but it could relate to what Nigel Thrift identified in urban fringe locations in England where the service class were living in suburban style housing estates.

Figure 5.25 Social class groups and property improvements in Swaffham



Swaffham displayed similar trends to Lutterworth in terms of property improvements. However, as with other property variables, the working class, intermediate or the service class demonstrated many differences with kitchen, bedroom and internal décor changes the dominant improvements. This similarity in housing consumption even though both groups were defined using different NS-SEC categories, would point certainly to the work of Peterson (1992; 1996) where he uncovered middle class people who demonstrated a tendency towards both low and highbrow culture and consumption (Bourdieu, 1984; Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Paterson, 2006).

Figure 5.26 Social class groups and property improvements in Towcester



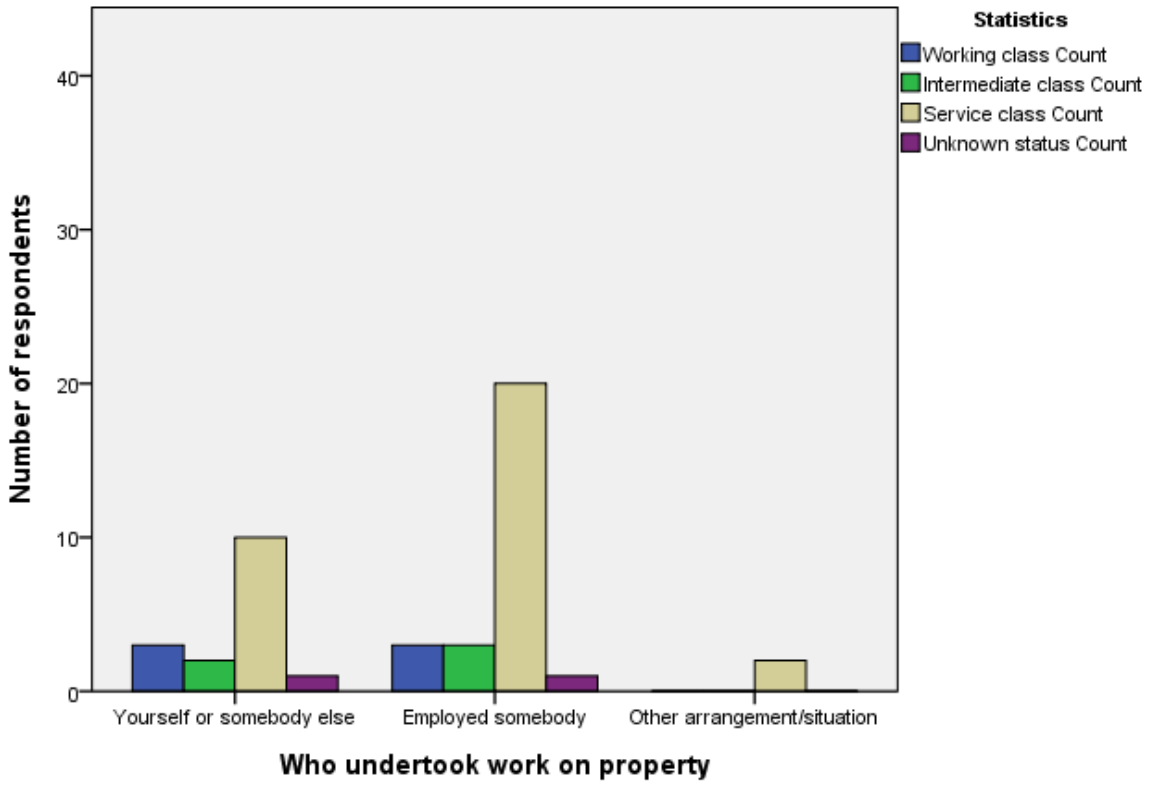
For Towcester, 54 out of 69 respondents (78.3%) answered the property renovation question and for the service class group, changing the internal décor of their property (80.5%) and landscaping the garden space (68.3%) were most dominant in the results, followed by both kitchen and bathroom improvements. The working class tended to improve internal décor, but the sample was too small in Towcester to draw conclusions.

In summary, property improvements do not appear to be an expression of class position so much for people residing in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. Most of the improvements were relatively modern and in the next section, the people and businesses who were employed to carry out work on properties will be examined.

5.3.5 Who Undertook the Improvements?

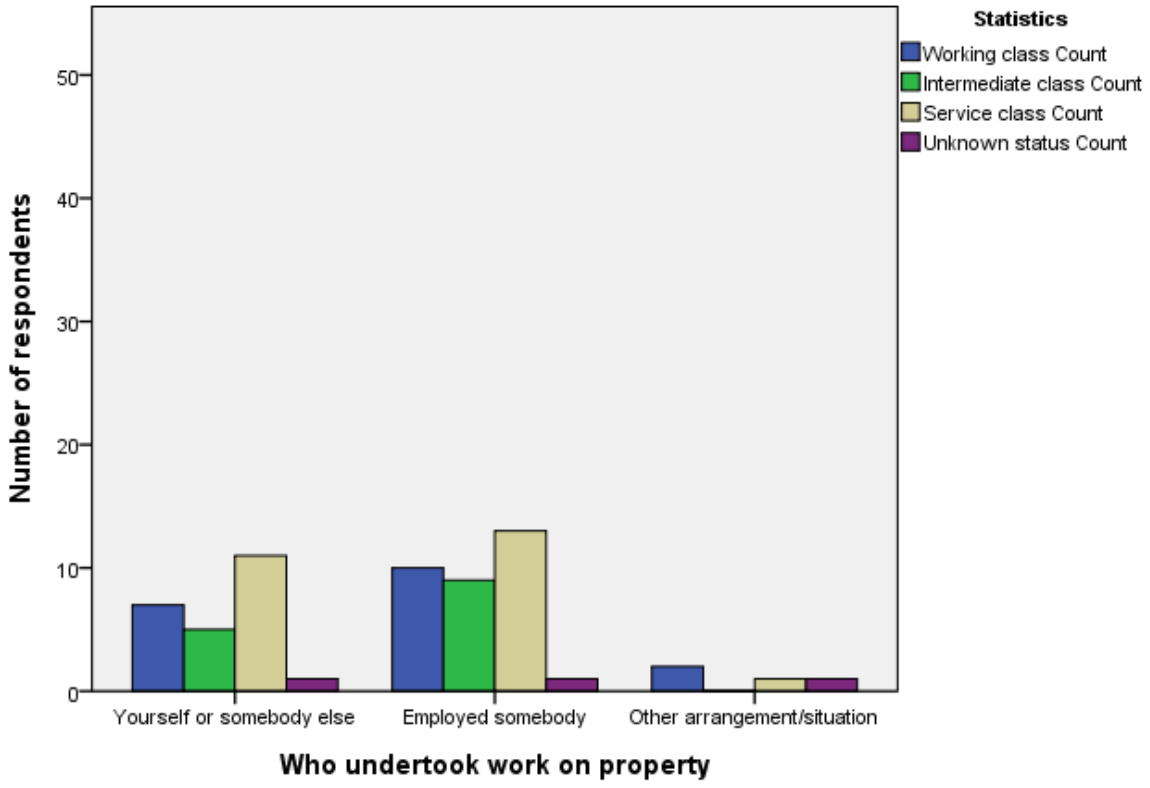
This section looks briefly at the people who undertook work on properties. For Lutterworth, 58.1% responded to this question in the questionnaire; lower than other questions, but this was due to the analysis using a dichotomy group of just the 'yes' responses. In the service class group, 74.1% had employed people to undertake work on their properties and 37% had used their own labour. Only four working class and intermediate class respondents answered, but the trend of employing another agent continued with 3 out of 4 respondents (75%) having employed someone else respectively.

Figure 5.27 Social class groups and agents who undertook work on property in Lutterworth.



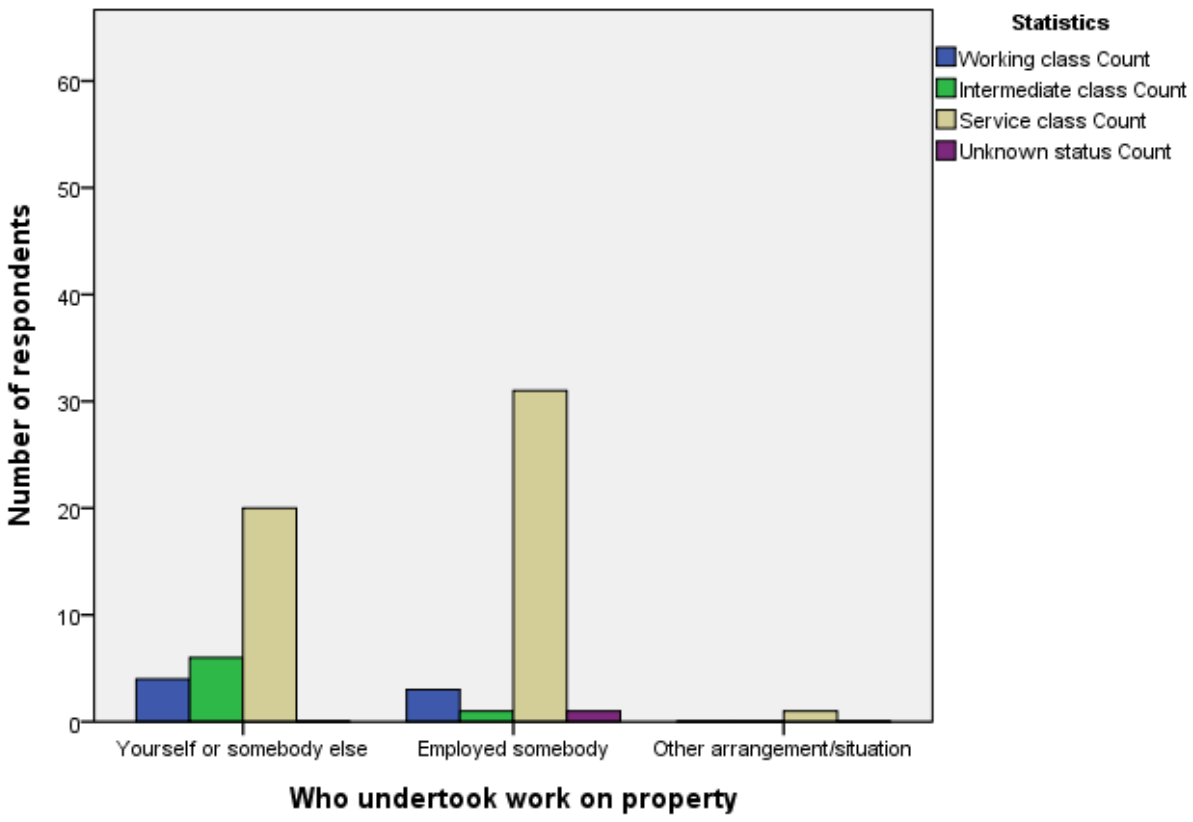
Swaffham, as has been the case thus far has been quite different to the other towns in terms of its socio-demographic characteristics and the more mature profile of the service class respondents. This continues when looking at who undertook property improvements ─ the working class in the town tended to match the service class in terms of their use of either their own sweat equity in their property or other agents such as trades people and builders. People were found to be either downsizing or unwilling/unable to justify further investment within the properties, particularly as many of those classed as gentrifiers were retired at the time of the study.

Figure 5.28 Social class groups and agents who undertook work on property in Swaffham.



Towcester was similar to Lutterworth; the service class were more likely to employ another agent to undertake property improvements. It was not the case that the service class ─ who constituted a majority of the Towcester sample ─ displayed different tendencies, in fact, both the working class and service class undertook work on their own or employed people to undertake improvements.

Figure 5.29 Social class groups and agents who undertook work on property in Towcester



To summarise this section on property improvements, no single town deviated from the trend, which was that neither working class nor the service class renovated their properties in the vein of traditional DIY gentrifiers (Smith, 1998). This can be explained by the composition of the property stock in the three case towns, which varied from 1970s

suburban stock to new build housing and flats. Improvements were therefore modern and rudimentary such as repairs to property or making use of existing spaces. The next section might provide indications as to why there appeared to be low levels of investment in property improvements.

When respondents were asked whether they planned to undertake any future work on their properties, in Lutterworth, 53.6% of the service class planned property improvement compared with the working class (44.4%). The service class in Towcester indicated a stronger strong towards future work being undertaken on their properties, with 66% citing they were planning work to be done. Examining Swaffham, a similar proportion of the service class population in this town (54%) planned to undertake work on their property in the future and this was still a relatively high statistic. Figure 5.6 (p. 174) indicates that the 64+ age group was heavily represented by the service class, therefore property improvements and renovations at this stage of the life course appear unusual. Respondents in their questionnaires did not usually indicate the motivation for such improvements and this data was sought via qualitative means in Chapters 6 and 7. The next part will examine data related to respondent's educational background.

5.4 Educational Background

This part of the chapter examines the theme of education that has featured prominently in debates on gentrification and class, particularly championed within the literature by Tim Butler (Butler, 1995; Butler and Robson, 2003b; Butler *et al.*, 2007). This work has been

based around the association of gentrifiers with higher educational credentials and a desire to educate their children to a high level.

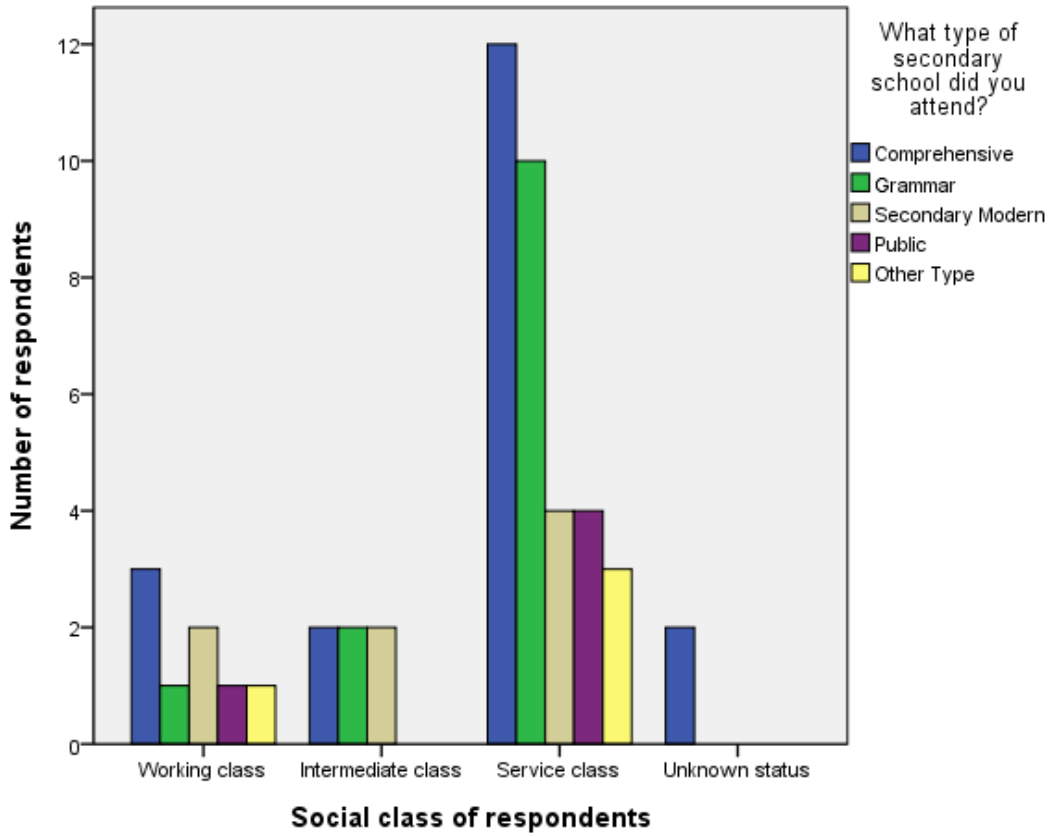
A series of questions were asked to identify the characteristics of the respondents to the questionnaire and these included data on which types of schools people attended, their educational qualifications and a question as to whether they aspired to send their children university. These questions reflected a specific set of debates within gentrification studies regarding education and an emerging life course perspective on gentrification that attempts to explain the formation of gentrifiers through different stages of their lives (Bondi, 1999; Smith, 2002a; Karsten, 2003; Smith, 2005; Cagney, 2006).

This was the motivation for including a question for people who had children was to examine if educational differences between the different class groupings in the case study market towns could be identified.

5.4.1 Types of School Attended

If we look at Figure 5.30, in Lutterworth we can see that there was no significant relationship between the whether a respondent was from the service class and attendance at public or private schools. Many of the service class in Lutterworth were drawn from public sector comprehensives (36.4%) as well as grammar schools (30.3%). The figures for the working and intermediate classes were too low to draw any substantive conclusions although two respondents were recorded for having attended a comprehensive, grammar and secondary modern.

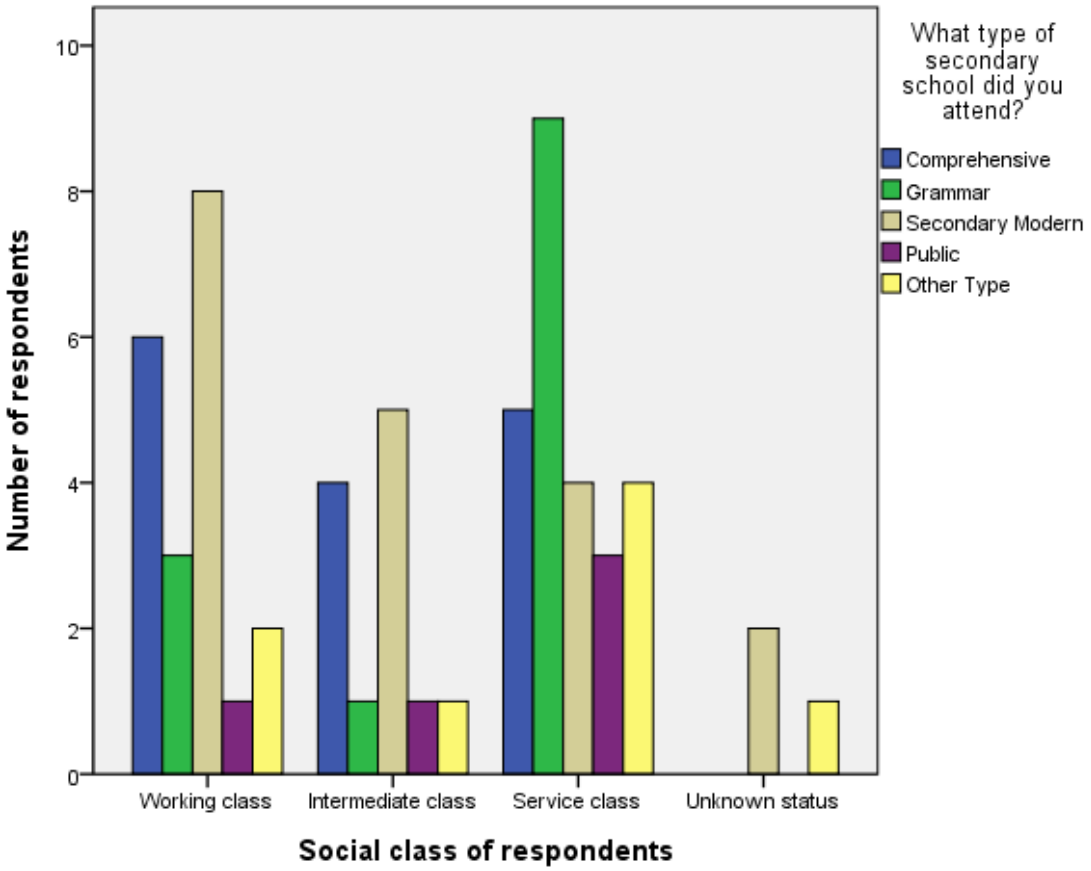
Figure 5.30 Social class groups and secondary schools attended Lutterworth.



Moving onto Swaffham (Figure 5.31), the service class were more likely to have attended a grammar school, with 9 of the 25 service class respondents (36%), reflecting the older age profile of these members of the service class and the prevalence of grammar education in the 20th Century, which was more extensive (Little and Westergaard, 1964). Those service class members who attended comprehensives accounted for 20%, which was lower than Lutterworth. Attendance at secondary modern schools provided interesting results ─ 16% of the service class attended such institutions, which were scrapped in the 1970s, compared to 40% for the working class group and 41.7% for the intermediate class respondents. The secondary modern schools were created to stream the majority of people who were deemed as not possessing academic skills (as high as 75%), so we can see that the respondents from

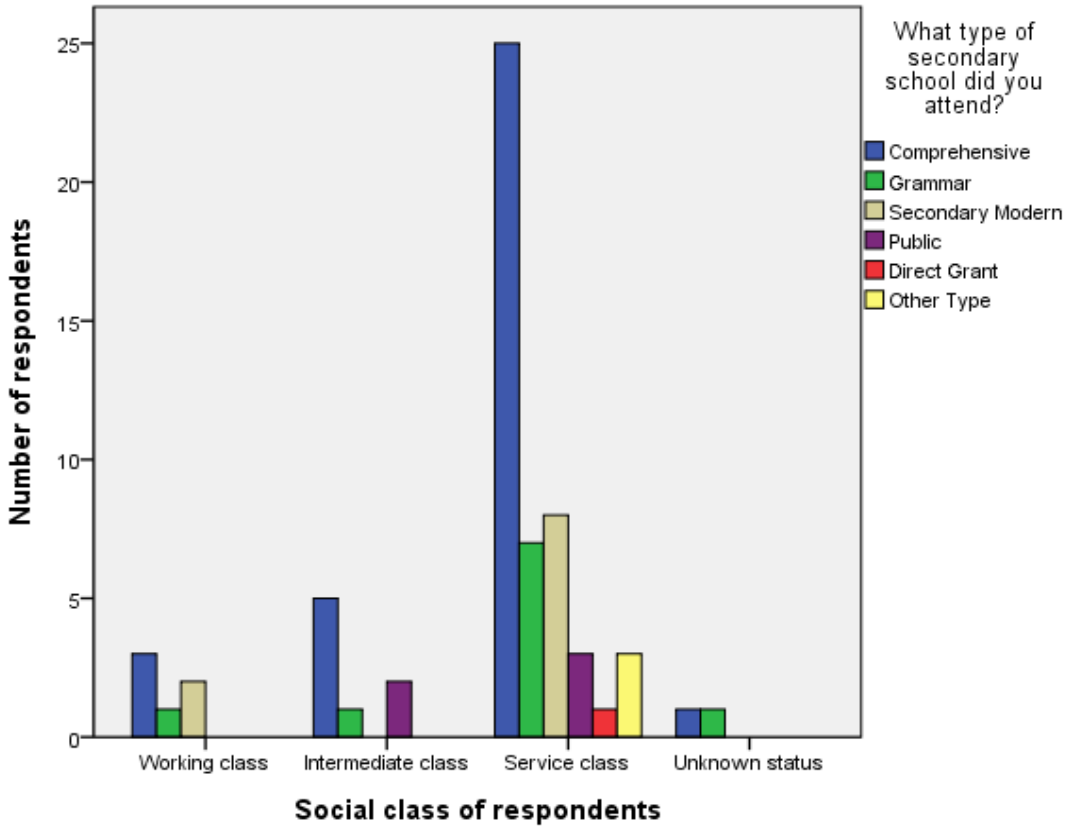
Swaffham provide an interesting class history and evidence of contemporary division via educational institutions.

Figure 5.31 Social class groups and secondary schools attended Swaffham.



Moving onto Towcester, 25 of the 47 service class respondents (53.2%) attended comprehensive schools. These service class members were overall younger than Swaffham where the 31 to 40 age group was the most dominant in the Towcester sample (see Figure 5.7, p. 175). All the other school types, including grammar, secondary moderns, public, direct grant and other types were much lower compared with the proportion of respondents in Towcester who attended comprehensives, reflective of the service class composition of Towcester (Figure 5.32).

Figure 5.32 Social class groups and secondary schools attended Towcester.



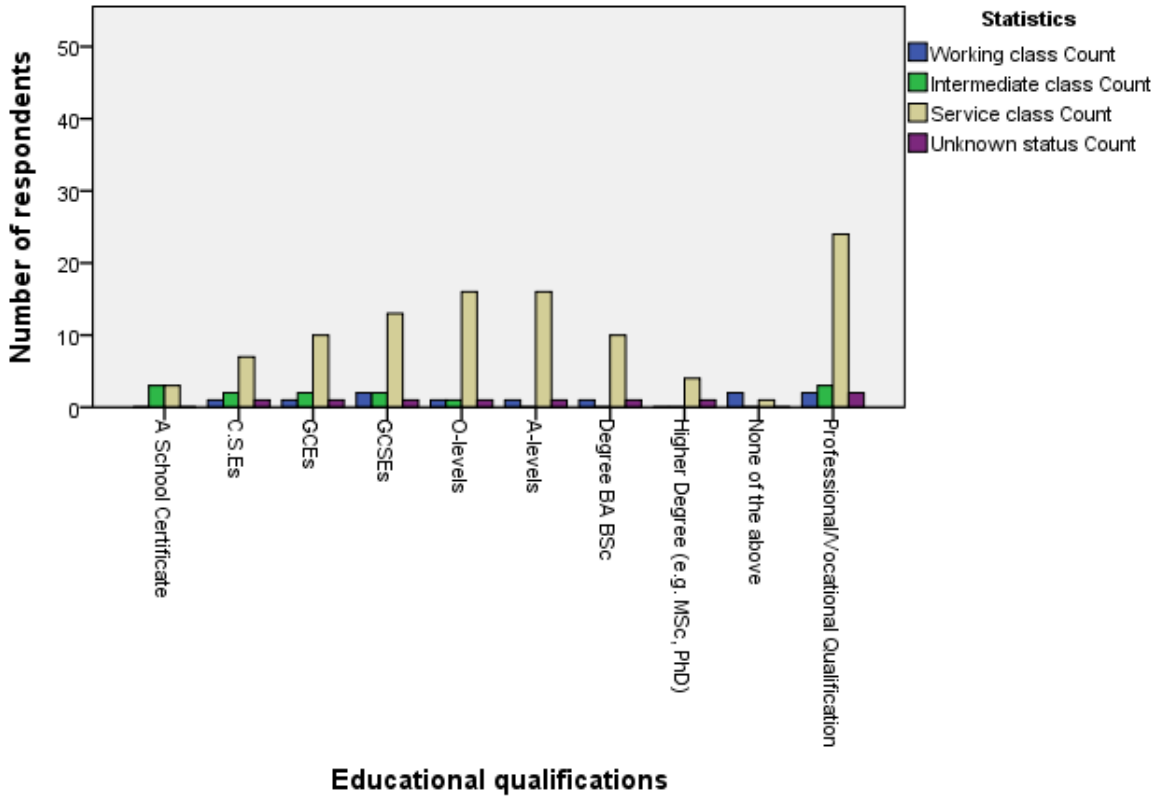
This could be evidence of a new middle class in an English context where the service classes are recruited predominantly from public sector schools as the number of grammar schools has gradually declined and participation rates at university have increased. This will be further explored by examining the educational qualifications of respondents in the case towns.

5.4.2 Educational Qualifications

Thus far, school types have been examined; this section will show the educational qualifications of the respondents within the case study towns. Historically in gentrification

studies, those educated to degree level has been seen as a key to identifying gentrifiers and thus gentrification in any given area (Ley, 1980; Ley, 1994; Butler and Robson, 2001b, 2003a; Smith and Holt, 2007). As noted already, higher education is one means to which the middle class achieve distinction from the working class, through their formally accredited learning experiences at university (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986).

Figure 5.33 Social class groups and educational qualifications in Lutterworth.

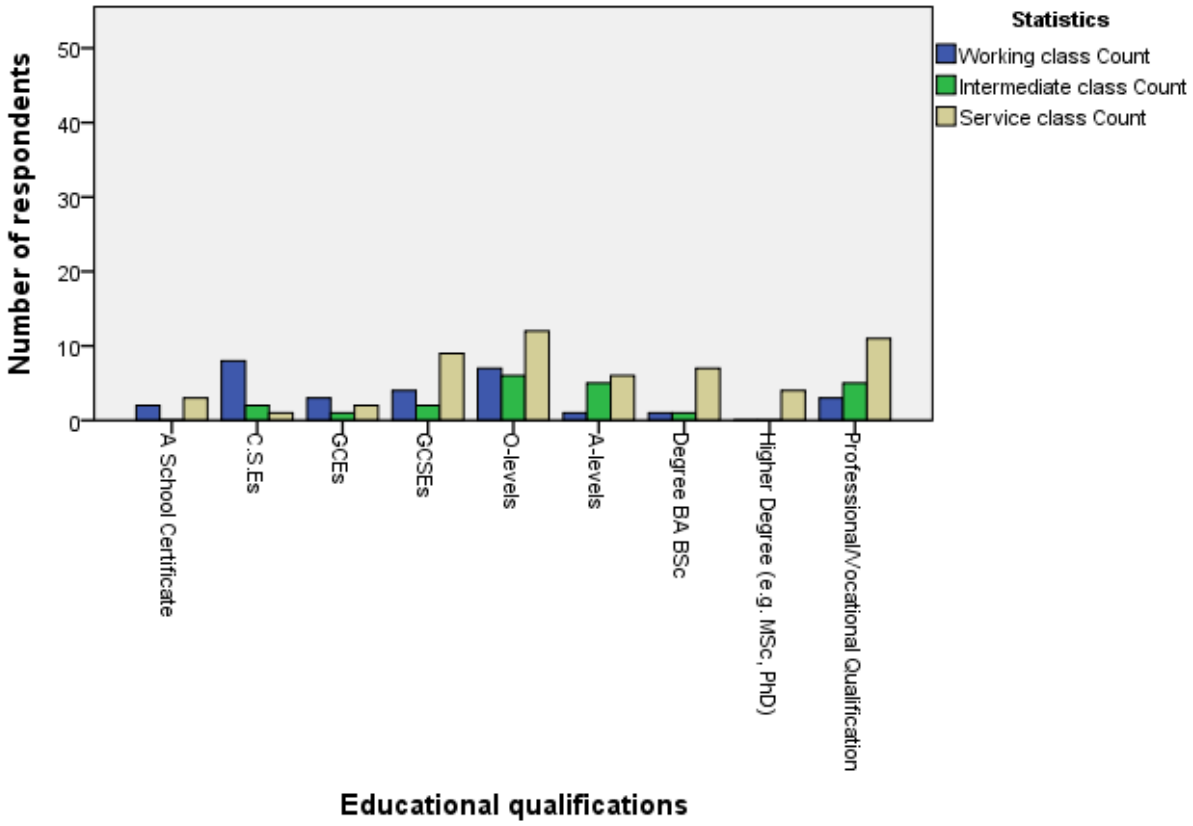


In the context of Lutterworth first, there were 48 useable responses out of the total sample size of 62 (77.5%). Examining Figure 5.33 (beige bar), the service class tended to be represented across the educational categories, with 48.5% possessing A-level qualifications and 42.4% possessing a degree or higher level qualification (such as a Masters or PhD). A significant proportion of the service class (72.7%) also held professional and vocational qualifications, although the number of working and intermediate class respondents was relatively low in Lutterworth, none possessed any degree level qualifications.

Swaffham was economically deprived compared with Lutterworth and Towcester and the spread of people across qualification types was quite similar, although less respondents possessed professional or vocational qualifications relating to their jobs and the proportion was split between the service class (50%) and the working class (18.8%) who possessed these qualifications. However, looking at degree level qualifications, 50% of the service class possessed a degree or higher degree, which provides further evidence of a ‘geriatrifying’ service class population that has become established within the town.

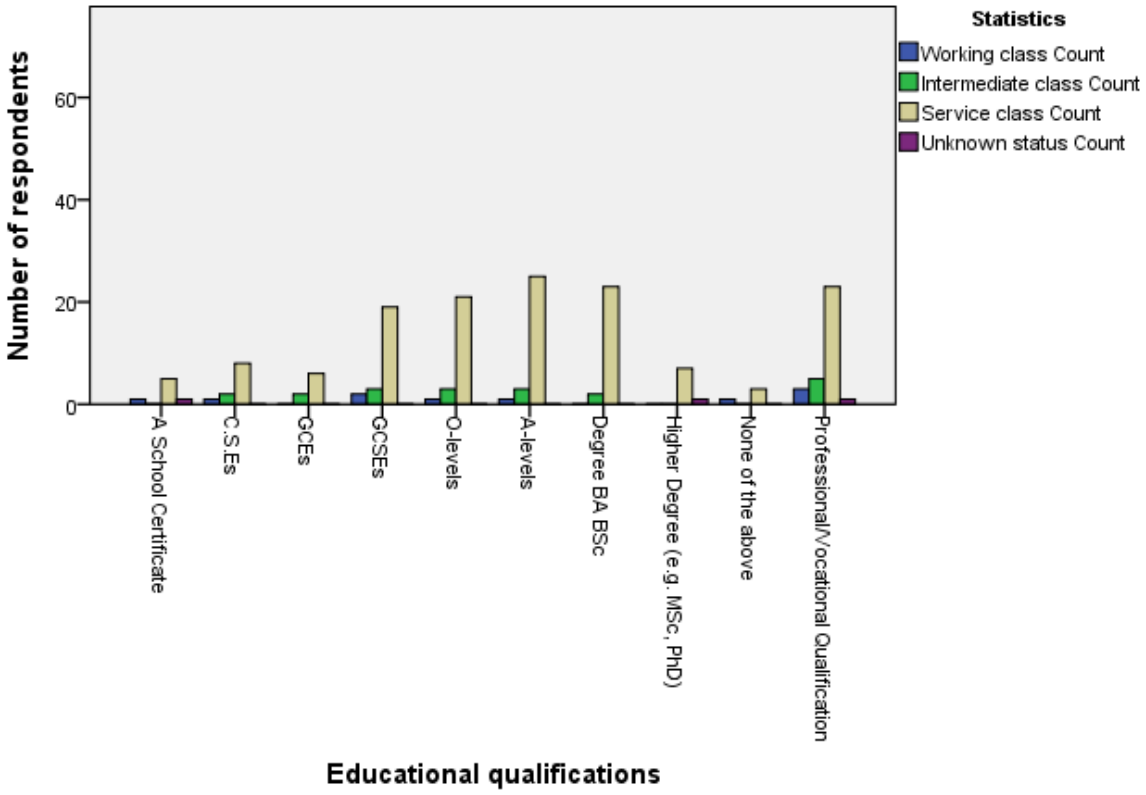
The intermediate class in Swaffham is better represented here than in Lutterworth and Towcester although in terms of educational qualifications, it was similar to the working class group in terms of the acquisition of O-levels. Where this class was different from the working class was through A-levels, where 50% possessed the qualification, but this did not translate into moving onto degrees.

Figure 5.34 Social class groups and educational qualifications in Swaffham.



Where Towcester differed from both Lutterworth and Swaffham was in the proportion of respondents with degree level or higher qualifications, accounting for 65.2% of this group. This was significantly higher and points towards Towcester having a highly educated workforce. This also links back to the very high income bands that were also present compared to the other two market towns studied here, as well as the service class concentrated in the 31 to 40 and the 41 to 50 age group.

Figure 5.35 Social class groups and educational qualifications in Towcester.



What we can ascertain from educational qualification data collected was that there were differences between market towns. Swaffham contained a highly educated group of service class respondents, who were older than the service class groups in Lutterworth and Towcester. They were also the group who were most likely to have attended grammar schools, identified in Figure 5.31.

Lutterworth indicated the lowest proportion of the service class with a degree at 42.4%, but we have to take into account that the service class in Lutterworth was larger than in

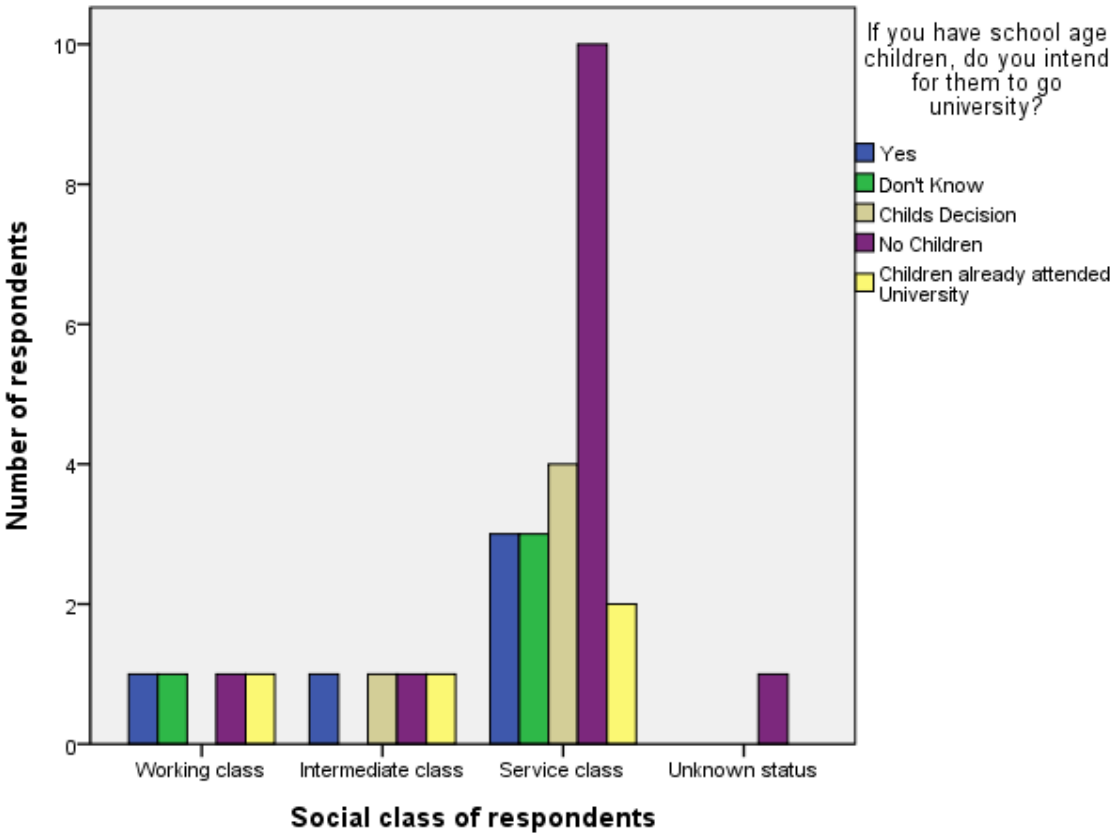
Swaffham and the total number of respondents (n=53) was the smallest sample in the questionnaire survey.

Towcester possessed the highest proportion of the service class with degree level qualifications but what was stark were the differences in educational credentials between the working class and service class. Undertaking a degree still appeared to be a cultural barrier and with the mature respondents, they grew up in an era where entering university from a working class background was a rare experience. The next section examines parental attitudes towards sending their children to university, which will help to understand the educational characteristics of this highly educated and affluent service class group, which is establishing itself within Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

5.4.3 Class Difference and Sending Children to University

The variable analysed in this section was used to ascertain the extent to which respondents in the three case towns sent their children (if they had any) to university. This was important as recent gentrification research has focused on the life course of gentrifier, meaning that research should not focus only upon the current activities of gentrifiers, but also how they were produced, with universities being coined as 'factories' for the production of middle class gentrifiers (Smith, 2005; Smith and Holt, 2007). The importance of this question was to understand if there were any the differences between service class and working class in terms of how they passed on their social and cultural values.

Figure 5.36 Social class groups and attitudes to sending children to university in Lutterworth.



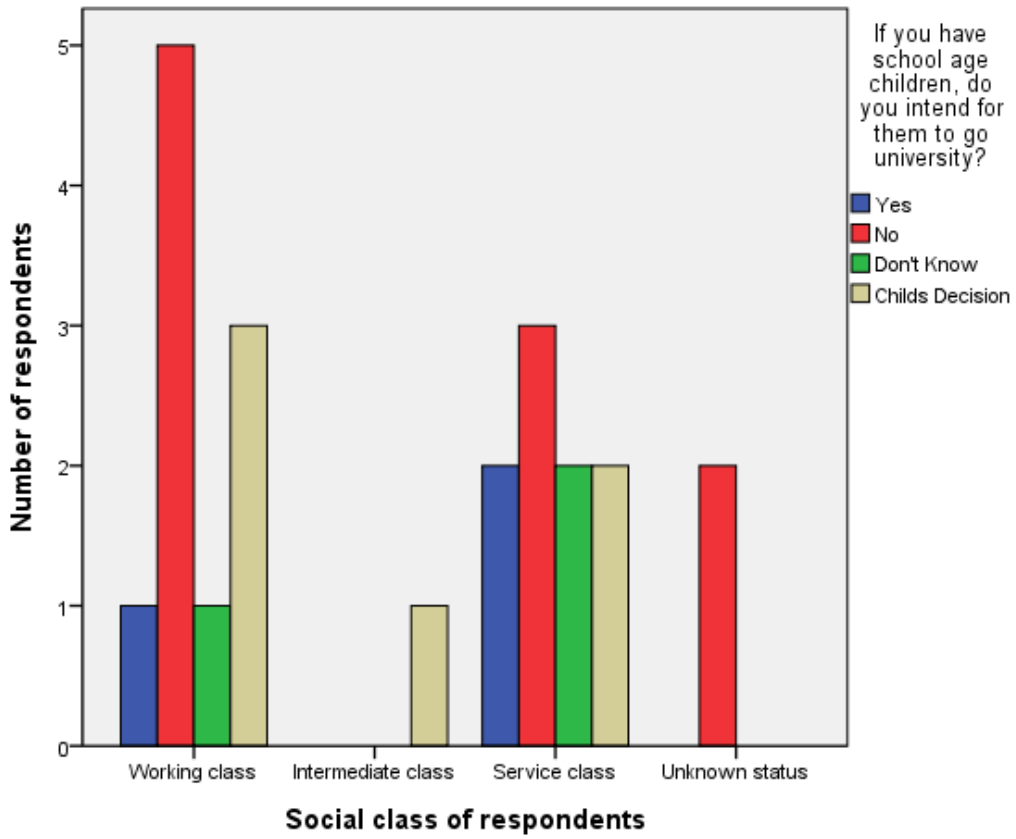
Starting with Lutterworth, respondents to the semi-structured questionnaire were asked if they intended their children to go university. There were 31 useable responses from the Lutterworth sample accounting for 50% of the total sample. A trend present within the service class was the number of people who had no children. In Lutterworth, 10 of the 22 service class respondents (45.5%) had no children. When compared with the GB census of 2001 for households with no children (both married and cohabiting), 17.8% of the GB census population in England had no children (GB Census, 2001).

Although both Lutterworth and Towcester in this section of the chapter have shown high educational credentials, some service class respondents thought it was up to the child to decide whether they wanted to attend university, which accounted for 18.2% of the service class respondents and 9% (two respondents) already, had children in university education. A further 13.6% would send their children to university and an equal proportion of the service class (13.6%) did not know if they would send their children to university. Overall, there was diversity in the responses from the service class who did have children.

Swaffham, with its greater concentration of working and intermediate class respondents and older population demographic, would be predicted to indicate differing attitudes to higher education and this proved to be the case. Half of the working class respondents would not send their children to university, with the intermediate class category not receiving enough responses to the question asked (see Figure 5.37).

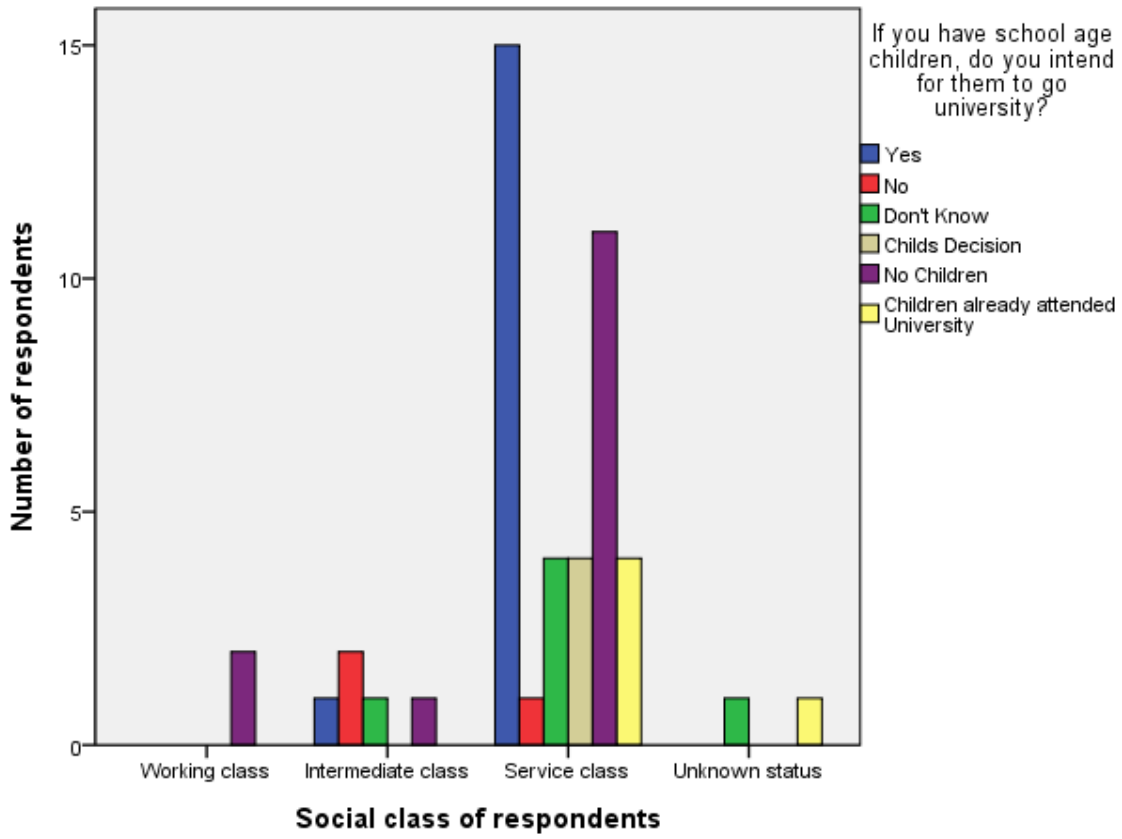
Few responses were recorded for the service class due to their age although none indicated they had had sons or daughters attending university already, indicating a different life course pattern to the service class in Towcester, who have benefited from improvements in state education over time.

Figure 5.37 Social class groups and attitudes to sending children to university in Swaffham.



Towcester followed Lutterworth, in terms of the proportion of the service class who did not have children, which stood at 28.2% (Figure 5.38). There was evidence of empty nesters, similarly to Swaffham, which has been identified in neighbourhoods of major cities, particularly in rich countries such as Australia (Fincher, 2004; Bounds and Morris, 2005, 2006). These authors highlight changing demographics and a shift in what is considered desirable ─ tastes change and are not fixed.

Figure 5.38 Social class groups and attitudes to sending children to university in Towcester.

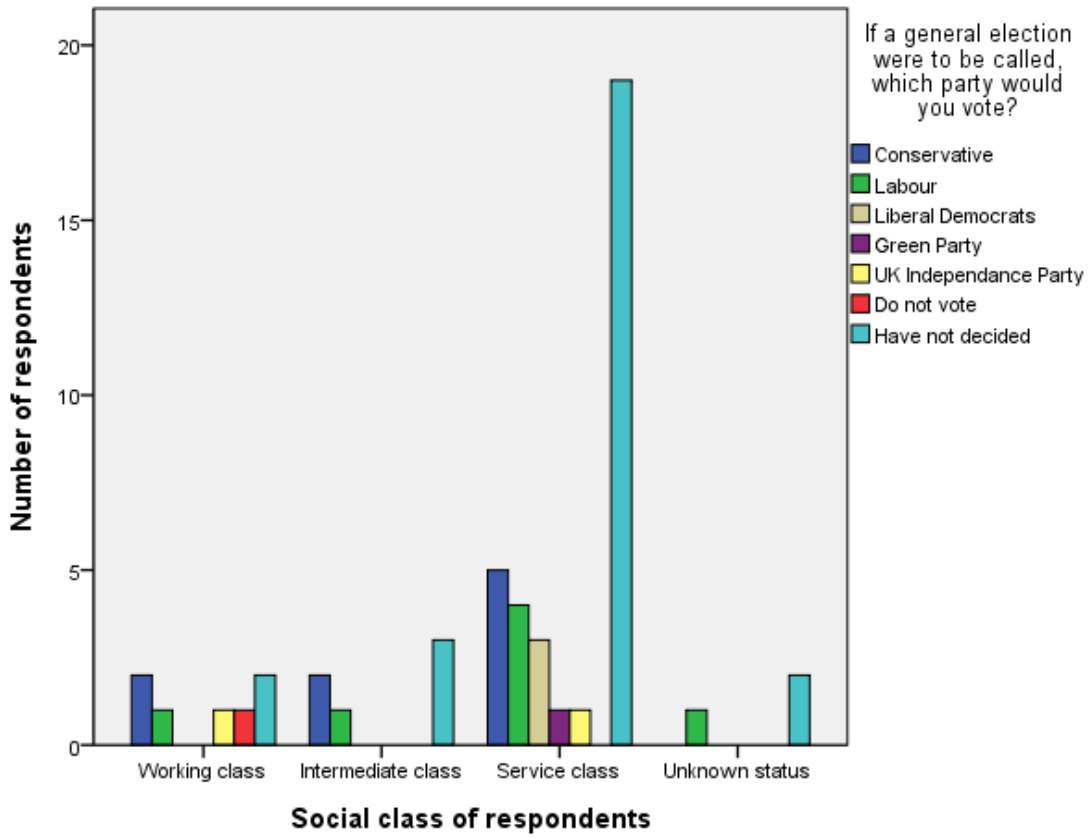


Towcester also appeared to be a place where the service class were more likely to bring up a family, with the blue bar in Figure 5.38 indicating that the service class in Towcester had children who they were looking to put through university, which accounted for 38.5% of the service class. Although Towcester was similar to many market towns in possessing an ageing population (Lowe and Stephenson, 2003; Powe and Hart, 2007; Powe *et al.*, 2007b, a), the presence of what also seem to be family-like gentrifiers who are concerned about their child's education cannot be ignored (Karsten, 2003). The next section will focus on the political affiliations respondents recorded during the questionnaire phase of the research.

5.4.4 Political Affiliation of Market Town Dwellers

In the last variable used in this part of the chapter outlining educational characteristics of gentrifiers, political affiliations have been important in differentiating different strands of the middle class (Ley, 1980; Vanneman, 1980; Kelley and Evans, 1995). The purpose of using this data was to examine the political affiliations (if respondents had them) of the different class groupings in my samples and whether these met the gentrifier stereotypes within the gentrification literature of liberal minded professional/managerial gentrifiers or alternatively, Conservative professional/managerial gentrifiers.

Figure 5.39 Social class groups and political affiliation in Lutterworth.

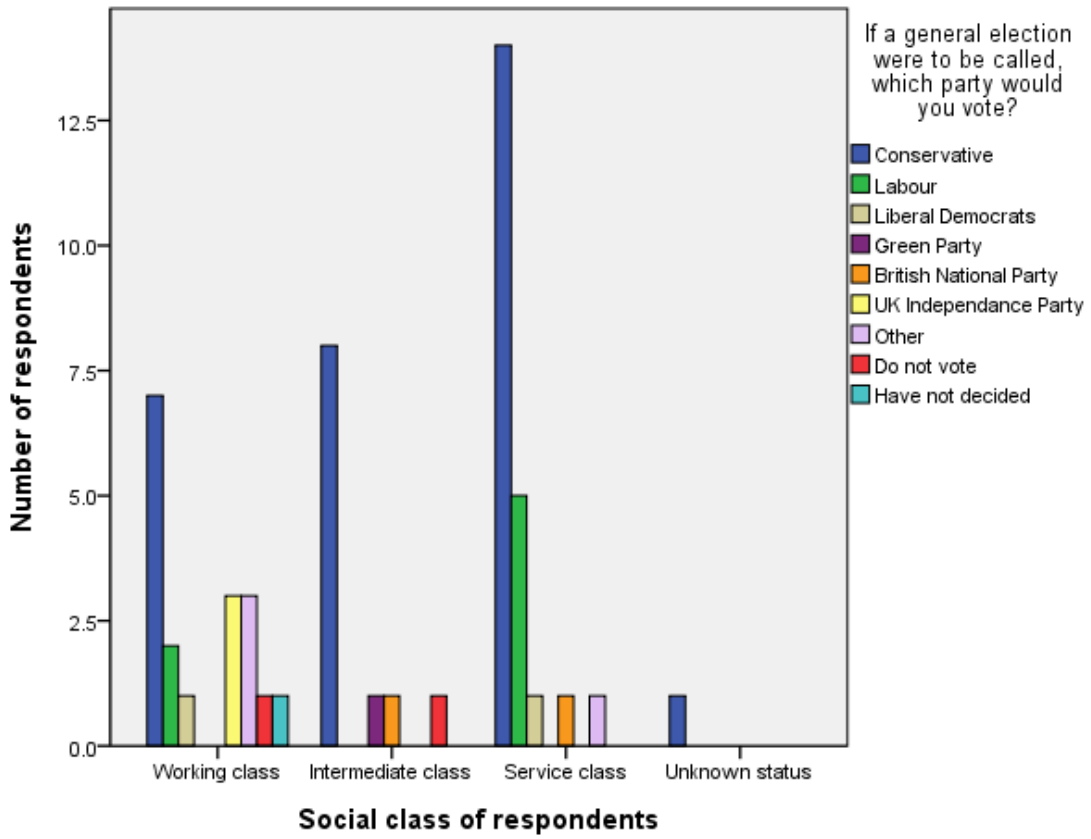


For Lutterworth, 49 of 62 in the sample responded to the political affiliation question (79%). Over half the respondents (53%) had not decided which political party they supported, perhaps disrupting the idea that some market towns were dominated by particular political parties. The main political party support in Lutterworth was the Conservative party with 15.2% of the service class willing to support them in the next General Election (2010). A further 12% would support the Labour party and 9% would vote Liberal Democrat. There was a spread of results in Lutterworth across the political spectrum.

Swaffham revealed a differing political landscape, with the Conservative party highly dominant for both the service class (63.6%) and the intermediate class (72.7%). There did not appear to be the political uncertainty within Swaffham, which was perhaps not surprising, as Swaffham had been a Conservative party stronghold for many years. There were very few people who were undecided voters, unlike Lutterworth outlined in the last section (see Figure 5.40).

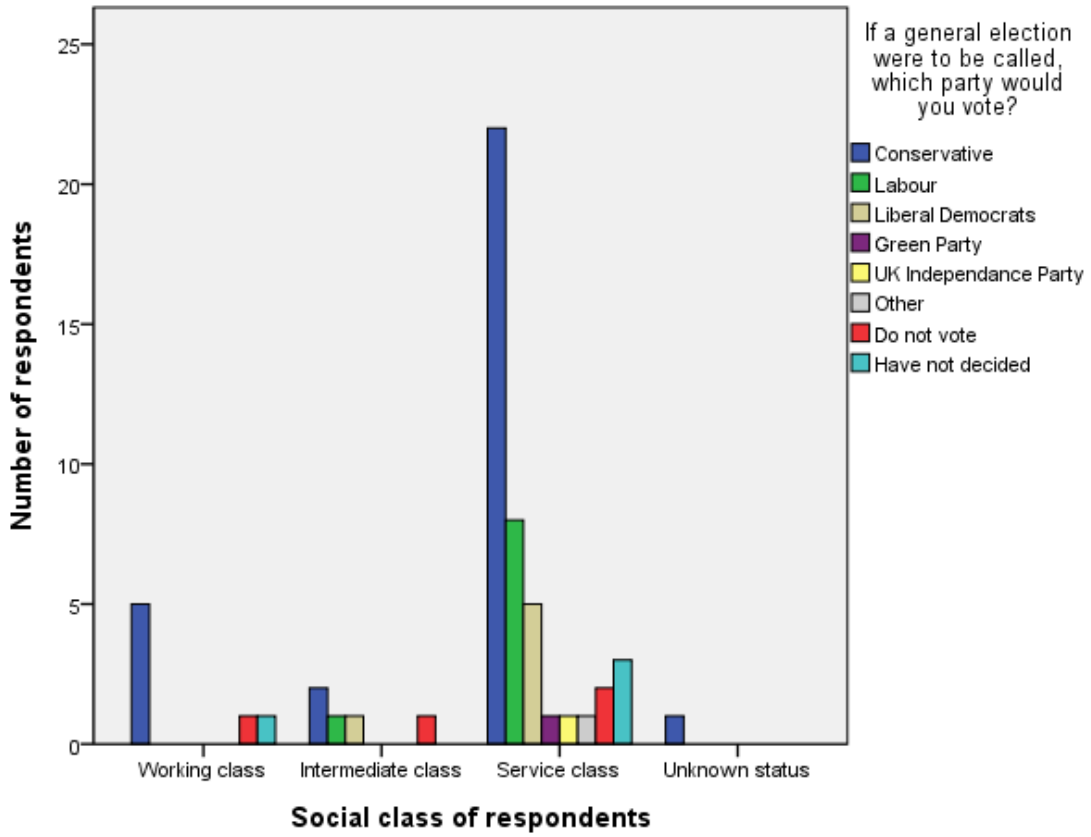
Having undertaken fieldwork in this town for four months, the Conservative party was very secure in Swaffham and conversations with local people indicated that people felt other political parties would struggle to compete and people accepted this situation. It does highlight how we cannot consider market towns as uniform entities in the urban settlement hierarchy, due to the significant differences in politics alone.

Figure 5.40 Social class groups and political affiliation in Swaffham.



Towcester followed on from Swaffham, with the Conservative party very dominant. For the service class, 51.2% would support the Conservative party in the next election and for the working class, 71.4%. Labour and the Liberal democrat parties were considerably behind, with 18.6%% of service class respondents supporting Labour and 11.6% for the Liberal Democrats in the next election.

Figure 5.41 Social class groups and political affiliation in Towcester.



To conclude this section of the chapter focusing on the educational background of the questionnaire survey respondents, there have been some quite stark political differences between some of the market towns. Overall, the service class appear to be Conservative, in both Swaffham and Towcester. However, Lutterworth was interesting with many potential 'undecided' voters, unlike Swaffham and Towcester. The education variables have begun to flesh out the characteristics of the service class populations in market towns and already, as with the work of Phillips (2005a) in a rural context and Butler and Robson (2001b) in the urban context ─ there are differential class characteristics within the three market towns. The next section will seek to explore their consumption characteristics.

5.5 Consumption Profile of the Working Class and Middle Classes in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester

The preceding parts of the chapter ascertained that noticeable difference between working class and the service class in terms of educational attainment and occupational backgrounds in a market town context. The purpose of this final part of the chapter was to look at the consumption characteristics of respondents. In Chapter 2, the consumption debate looked at how gentrifiers consumed in the built environment of the city, with retail being a new angle used to indicate that gentrification was taking place when local stores became more upmarket (Zukin *et al.*, 2009).

I begin with the activities that the social class groups took part in within the last 12 months to ascertain the consumption practices of the working class and the service respondents and this will be followed by analysis of sports to which the class groups can be compared. Finally service usage was analysed in terms of how often respondents used certain local services such as local shops and supermarkets. Although research in a rural context has looked at service access, in a market towns context, we are still unsure as to how services are being used although further qualitative work would need to be conducted to see how potential gentrifiers used key services, which is not the purpose of this thesis. The next section introduces analysis of activities and leisure pursuits within Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

5.5.1 Analysis of Activities and Leisure Pursuits Undertaken in the Last 12 months

For Lutterworth, 48 responses were recorded out of a possible 53, which equated to 90.6%. Some activities were certainly distinctive for the service class group identified in Lutterworth. Within the questionnaire survey, a number of restaurants were provided to the respondent in order to identify middle class tastes. Returning to arguments concerning cultural capital, the preceding sections of this chapter have examined formally accredited learning which has been viewed as one form of cultural capital employed by gentrifiers that is also passed down to children.

However, with lifestyle and leisure pursuits, cultural capital becomes embodied through fashions and taste (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986). The results of asking respondents which restaurants they frequented highlighted some interesting class differences. Starting with Lutterworth, 17 of the service class group of 31 that responded (54.8%) had eaten in an Italian restaurant and 16% had eaten in Spanish restaurants. Until recently, Lutterworth did not have such restaurants and people would have to commute to a larger urban area, such as Leicester to access such restaurants.

Turning to more leisure based activities, 38.7% of the service class in Lutterworth had watched a musical, and 51.6% had holidayed in the countryside within the last year. There were also examples of the service class utilising objectified cultural capital through visiting art galleries (25.8%) and visiting theatres (58%). Respondents had also attended plays or drama productions and these activities accounted for 29% of the services class.

The activities undertaken by the service class in Swaffham indicated some similarities with Lutterworth with 10 out of the 25 service class respondents (40%) having eaten in Italian restaurants in the last year. Towcester was the only market town to have its own Italian restaurant, so in both Lutterworth and Swaffham, these respondents would have had to commute outside the town in order to consume.

When analysing the activities that might act as markers of middle class presence in market towns, such as visiting art galleries (24%), visiting the theatre (12%) and attending a play or drama production (28%), we have to look beyond just the statistics. The life course of the Swaffham based services classes was a theme running through the chapter as more data was collected. Although visiting art galleries and theatres was less common among the Swaffham service class, the older skew of this service class group were more likely to be part of a local association, 40% citing this in their questionnaire compared with 12.9% for Lutterworth. This emphasises that the service class are not a uniform class; there are differences that need to be explored based on the different life course stages these middle class people are at, which could affect consumption practices.

Towcester, as has been identified, was the most middle class of the three studied. The taste of the service class ─ which was the dominant element of the sample ─ was more refined than Lutterworth and Swaffham reflecting in the places in which people had frequented in the last year, with 22% having dined in a French restaurant within the last year. A similar proportion of the service class respondents (54%) had dined in Italian restaurant in the last

year compared with Lutterworth and a higher proportion (26%) had been to a Spanish restaurant.

Visiting cultural institutions such as watching a musical (26%), visiting art galleries (28%), visiting the theatre (52%) and attending cultural festivals (26%) were all representative of an expression objectified cultural capital being both represented and practiced in town. Attending cultural events was rare for even the service class in Lutterworth and Swaffham but in Towcester, there was more evidence of the enactment of middle class tastes.

5.5.2 Participation in Sports within the last 12 Months

Following the focus on general leisure activities, which set out evidence on the tastes and consumption habits of the respondents to the questionnaire survey, I wish to focus on sport in this section and its importance towards identifying the key characteristics of the service class in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. Pierre Bourdieu (1978) noted that not all sport is the same, and certain sports offer niche social prestige and status. For example, cycling, football and rugby are popular sports, which are consumed as spectacles or events. Boxing is often represented as a working class sport with two warriors in the ring who are nearly always considered to be working class (Sugden and Tomlinson, 2002).

Bourdieu (1978) created a distinction with the aforementioned sports by arguing those sports with a health function that reward the personal sacrifice of investing effort in sculpting bodies are the more distinctive sporting activities undertaken by the middle class. Again, this could be viewed as embodied cultural capital where status is accrued through

participation or having specific knowledge in the techniques of a chosen sport. A good example of this was provided by Bourdieu in reference to mountaineering:

> "*The purely health orientated function of maintaining the body is combined with the symbolic gratifications associated with practicing a highly distinctive activity*" (Bourdieu, 1978: 371).

Having provided a rationale for including sport, the following table highlights the sports selected and they were either allocated to 'popular sports' or 'distinctive sports'.

Table 5.4 Classification of sports and health related activities.

'Popular' sports and health activities	'Distinctive' sports and health activities
Bowls/skittles	Cricket
Cycling	Golf
Football	Squash
Gym	Rugby
Swimming	Running
Walking	Tennis
	Yoga

Beginning with Lutterworth, 47 of 53 respondents answered the sports question (88.7%). The sports and health related activities that were most popular among the service class respondents were cycling and swimming with 45.2% having partaken in the activity. These were what Bourdieu considered the popular sports, due to their high levels of participation. There was evidence of more distinctive sporting and health related activity, with 25.8% of the service class in Lutterworth who were partaking in running. Golf was also represented

solely by the service class (apart from one respondent in the intermediate class), accounting for 16.1%.

Within Swaffham, bearing in mind the older demographic of the sample (see Figure 5.6, p.174), 78.3% of the service class respondents cited walking as sport/activity they had taken part in within the last year. Only golf was represented to any significant degree in the 'distinctive' sports with 12.9% citing it as a sport they had played. It is worth noting that as the age profile was older, some respondents noted they previously played sport but for health reasons, they no longer took part. The working class only significantly took part in walking, with 78.6% of the working class group recording this activity, which would support the argument of Bourdieu (1978) with participation decreasing with age and social class.

In the previous section based on activities and leisure pursuits, Towcester was the most distinctive market town. In the service class, 15% took part in golf and 4.3% in tennis – although this statistic appears low, these were the only instances in all the market towns of respondents playing tennis. One respondent also played tennis and was allocated to the intermediate class in Towcester. Three respondents from the service class group (6.5%) played squash, which did not feature in Lutterworth or Swaffham. The most popular of the 'distinctive' sports/health based activities was running, with 15 of the 46 services class respondents or 32.6% of the service class group as a whole. The final section analyses local service use in each of the market towns.

5.5.3 Local Service Usage within the Case Market Towns

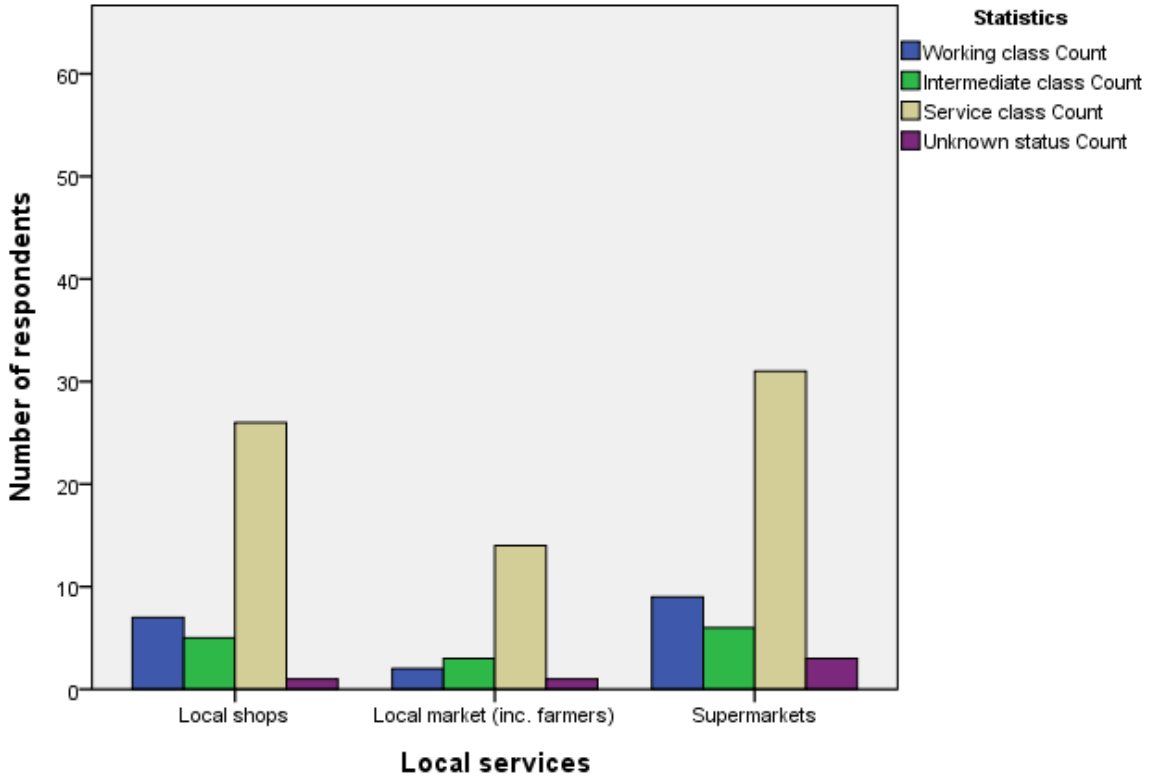
This section will examine the extent to which local services were used by respondents. The objective was to identify the how working class and service class groups used local services in general terms from the questionnaire survey as well as identifying which local supermarkets were being utilised, with supermarkets a key feature of contemporary public debate on whether they help improve a market town or aid the closure of existing shops (DETR, 1998).

As was highlighted in chapter 4, the use of services has not traditionally featured that prominently within a definition of gentrification, nor necessarily used in aiding to define the key characteristics of gentrifiers (David Ley being an exception when he examined urban amenities, Ley 1986). The data here provides projections for analysis into what has been termed the 'firstspace' by Ed Soja (1996) and in the context of looking at local services; this involves looking at quantitative data on how services are used.

One point to note on gauging service usage is that the data is at a general level of aggregation in the questionnaire, it was not broken down into individual stores that people frequented (apart from supermarkets). More detail was obtained within individual interviews that will be examined within Chapters 6 and 7.

Firstly, the data for local services will be examined, followed by the extent to which local people used the market and finally, supermarket usage. In Lutterworth out of 51 of 53 replied to the services question, which equated to 96.2% of the Lutterworth sample.

Figure 5.42 Social class groups and local service usage in Lutterworth.



As for key trends, in the service class 78.8% respondents identified, used local shops. The working class and intermediate class respondents also used the local shops with all six intermediate class respondents utilising the local shops and 77.8% of the working class group. The retail literature concerning 'outshopping' from small urban areas has often painted a picture of decline for market town centres, although my data indicates they are well utilised (Schiller, 1994; Hallsworth and Worthington, 2000).

Another key debate in market towns relatively recently in the last decade has been the decline of regular markets. With the service class, 42.4% had used a local market in

Lutterworth as opposed to 22.2% for the working class sampled. This correlated with recent work on farmers markets with the well-educated and middle class who often consumed markets under the false pretence that it aided the local community (Hinrichs, 2000). Although the service class group did utilise the local markets, the proportion was lower than those who used the local shops.

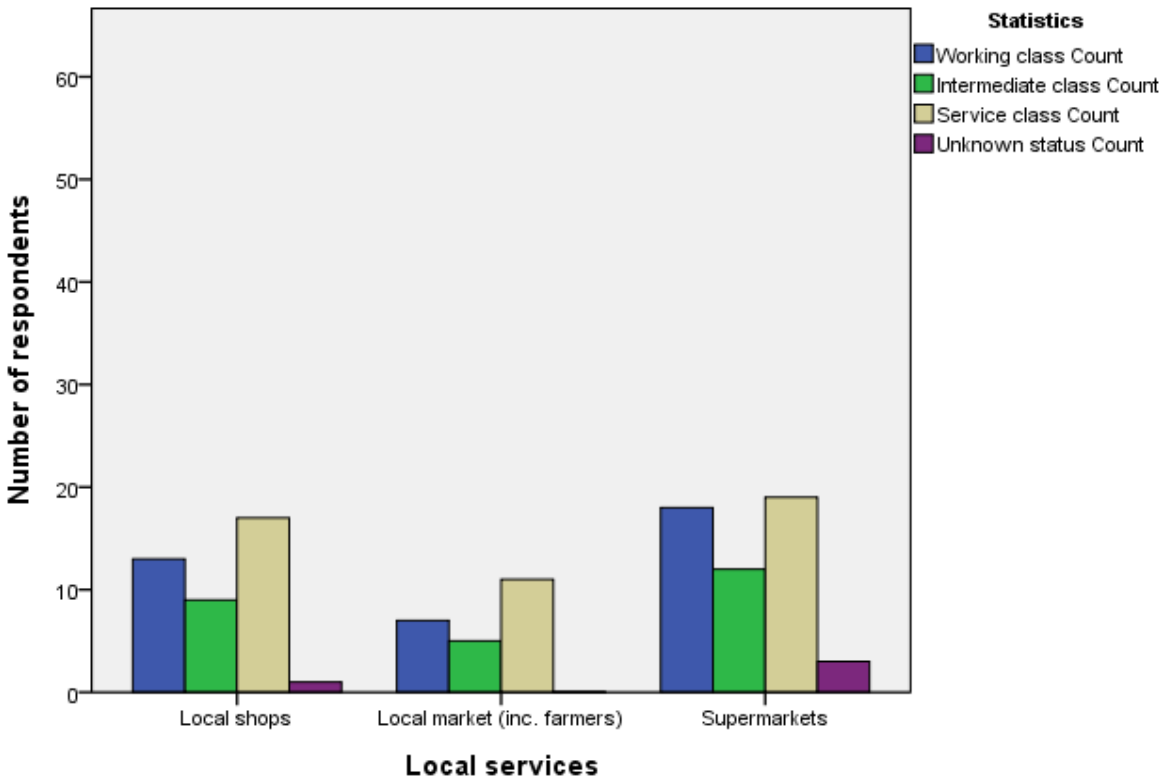
The final part of the services question was to find out the extent to which the service class used supermarkets. A key component of viable market towns has been the strength of local shopper keepers towards promoting 'locality' based consumption and the two appear to conflict in terms of on one hand promoting cheap food and on the other, marketing more expensive and local alternatives (Weatherell *et al.*, 2003). Nearly all of the service class respondents (94%) used a supermarket and all of the intermediate and working class respondents, utilised one.

In Swaffham, the response rate for the local services question was 90.32%. Looking at the service class, 77.3% had used local shops compared with 68.4% for the working class. As with Lutterworth, both groups seemed to utilise the local shops. Within the intermediate class, 75% utilised local shops.

Moving onto markets, 50% of the service class in Swaffham had used a local market, higher than the figure for Lutterworth. This might have reflected the older age profile of the Swaffham service class, with a preference to consume locally. For the working class, the figures are lower still, with 36.8% using a local market in Swaffham. This was similar

to Lutterworth, even though Swaffham had a working class component to the sample. The GB census in 2001 also indicated that close to 40% of the population was working class and the use of local markets might be reflective of their expense compared to local supermarkets.

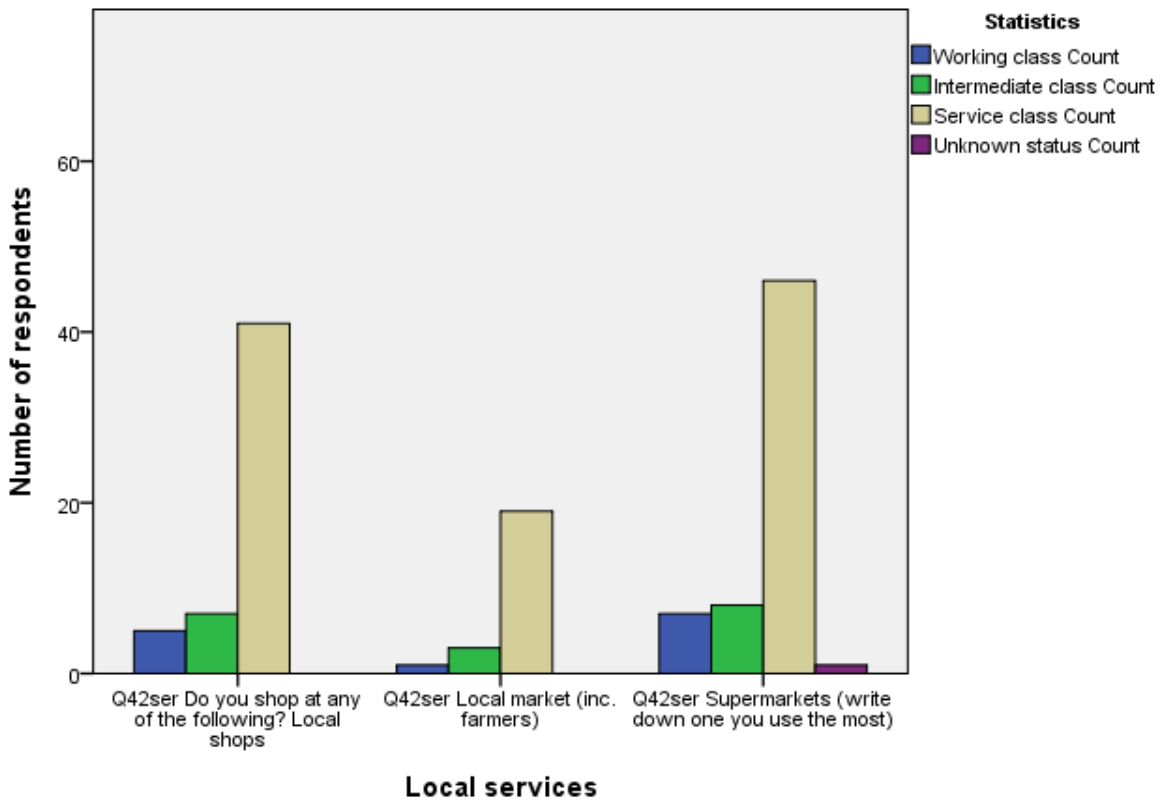
Figure 5.43 Social class groups and local service usage in Swaffham.



Finally, looking at supermarkets, 86.4% of the service class used supermarkets and 94.7% of the working class used a supermarket. The reliance upon supermarkets reflected the increasing movements of supermarkets into market towns, with Waitrose the most prominent. All of the intermediate class used a supermarket.

For Towcester, the response rate for the question was 94.2%, the highest of the three towns studied. For the service class in Towcester, 83.7% used the local shops compared with 71.4% for the working class, which could reflect the middle class composition of the Towcester population and the provision of more middle class shopping amenities compared with Lutterworth and Swaffham. This was the highest instance of using local shops of the three market towns.

Figure 5.44 Social class groups and local service usage in Towcester.



The use of markets in Towcester should prove interesting as Towcester, unlike Lutterworth and Swaffham does not have its own town market. With the service class, 38.8% had used a local market, which was likely to be the small farmers market, which predominantly

catered for middle class tastes (and wallets) which was observed in the field. This was quite similar to Lutterworth and reflected in their relatively smaller markets compared with Swaffham, although they had lost a bird auction that was once a significant part of the market day. Only 15.38% of the working class used markets in Towcester, reflecting the previous point that the local farmers market was often out of reach of the local working class.

As with Lutterworth and Swaffham, most respondents used a supermarket, with 93.9% of the service class citing this. In the final part of Chapter 5, I will summarise the data collected and relate this back to my first research question, which was to establish the extent of gentrification through the characteristics of the respondents outlined in the chapter.

5.6. Summary: Socio-Demographic Variables

When examining the NS-SEC categories for each town, it was apparent that both Lutterworth and Towcester contained higher numbers of NS-SEC classes 1 & 2 that included people employed in professional and managerial occupations referred to in this thesis as the service class.

Swaffham did have older respondents who fitted into NS-SEC classes 1 & 2 however; there were also many respondents to the questionnaire who were from NS-SEC classes 6 & 7 that covered semi-routine and routine occupations (manual jobs). The 31 to 40 age category was dominant for both Lutterworth and Towcester, although it was apparent that Towcester

possessed an even younger sample of service class respondents whilst Swaffham was very much indicative of the service class aging in place ─ retiring from previous residences in other large urban areas such as London.

For the occupational status variable, both Lutterworth and Towcester indicated that respondents were likely to be in full time paid employment with Towcester showing evidence of service class work and respondents citing that they were employed in paid remunerative employment more so than Lutterworth and Swaffham. This could be due to the type of employment in which Towcester residents were proximate to; Milton Keynes and Oxford along with London ─ all destinations where the service class were working or had lived previously.

Swaffham indicated evidence of people in semi-retirement or full retirement, yet these retirees would often possess quite substantial incomes for their age and status. When gross household income levels were assessed, Lutterworth indicated strong incomes with the highest number of respondents, citing their income was between £30,000 and £49,999. Swaffham possessed the lowest incomes with incomes below £30,000 more common. Turning to Towcester, incomes were higher than Lutterworth ─ £50,000 to £99,999 in some cases, with some respondents earning over £100,000.

5.6.1 Property Variables

Turning attention to the property related variables analysed, length of residence was one of the most intriguing ─ all towns indicated a recent movement of people within the last 1 to 5

years. This was the case for both the working class and service class within Lutterworth and Swaffham, with the Towcester sample containing much of the service class who were recent arrivals.

Most properties across all towns required little renovation, reflecting the characteristics of the housing stock that was relatively modern compared with traditional forms of gentrification where Georgian and Victorian property had been renovated by gentrifiers (Hamnett and Williams, 1980; Jager, 1986; Bridge, 2006). Second home ownerships rates for the three samples were relatively high among the service classes with 18.2% in Lutterworth owning additional properties, 24% in Swaffham and 20% in Towcester. Although my market town samples from the questionnaire were relatively small, this does warrant further research to establish the full extent of the issue in a market towns context. These figures compared to the regional context are high, with second home ownership rates at 0 to 1.24% of all chargeable dwellings (for council tax) in all but the most sought after coastal locations, such as North Norfolk, where 9.2% of chargeable dwellings are second homes (CRC, 2010a).

Past tax breaks provided a 50% discount on council taxes from dual property owners for the purposes of living in or using a property as a holiday home (ARHC, 2006). This tax rule was recently amended to make second home ownership more difficult, lowering the council tax discount to 10%.

Improvements made to properties were broadly similar and did not indicate that the services class were renovating any differently from the working class in terms of distinctive renovation practices. In Lutterworth and Towcester, which appeared the most gentrified towns, respondents were more likely to employ other trades people compared with Swaffham where there was a closer gap between the working class and the service class in terms of undertaking improvements on their own or with the help of other family members.

5.6.2 Education Variables

Education was analysed using the variables: types of school attended, educational qualifications, perceptions of sending children to university and political affiliation. What was found from the data on types of school attended was intriguing ─ in Lutterworth many of the service class respondents attended comprehensive schools, but were more likely than the working class to have attended grammar school. Swaffham, with the older service class element to its population, had 36% of respondents who had attended grammar schools.

Towcester differed from this as it alluded to the type of characteristics that might inform our ideas on what constitutes a market town gentrifier ─ many of the service class in Towcester attended comprehensive schools with grammar schools almost non-existent. This trend was repeated when looking at educational qualifications whereby Towcester had higher levels of people qualified to A-level or degree level. Although it has been noted that Lutterworth possessed an almost identical service class composition in 2001 compared with Towcester (see Chapter 4), those possessing degrees were less visible, reflecting its role as a transport and distribution hub and hence more managerial occupations related to this role

compared with Towcester. Swaffham was mainly characterised by O-level and lower qualifications, although the older, service class element to the sample, which I have termed 'geriatrifiers' had similar educational credentials. They grew up in an era where obtaining a degree was out of reach for the majority of the middle classes and therefore degree acquisition was lower than the service class in Towcester. Past systems of educational streaming severely restricted all but the most academically gifted from attending universities, which has certainly changed during the 21st Century where there has been a push to boost numbers attending university.

As noted in the chapter, within Lutterworth, a significant number of respondents in both the working class and service class groups had no children although the next highest response was that respondents would send their children to university. Swaffham was a complete contrast ─ it had the highest number of responses where respondents would not send their children to university. Towcester had more respondents prepared send their children to university and second behind this was leaving the decision up to the child.

5.6.3 Consumption Variables

The consumption variables included an analysis of activities and leisure pursuits along with local service usage. Towcester was the most distinctive town in displaying evidence of embodied and objectified stocks of cultural capital within the service class. This was achieved through frequenting exotic restaurants and visiting cultural attractions such as art galleries and cultural events (which was specific to Towcester). Lutterworth was similar in this regard, although what the service class attended within the last year varied with

theatres, in the case of Lutterworth, coming out strongly. All such respondents would have to travel outside of town to attend such venues and events, although drama and plays were provided locally, which is what respondents could have been citing in the data. For Swaffham, there was less evidence of attending theatres or art galleries (many were retired) but instead the service class appeared to be investing time in local associations, with 40% doing this, which was not apparent in Lutterworth and Towcester.

The trends established here were present in the types of sporting and health related activities respondents had undertaken in the last year. Within Swaffham the working class, although close to parity on the number of responses to the service class, were underrepresented. Both Lutterworth and Towcester displayed evidence of more distinctive sports with running accounting to close to a quarter of the service class respondents in Lutterworth and Towcester. Tennis also features in Towcester, a small number, but indicative of the affluence of the town.

Finally, turning to service usage, the service class in Lutterworth were more likely to utilise local shops and markets with supermarket usage more balanced in terms of service class and working class using them, which was perhaps not surprising. Swaffham displayed balanced consumption across, local shops, markets and supermarkets. This localised consumption might represent the retired nature of the service class and the localised consumption patterns of the working class in Swaffham.

Towcester across both service class and the working class groups indicated a trend towards declining use of markets and local shops with supermarket use high within both groups. In the section to follow, having identified key differences between the working class and the middle class, specific gentrifier types will be outlined that have some commonalities with existing conceptualisations of gentrifiers outlined in Chapter 2, but also some crucial differences.

5.6.4 Types of Gentrifiers Identified

There were examples different gentrifier types identified within the market towns overall. Many reflect the urban and rural distinction highlighted in Chapter 2 (p.51-52), although it can be seen that there are a few types that were dominant:

1. **Geriatrifiers (Swaffham)**
2. **Landlord/developer gentrifiers (Lutterworth and Towcester)**
3. **Rural gentrifiers (Lutterworth)**
4. **Professional/managerial gentrifiers (Lutterworth and Towcester)**
5. **Super-gentrifiers (Towcester)**

5.6.5 Geriatrifiers

Geriatrifiers were gentrifiers at later stages of the life course than traditional gentrifiers and of the 23 identified, 16 were based in Swaffham (69.6%). These gentrifiers were often retirees or in early retirement. When the age of the geriatrifiers was analysed, 14 of the 23 (60.9%) were 65 and over and a further eight of the 23 (34.8%) were aged 51 to 60 and 61 to 65. What was interesting was that geriatrifiers were not just occupying detached

properties (43.5% were living in detached houses) ─ semi-detached housing was equally popular with the same proportion of geriatrifiers residing in these properties. This might also reflect in the trend of older people to downsize their property. The general reputation of retirees was often that they would downsize their property, but this was not always the case ─ in Swaffham, they could acquire larger properties if they had previously moved from the South East of England.

Some of the geriatrifiers possessed a history of having professional and managerial occupations at earlier adult stages of their life course ─ an aspect where gentrification scholars have tended to construct gentrifiers as static and this group indicates that we need to consider gentrifiers as a more fluid group (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Geriatrifiers, their social class and occupations.

Market town	Social class	Occupation
Lutterworth	Intermediate class	Hotel Assessor
Lutterworth	Intermediate class	Technical officer
Lutterworth	Service class	Careers Advisor
Lutterworth	Service class	Volunteer Driver
Swaffham	Service class	Director/ General Manager
Swaffham	Intermediate class	Worked on Naval base in Offices for Flagship
Swaffham	Service class	Engineering coordinator
Swaffham	Service class	Customer Engineering Manager (IBM)
Swaffham	Service class	Secondary Head Teacher
Swaffham	Service class	Bank Employee
Swaffham	Service class	Chemical Engineer
Swaffham	Service class	Painting & Decorating
Swaffham	Intermediate class	Professional Photographer/lecturer (self-employed)
Swaffham	Service class	Q.C. Manager & Reprographics Officer (Both Retired)
Swaffham	Service class	Head of Clinical Governance, NHS
Swaffham	Service class	Company Director
Swaffham	Service class	Teacher of English; 17 years

Swaffham	Service class	Distribution Manager (Weekend)
Swaffham	Service class	Marketing Manager
Swaffham	Service class	Deputy Head Teacher
Swaffham	Service class	Police superintendent & Bank Manager
Swaffham	Service class	Managing Director Civil Engineering Plant & Transport Company
Swaffham	Service class	Manager

The income range of geriatrifiers was lower than the other gentrifier types to follow, although bearing in mind the retired and semi-retired status of these people; they were still significant with 30.4% having accrued gross household incomes of between £30,000 and £49,999. A further 17.4% had gross household incomes of between £20,000 and £29,999. Households where there were dual incomes apparent existed among the geriatrifiers, although they were identified differently to the other gentrifier types as some questionnaire respondents had retired or were in semi-retirement. However, it was possible to find past history of 'dual income' households with 39.1% having lived in such a household unit.

Moving onto education, 39.1% of geriatrifiers either held a degree or a higher degree qualification and 60.9% had a professional or vocational qualification. The higher education statistic was lower which could be due to the earlier age in which these gentrifiers ─ associated with the baby boomers ─ were working. Geriatrifiers were far less likely to have degree level qualifications compared to the other gentrifiers. The secondary schools attended by geriatrifiers reflected the era of a more extensive grammar school network with 39.1% having attended such a school and 21.7% attended secondary modern schools. As noted, many of the geriatrifiers were based in Swaffham and this was

politically at the time of study, dominated by the Conservative party with 56.5% of geriatrifiers citing they would vote Conservative at a general election.

5.6.6 Landlord/Developer Gentrifiers

Thirteen gentrifiers were found to be landlord/developer gentrifiers as they have been termed in this thesis. In the Table below the breakdown based on market town, social class and then the recorded occupations, provides an interesting summary of these gentrifiers:

Table 5.6 Landlord/developer gentrifiers, their social class and occupations.

Market town	Social class	Occupation
Lutterworth	Service class	Logistics and packing engineer
Lutterworth	Service class	NHS doctor
Lutterworth	Service class	Quality assurance + Development inspector
Lutterworth	Service class	Quality assurance consultant
Swaffham	Intermediate class	Retail owner
Swaffham	Service class	Retired brick layer
Towcester	Service class	Learning coordinator (Modern Foreign Languages)
Towcester	Service class	Self-employed
Towcester	Service class	Compliance Manager
Towcester	Service class	Operations Manager
Towcester	Intermediate class	Shop owner
Towcester	Service class	Podiatry in NHS
Towcester	Service class	Programme leader

Examining the characteristics of these gentrifiers, 7 of the 12 or 58.3% of those who responded were aged between 31 to 40 and 41 to 50. It was interesting that relatively young gentrifiers already had acquired second properties and this reflects perhaps in the higher income levels with 8 out of 13 or 61.5% earning in the region of £30,000 to £49,999

and £50,000 to £99,999, which were high-income bands. As the questionnaire asked for gross income and other members of the household that worked, it was possible to identify 'dual income' households where enough data was provided and 7 out of the 13 (53.8%) landlord/developer gentrifiers were classified as dual income.

Examining the educational qualifications, 5 out of 13 (38.5%) possessed either a degree or a higher degree, which was a relatively low proportion when compared with the other gentrifier types. An equal proportion of the land lord/developer gentrifiers possessed professional or vocational qualifications and this might be due to these gentrifiers not always originating from middle class background. The type of secondary school attended by landlord/developer gentrifiers was varied, with 3 of the 13 (23%) having attended comprehensive schools and grammar and secondary moderns accounting for 30.8% of landlord/developer gentrifiers having attended these schools.

In Table 5.6, two of the gentrifiers were placed in the intermediate class and this forms the lower part of the middle class, although not enough intermediate class members were identified to confirm this. The point being made is that this group of gentrifiers is defined by the ownership of more than one property and it was not always the service class who held a monopoly over second properties, although they were more likely to possess second properties. Political affiliation was more likely to be Conservative, with 50% of valid responses (excluding responses where no response was recorded) where support would be provided in a General Election.

5.6.7 Rural Gentrifiers

Fourteen rural gentrifiers were identified having examined the fieldwork data. The breakdown of these gentrifiers by the market towns in which they were identified reveals that the rural gentrifiers were predominantly clustered in Lutterworth although compared with the landlord/developer gentrifiers, the occupations recorded were quite diverse ─ emphasising that multiple variables are required to identify gentrifiers.

Table 5.7 Rural gentrifiers, their social class and occupations.

Market town	Social class	Occupation
Lutterworth	Service class	Merchandiser
Lutterworth	Service class	Careers Support Advisor
Lutterworth	Service class	Credit Controller
Lutterworth	Service class	Principal Research Technician
Lutterworth	Service class	Postman
Lutterworth	Service class	Warehouse Trainer
Lutterworth	Intermediate class	Service Engineer
Lutterworth	Service class	NHS Podiatry Services Manager
Lutterworth	Service class	Senior Programme Research Midwife
Swaffham	Service class	No answer provided
Swaffham	Intermediate class	Local Government Officer
Swaffham	Service class	Finance administrator
Towcester	Service class	Project manager
Towcester	Service class	Demand & Forecasting Manager

The age range of the rural gentrifiers was similar to the landlord/developers with the 41 to 50 age group accounting for 35.7% of the rural gentrifiers. For these gentrifiers, 71.4% were resident in detached properties, 35.7% had incomes of between £50,000, and £99,999 and 21.4% respectively earned either £20,000 to £29,999 or £30,000 to £49,999 ─ similar levels to landlord/developer gentrifiers. Another interesting aspect to the rural gentrifiers

was the numbers that were part of dual income households ─ 10 out of the 14 rural gentrifiers (71.4%) were part of such households.

Within Phillip's (1993) original paper about rural gentrification, he noted the work of Rose (1989) where she argued the women might become gentrifiers to reduce time-space constraints, which did not seem much of an issue in the gentrifiers identified in this thesis and this could be due generally higher rates of participation in higher education. Of the 14 rural gentrifiers, 8 or 57.1% possessed either a degree or higher degree qualification, which was a higher proportion compared with landlord/developer gentrifiers and of note, 6 of the 14 rural gentrifiers (42.9%) attended comprehensive secondary schools before entering work. The political affiliations of rural gentrifiers were mixed, with 6 of the 14 (42.9%) supporting both the Conservative and the Labour party (three rural gentrifiers each). Concerning the discourse of political disillusionment highlighted previously, 5 of the 14 (35.7%) were undecided voters, which was a reflection of a wider political malaise.

However, what really distinguished rural gentrifiers from other gentrifier types? In Phillips (1993) seminal study of rural gentrification in the Gower, he noted both marginal and professional gentrifiers were present within the four case study villages. Professional and marginal gentrifiers to a lesser extent were present in the market towns studied; qualitative data from the questionnaire was used to distinguish rural gentrifiers in a market town context. Simply 'gentrifying' in rural space as opposed to urban spaces, would not be enough to argue rural gentrifiers were any different from the traditional urban gentrifier. Caulfield (1994) noted the desire of urbanites to live in small town style urban

environments; urbanities do have inclinations to move into rural environments. Outlined below are the responses from the questionnaire concerning the reasons why people moved to market towns.

Table 5.8 Rural gentrifiers (Question 8: What were your reasons for moving to Lutterworth?).

Market town	Social class	Age	Occupation
Lutterworth	Service class	22-30	Commuting (Leicester & Rugby) and a friendly town with facilities nearby.
Lutterworth	Service class	61-65	Family in the area.
Lutterworth	Service class	51-60	See previous answer, also to be closer to family.
Lutterworth	Service class	65+	We used to live in Harlow, a large 'new' town; full of Londoners, when I retired we wanted to get away from big town and Londoners. Lutterworth had changed and looked attractive, so we moved back.
Lutterworth	Service class	41-50	Could not afford property in village in property where I come from.
Lutterworth	Service class	51-60	I moved to be nearer where I worked and wished to move away from the city (Leicester).
Lutterworth	Intermediate class	41-50	Moved with parents.
Lutterworth	Service class	41-50	Got married & husband had house in Lutterworth.
Lutterworth	Service class	31-40	Wanted to re-locate. Both of us grow up in Market town in Lincolnshire & Lutterworth reminded us of that town. Competitive house prices plus convenient for work.
Swaffham	Service class	22-30	Wanted to be out in the countryside in a safer environment.
Swaffham	Intermediate class	41-50	Less Populated away from Rat race London Commuters etc.
Swaffham	Service class	41-50	Wanted to live in countryside.
Towcester	Service class	31-40	family
Towcester	Service class	31-40	Job re-location to MK, we chose Towcester because of the town, the Shires development, we moved to this address (Tennyson close) in 2007, reinforcing how much we enjoy living here.

We can see that there were diverse reasons to move to a market town for the rural gentrifiers. For some, moving from a larger to a smaller urban area was a priority, whilst the family linkages to rural areas either in or surrounding Lutterworth was noted as being very important with 4 of the 14 rural gentrifiers (28.6%). Others saw a rural location as 'extremely important' and 6 out of the 14 (42.9%) saw a rural location as being 'quite important' to purchasing their current property. This was much higher than the other gentrifier types. There does appear to be a case for considering rural gentrifiers in a market town context.

5.6.8 Professional and Managerial Gentrifiers

The professional/managerial gentrifiers were concentrated in Lutterworth and Towcester. Of the professional managerial gentrifiers, 17 of the 55 (30.9%) identified were located in Lutterworth and 34 out of 55 (61.8%) were resident in Towcester. This was by far the largest group of gentrifiers identified within the case study market towns. When the age ranges for these professional and managerial gentrifiers was examined, 24 of the 55 professional/managerial gentrifiers (43.6%) were aged between 31 and 40 years old. There was significant numbers of these gentrifiers who were in the 41 to 50 age group, with 19 of 55 (34.5%) gentrifiers allocated to this group. As with the other gentrifier groups, detached property was the common factor with 56.4% of the gentrifiers living in detached houses.

Table 5.9 Professional and Managerial gentrifiers, their social class and occupations.

Market town	Social class	Occupation
Lutterworth	Service class	Medical Scientist
Lutterworth	Service class	Senior Radiographer
Lutterworth	Service class	Telephone Sales
Lutterworth	Service class	IS Manager (IT)
Lutterworth	Service class	Recruitment manager
Lutterworth	Service class	Team Leader S+T
Lutterworth	Service class	Recruitment Manager
Lutterworth	Service class	College Lecturer
Lutterworth	Service class	Teacher of Science
Lutterworth	Service class	Senior Engineer
Lutterworth	Service class	Project Manager
Lutterworth	Service class	Director
Lutterworth	Service class	Senior Visual Implementation Manager
Lutterworth	Service class	Management Accountant
Swaffham	Service class	Housewife
Swaffham	Service class	Manager, Dorothy Perkins
Swaffham	Service class	Management
Swaffham	Service class	Managing Director
Towcester	Service class	Analyst
Towcester	Service class	Service Compliance Manager
Towcester	Service class	School Teacher
Towcester	Service class	Planner/Urban designer
Towcester	Service class	0 (Not listed)
Towcester	Service class	Technical Architect
Towcester	Service class	Management Consultant
Towcester	Service class	Optician
Towcester	Service class	Freelance editor
Towcester	Service class	Supplier Development Engineer
Towcester	Service class	Police Officer
Towcester	Service class	School Site Supervisor

Table 5.9 (continued)

Market town	Social class	Occupation
Towcester	Service class	Graphic Designer
Towcester	Service class	Food Technology Teacher
Towcester	Service class	Teaching Assistant
Towcester	Service class	Class teacher-primary
Towcester	Service class	Health Visitor
Towcester	Service class	Very confidential
Towcester	Service class	Northants County Council HR Advisory Team
Towcester	Service class	Contract Manager
Towcester	Service class	Supermarket Assistant
Towcester	Service class	0
Towcester	Service class	Consultant
Towcester	Service class	Program Leader
Towcester	Service class	SAP Technical Analyst
Towcester	Service class	Merit Sales Consultant
Towcester	Service class	0
Towcester	Service class	Process Analyst, Supply Chain Project
Towcester	Service class	Senior Road Safety Delivery Officer
Towcester	Service class	Sutton Motorsport Images
Towcester	Intermediate class	Timetable/Assessment Officer
Towcester	Service class	Solicitor
Towcester	Service class	Export Coordinator
Towcester	Service class	UK Supply Operations Manager

Over half or 54.5% of the professional/managerial gentrifiers earned £50,000 to £99,999, which appeared to be the common income range for many of the gentrifier types. Dual income households were also apparent with 78.2% of the professional/managerial gentrifiers living within these households. This was the highest proportion of all the

gentrifier groups, although it has to be borne in mind that this group of gentrifiers was the most represented in the questionnaire.

When educational credentials were analysed, 33 of 55 professional/managerial gentrifiers (60%) possessed either a degree of a higher degree level qualification. Possession of professional and vocational qualifications was also common, with 31 of the 55 (56.4%) professional managerial gentrifiers holding mainly professional accredited qualifications in addition to their degrees. Another interesting element to the educational credentials was that the majority of the gentrifiers attended comprehensive schools (49.1%) as opposed to 21.8% who attended grammar schools. This might be indicative of new trends within the new middle classes whereby the massification of higher education is beginning to provide the same advantages that the wealthy, privately educated members of the middle class have enjoyed. Over one third (34.5%) of the questionnaire respondents would support the Conservative party in a general election.

5.6.9 Super-Gentrifiers

Super-gentrifiers were identified predominantly in Towcester with 7 out of 8 (87.5%) present, with only one based in Lutterworth. This group of gentrifiers was small, but their clustering within Towcester signified the wealth concentrated within the town that was highlighted provided by the stocks of economic capital via high incomes and cultural capital such as their leisure activities.

Table 5.10 Super-gentrifiers, their social class and occupations.

Market town	Social class	Occupation
Lutterworth	Service class	National Pharmacy Manager
Towcester	Service class	Fishmonger
Towcester	Service class	Divisional Supply Chain Manager
Towcester	Service class	Teaching Assistant
Towcester	Intermediate class	Teacher
Towcester	Service class	Lunchtime Assistant
Towcester	Service class	Managing Director
Towcester	Service class	Company Director

The age profile of these super-gentrifiers was varied, with 6 of the 8 placed in the 31 to 40 and 41 to 50 age groups (75%). This again, was common with the other gentrifier types identified and was related to the high levels of income, and education gentrifiers generally appear to possess.

Income wise, these super-gentrifiers earned significant sums ─ 7 in 8 (87.5%) had household incomes gross of between £100,000 to £149,999 and this was above the norm for other groups of gentrifiers. Super-gentrifiers in a market town context appeared not to be as highly educated on the whole, with 3 of the 8 super-gentrifiers possessing either a degree or a higher degree qualification (37.5%) with 4 of the 8 (50%) holding professional and vocational qualifications (although future research would need to specifically target and identify super-gentrifiers (Lees, 2003). As with the professional/ managerial gentrifiers, comprehensive education was dominant with 6 out of the 8 super-gentrifiers (75%) educated in ordinary schools. Also linked to the education variable, political

affiliation appeared to be leaning towards voting for the Conservative party, with 3 of the 8 super-gentrifiers (37.5%) supporting the party.

Having identified that there were differences beyond allocating gentrifiers to the middle class alone, the next chapter will examine the representations provided by working class and service class and the responses will examine the more detailed information in terms of why market towns were attractive to the interview respondents. Having identified differing gentrifier types, the qualitative responses aim to indicate if there were further characteristics that could be used to differentiate them.

5.7 Summary: Key Findings

The key findings in this chapter indicate that there is gentrification taking place in English market towns. The findings in this chapter can be broadly outlined within the following categories:

1. Spatial differentiation in terms of employment and presence of specific gentrifier types (Phillips, 2005).
2. The presence of new build gentrification in market towns.
3. The identification of super-gentrifiers in Towcester.
4. The identification of geriatrifiers within Swaffham.
5. There appears to be a lack of renovation activity due to the nature of property stock.
6. Gentrifiers appeared to disproportionately own second properties.

The geography of a given market town was crucial to the form of gentrification and the associated gentrifiers present. For example, in Swaffham, there was above average retail provision including care homes and a Boots store to service the demand of retirees whilst in

Towcester, the establishment of edge-of-town supermarkets and high-end car dealerships such as Porsche emphasised the professional/managerial nature of the gentrifiers present. This is reflected in the wider gentrification debates about different geographies of gentrification (Ley, 1996; Lees, 2000) and how gentrification manifests itself in different spatial contexts ─ market towns are evidence of this work (Phillips, 2005a).

A second finding of note was evidence of new build gentrification, particularly in Towcester. This market town contained more detached properties than Lutterworth and Swaffham (see Chapter 3) and there was not a significant supply of older properties apart from the historic core of the town ─ recent expansion via The Shires development means that the middle class will be predominantly living in new build accommodation, rather than country cottages with large gardens. This is closely related to the third finding from the chapter with the identification of super-gentrifiers who were earning considerably more than the professional/managerial gentrifiers were.

The presence of geriatrifiers in Swaffham indicated that the narrow conception of gentrifier life course within the gentrification literature required a re-think. What was characteristic of most of the gentrifiers was a lack of renovation activity, which for some scholars, rules out gentrification (Hamnett, 1973; Boddy, 2007), however, it appears that within market towns, gentrification is taking place without distinctive home improvements. Second home ownership appeared common among the gentrifier types highlighted although these properties can be purchased for commercial rather than residential usage.

Chapter 6: Representations of Market Towns

6.1 Introduction

This chapter was informed by secondspace representations from Ed Soja's trialectical approach, constructed in the minds of respondents and collected from a questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews conducted during 2008 and 2009. This differs from Chapters 4 and 5 that have utilised a firstspace approach to looking at gentrification in market towns through a 'perceived' notion of space that has been constructed through research instruments, such as the GB census and public policy targeting market towns specifically, such as the Rural White Paper 2000 and the Market Towns Initiative (MTI).

The secondspace differs from the 'perceived' notion of firstspace that, as highlighted, are not always accurate reflections of reality or are constrained by issues of aggregating quantitative data to fit with 'reality'─ using data that are limited by the level of aggregation in which they were created. Secondspace, on the other hand, is conceived in the mind and this resulted in representations in the form of symbols. The use of the secondspace links to the second research question employed within the thesis, which referred to the role of cultural constructions of market towns (research question two, see Chapter 1). Crucial to this is to understand the character of the representations outlined by respondents to both the questionnaire and through the interviews conducted. Here, the aim will be to identify the character of market town representations espoused by respondents and whether these skew towards the rural, the urban or both.

The representations examined were sourced from questions from the semi-structured questionnaire (see Chapter 3) and covered basic issues that motivated a move to their market town such as work and the provision of local services. The results of this quantitative data are interwoven into the qualitative responses obtained from semi-structured interviews to summarise the key representations and discourses in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

6.2 Are Market Towns Urban or Rural? Views from their Residents

We can see from Figure 6.1 that there are differences in the perceptions held by residents from different market towns. The key differences appear to be between Lutterworth and Towcester compared with Swaffham.

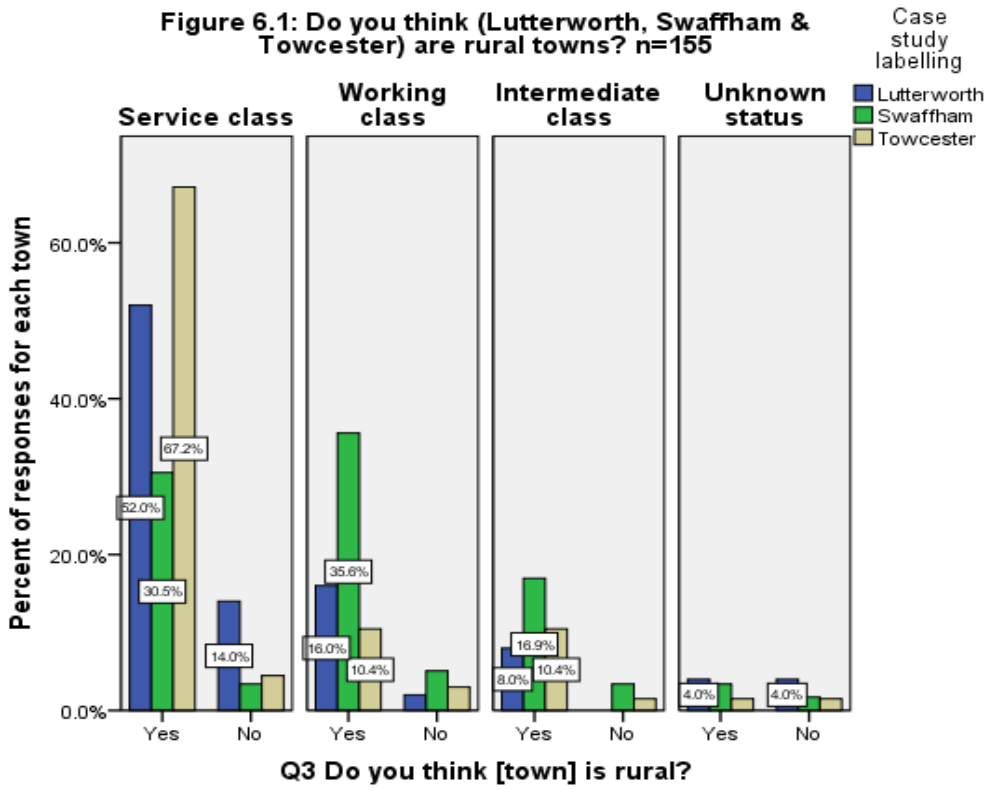


Figure 6.1: Do you think (Lutterworth, Swaffham & Towcester) are rural towns? n=155

Interestingly, 67% of respondents who originated from service class groups (NS-SEC classes 1 &2) felt that Towcester was rural. This was a thought-provoking observation as the overall sample of 69 was predominantly service class (72.5%) and the motivation for selecting Towcester from the outset was to see how different the town was to both Lutterworth and Swaffham.

Table 6.1 Perceptions of the rurality in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

Q3Isitrural			Is the respondent a gentrifier or non-gentrifier?				Total
			Service class	Working class	Intermediate class	Unknown status	
Yes		Lutterworth	65%	20%	10%	5%	40
		Swaffham	35.29%	41.18%	19.61%	3.92%	51
		Towcester	75%	11.70%	11.70%	1.70%	60
	Total		89	36	21	5	151
No		Lutterworth	70%	10%	0%	20%	10
		Swaffham	25%	37.50%	25%	12.50%	8
		Towcester	42.86%	28.57%	14.29%	14.29%	7
	Total		12	6	3	4	25

***Note: Not all column totals add to precisely 100% due to SPSS rounding errors when rounding to whole numbers. The errors, if present, are very small.**

The following themes and discourses were identified in Table 6.2. These themes and discourses reflect the structure of this chapter. Each market town had elements of all these discourses present, reflecting on the different characteristics identified in Chapter 5.

Table 6.2 Representations and discourses present in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

Representations	Discourses	Description
1. Romanticism and pastoral	Agriculture and the landscape	The market towns were still linked to an agricultural past and some towns were represented as being village like spaces.
2. The imagined rural community	'The imagined market town'	Close knit rural community. Slower pace of life and comparisons with larger urban centres.
3. Commodification of market town space	**Discourse 1**: Property in market towns'	How respondents represent their property?
	Discourse 2: 'Potential and established gentrification'	Market towns possess differing levels of class colonisation (Phillips, 1993).
	Discourse 3: Individualisation of society and Neoliberalism	At the level of the individual and the introduction of market forces into market towns.
4. Part 1: 'The anti-urban'	**Discourse 1: '**Immigration and ethnic diversity'	Negative representations of larger urban areas.
	Discourse 2: 'Changes in the retail geography of market towns'	Representation relating to the transformation of the retail landscape.
Part 2: 'Pro urban growth'	**Discourse 1** 'Pro-gentrification'	Respondents seeking to modify how market towns are represented.
	Discourse 2 'Concentration of services'	Concentration of public services in market towns.
5. Children in market towns	**Discourse 1** 'Children and education'	Education policy and how interviewees represent children and education.
	Discourse 2 'Children and security'	Children and anti-social behaviour.
6. Life course	**Discourse 1** 'The market town as a service centre'	The market towns servicing the needs of residents positively through service concentration.
	Discourse 2 'Life course difference'	Interviewees in a market town but are isolated due to the stage of the life course they are experiencing.
	Discourse 3 'Construction of time in market town space'	How time was represented in market towns compared to larger urban areas.

6.3 Representation 1: Romanticism and Pastoral Representations

The representation I have identified was based on several discourses that informed it. Where I have used quotes or have paraphrased interviewees, I have indicated in brackets which town the response originated from, their social class and age range, so the differences between people interviewed can be interrogated. This will be applied through all of the representations within the chapter. The first of the representations identified was based on an agricultural past, constructed around farming and the agricultural lifestyle. It was intriguing how different respondents represented their market town. The aim here was to see if market towns were regarded as 'rural' or whether they were seen as urban areas (they have been classified within the GB census).

Within the questionnaire data introduced in Chapter 5, question three was asked to gauge basic opinion on market town rurality and to see how strong a connection was formed with the rural landscape and the respondents. Taking Lutterworth firstly, of the recorded responses (50) 65% were from service class members of the middle class and recorded that they considered their town as rural. Twenty percent of the working class thought the town was rural, which was an interesting difference between the classes. When the qualitative responses for question three were analysed, of those saying that their town was rural, four key codes were identified, which linked to market town rurality. These included the countryside associated with the market town, size of settlements, descriptions of being surrounded by the countryside and the proximity of the market town in question to urban areas and other urban features.

Table 6.3 Qualitative responses: Rurality responses from questionnaires in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

		Splitting qualitative data into categories					
		Countryside & market town, small town	Size of settlement	Countryside, surrounded by, farming	Proximity to urban, access, other urban features	Other	Total
Lutterworth	Working class	60%	0	20%	20%	0	5
	Intermediate class	0	0	83.30%	0	16.70%	6
	Service class	12.50%	16.70%	41.70%	25%	4.20%	24
	Unknown status	0	0	66.70%	33.30%	0	3
	Total	6	4	18	8	2	38
Swaffham	Working class	20%	0	60%	20%	2	15
	Intermediate class	11.10%	0	55.60%	22.20%	11.10%	9
	Service class	0	0	43.80%	37.50%	18.80%	16
	Unknown status	11.10%	11.10%	33.30%	11.10%	33.30%	9
	Total	3	1	24	12	9	49
Towcester	Working class	12.50%	12.50%	50%	25%	0	8
	Intermediate class	0	28.60%	57.10%	0	14.30%	7
	Service class	31.40%	25.70%	28.60%	5.70%	8.60%	35
	Unknown status	30%	30%	10%	10%	20%	10
	Total	15	15	19	5	6	60

***Each of the rows adds to 100% where responses were recorded. Note: Not all column totals add to precisely 100% due to SPSS rounding errors when rounding to whole numbers. The errors, if present, are very small.**

If Swaffham is analysed, which had a greater concentration of working class respondents to the questionnaire, they also mentioned that Swaffham was rural as it was a market town, which was linked to the surrounding countryside (their responses included words related to market towns and the countryside).

When qualitative data from semi-structured interviews was included for Lutterworth, people in the town who were interviewed related to the town being 'surrounded by countryside'. In Swaffham, the agricultural discourse was even more pronounced, than in Lutterworth. Historically, the town employed many people in agricultural and related industries. Swaffham has lost most of this agricultural heritage and has struggled to regenerate the Plowright Shopping Centre.

Figure 6.2 Entrance to the Plowright Place shopping centre in Swaffham.

In Towcester, agricultural heritage was also mentioned by interviewees, although the representations were quite different, playing less upon the surrounding countryside as a representation of the rurality of the town. One such example was provided whereby the interviewee had experience of both living in France and living in Towcester:

Interviewer:

How would you say Towcester is different to say, I suppose France is the key example? [Bold indicates as question]

Interviewee:

"*Towcester, if you compared that to the little town we were in, anyway-very similar, very friendly, cos you got a lot of farming community round here?*" **(Towcester, Interview 3, female, super-gentrifier, 51-60 age group)**

Now although I made clear in Chapter 3 (methodology) that my approach to analysing discourse was not based on 'conventions' or specifically the analysis of the spoken word of respondent's syntax (Rapley, 2007), the assumption that there was farming community in Towcester was based on an idyllic view of Towcester as a 'little town'. Many people made reference to the future growth of Towcester to something in the region of 20,000 but this was not considered that 'big' within the town Masterplan (South Northamptonshire County Council, 2009).

In the aforementioned Masterplan document cited, there was no mention of the exact size of the Towcester expansion, as most residents would not know the existing size of Towcester. When analysing the interview data, this was represented as the sprawling of the urban (which relates to an urban discourse that will be discussed). Another interviewee constructed Towcester as a 'rural' type area:

> "*I think there is a villagy feel, there is a sense of identity, still a sense of community, Towcester is still entirely surrounded by fields, therefore it has retained its identity, it is not part of Northampton, it is entirely separate*" (**Towcester, Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

This respondent felt that the Towcester community was better than previous places they had lived, but others in the same town were worried that Towcester would sprawl and would become a suburb of Northampton. As Table 6.4 indicates, 57.5% of service class respondents had previously moved from another form of urban area and these were often larger cities or towns. This, I believe, explains why the service class, in particular, view the Towcester community as being more 'close knit' than their previous places of residence.

Table 6.4 Respondents who had previously lived in urban settlements (Towcester).

		Q10Settlement Origins		
		Yes	No	Total
Is the respondent a gentrifier or non-gentrifier?	Service class	(27) 57.45%	(20) 42.55%	47
	Working class	(3) 33.33%	(6) 66.66	9
	Intermediate class	(3) 42.86%	(4) 57.14%	7
	Unknown status	(1) 50%	(1) 50%	2
Total		34	31	65

It is interesting to compare and contrast these towns as there are clear differences in how people both working class and middle class people represent these spaces. The next discourse that was identified was an 'imagined rural community'.

6.4 Representation 2: The Imagined Rural Community

Imagined communities are not a new concept and work has been conducted in a rural context looking specifically on the 'rural idyll', which has been a powerful representational force in attracting people to rural areas and the dream of rural living (Mingay, 1989; Little, 1999; Van Dam *et al.*, 2002). What I term the 'imagined rural community' is the community to which the working class and middle class of the case towns represent through their talk.

6.4.1 Discourse 1: The 'Imagined Market Town'

Market towns, it appears, are seen as having a different type of community from the larger urban areas (such as larger towns and cities). If we compare some quotes from both working class and middle class respondents, we can see the differing representations of community across different market town spaces.

> "*There is a much more relaxed, caring feeling, if you walk down into the town people will say good morning; in a city you avoid eye contact almost*".
>
> **(Lutterworth, Interview 7, female, intermediate class, professional/managerial gentrifier, 61 to 65 age range).**

> "*I suppose being smaller helps. Because there is less people to get to know. In London I mean, alright a lot of people round I'm not saying are working locally but a lot of erm do get the bus in the morning you get the same people on the same bus.*

I think it is a more confined area. I know someone who walks from Sporle, she does the Betterware. It is a bit of a trek. A lot of people bike around here"

(Swaffham, Interview 1, male, Working class, 41 to 50 age range).

Husband: "*Well in London, where everyone keeps themselves to themselves. As soon as moved here, we were welcomed by everybody around us. We were invited into people's houses and erm.. we are within the community now.*

(**Swaffham, Interview 8, male, geriatrifier, Service class, 65+ age range**).

"*The sense of community also instils, and this is a personal feeling, low crime rate. I have no qualms at walking into town at 11'o'clock at night. Yet when we lived at Burton-on-Trent you would think twice, because of the crime rate*".

(**Towcester, Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age range**).

We can see that there was a variety of constructions related to community. Within Lutterworth ─ which was a town that had access to the countryside but also the presence of a new supermarket and new housing estates ─ the community in Lutterworth appeared to be different from interviewee's previous places of residence and they were positive about how they feel in the new environment. The level of involvement in terms of actually 'practicing' community and getting involved appeared to be low, with few respondents noting involvement in the local community. This was noted in Chapter 5, where membership of local associations was low amongst the younger service class residents of Lutterworth and Towcester.

Table 6.5 Urban settlement origins of respondents in Lutterworth.

		Q10Settlement Origins		
		Yes	No	Total
Is the respondent a gentrifier or non-gentrifier?	Service class	37.50%(12)	62.50%(20)	32
	Working class	72.73%(8)	27.27%(3)	11
	Intermediate class	0	100%(4)	4
	Unknown status	33.33%(1)	66.66%(2)	3
Total		21	29	50

***Note: Not all column totals add to precisely 100% due to SPSS rounding errors when rounding to whole numbers. The errors, if present, are very small.**

If we compare Table 6.5 (Lutterworth) with 6.4 (Towcester), the service class were less likely to have been previously resident in larger urban areas (37.5%). What was interesting was that when the 'No' responses were analysed, people had often had moved from adjacent rural villages or small urban areas. This disrupted the notion of a concrete representation of either a smaller and larger market town as set out in the Rural White Paper in 2000 (DETR and MAFF, 2000). Market towns were not just differentiated by the dominant small or large distinction, it appears people come from differing destinations depending on the market town in question and this affects their perception of what is a 'small' or 'large' settlement.

The previous page was fascinating as if we take Swaffham; the views expressed did not vary that much between the working class and the middle class interviewees. The working class interviewee expressed a similar view on community based on the size of Swaffham and comparing it with the wider London urban area. A second Swaffham interviewee made the same point, comparing Swaffham with London.

There was a sense from listening to interviewees that community appeared to symbolise different things to different people. As mentioned, in Swaffham, community meant to local people, the ability to talk for extended periods of time (linking to the time discourse, see representation 6) whilst in Lutterworth and Towcester, a mere 'hello' or greeting symbolised the strength of a community. For example, if we look back to the quote from interview 4 in Towcester, a good community was symbolised through a low crime rate and the ability to feel safe outside at 11pm. However, I would argue these are not key tenants of a community and perhaps reflect the 'ideal' characteristics of a gentrified market town space, namely the feeling of personal safety. In some of the discourses to follow, I will link back to this theme of community.

6.4.2 Discourse 2: Commuting

Commuting appeared to be a significant factor among those interviewees who were part of the service class, although I argue that commuting was a based on the geography of these market towns ─ Lutterworth and Towcester both had motorway links whilst Swaffham only had the A47, a major A road. Many interviewees citied Lutterworth's M1 motorway link as a major reason for people moving to Lutterworth as it allowed access to many parts of England for employment. Swaffham on the other hand, had attracted retirees who had often been commuters but in a previous stage of their life course and often up to pre-retirement.

Towards the end of Chapter 5, I noted that the transport links in Lutterworth appeared to have influenced the occupations that respondents to questionnaires possessed, with

occupations relating to the transport and distribution industries as well as suppliers. The role of the car was significant in representing the contemporary market town, particularly those that will continue to grow over the coming years as more housing development is sited within or on the edge of market towns (All the market towns had either on-going or recent housing developments, including Swaffham).

Earlier in the thesis, I had constructed Swaffham as the archetypal rural market town. Its lack of motorway linkages compared with Lutterworth and Towcester have led to Swaffham being represented as a 'rural backwater' in some instances.

For Towcester, the discourse of commuting was more functional from the responses obtained from interviewees. Proximity to work was seen as important as well as the pleasantness of the built and surrounding environment. This was based on interview responses where a predominantly middle class population was working in either the local towns and cities such as Milton Keynes or further a field in London.

It was a recurring theme in that Towcester was represented as a 'village' when it was perhaps the most urbane of the three market towns! The functional reasons for living in a market town were not necessarily positive, with one interviewee in Towcester noting that her son-in-law would often get home late from work and noting that people on surrounding roads often got up and left at exactly the same time.

6.5 Representation 3: Commodification of Market Town Space

The third representation identified in my qualitative analysis was represented through the following discourses: Investments in market towns (discourse 1), potential and established gentrification (discourse 2) and individualisation of society and neoliberalism (discourse 3). Commodification of rural space is not a new concept (Ravenscroft, 1995; Hopkins, 1998; Marsden, 1999), however, in a market towns context, the idea of the market town as a space of commodification was set in motion at the turn of the 21st Century with changes in planning policy through Planning Policy Guidance to concentrate housing development in market towns (Communities and Local Government, 2010). I wanted to examine how residents represented market town commodification during the interviews.

Beginning with discourse 1 which encompassed housing expansion related issues, this discourse, when referred to during the semi-structured interview process, evoked quite powerful feelings:

> "*I think here the fact that there has been such a lot of new development in Lutterworth that they are busy young families that perhaps do not use their town. They are working they are going further afield, so they are doing their shopping further afield. They do not support the local businesses. This might change if people do not have the money to jump in their cars*". (**Lutterworth, Interview 7, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, Intermediate class, 61 to 65 age range**).

The respondent was most likely referring to housing developments, just outside the main town centre on the fringe. These new housing developments had easy access to the main road that led directly to Leicester and there was concern about 'outshopping' which has become an academic term used to reflect the increasing flexibility consumers have in choosing where to shop (Guy, 1990). Housing expansion in Swaffham and Towcester was also an issue with gentrifiers who, tended to want to preserve their existing views of the landscape (linking back to representation 1).

6.5.1 Discourse 1: Property Investments in Market Towns

Commodification was represented firstly, through the housing market. When interviewees discussed investments, they were often referring to housing investments, rather than social or cultural investment, although a few interviewees questioned the existing discourse of 'investment' in a housing context.

> "*The reasons I came here, I overheard a conversation on a bus. The things being as they were, I didn't get what I should of done, but I got this for less. When I bought the flat in Leicester, I bought it for £45,000 and then course my other should have gone for £145,000, but I got stout on £20,000, I haven't lost overall and gone into negative equity. I still made a substantial amount on my old place*". (**Lutterworth, Interview 8, female, Working class, 61 to 65 age range**).

We can see from this interviewee that people have gained in the property market regardless of class, as rising property values enabled both the working and middle class to make significant gains from property appreciation. Market towns in terms of this investment discourse represented a diversity of views. Swaffham, which had the older age profile (identified in Chapter 4), revealed the more conservative investment ethic of the 'geriatrifiers' who have moved from other locations to settle in market towns. They often did not display the same characteristics of higher education or consumption of social and cultural spaces (such as theatres, local drama groups, museums) compared with the professional/managerial gentrifiers. Below however, is a passage from an interesting interview in Swaffham concerning renovation activity.

> "*There are two ways on investing. You invest to make money out of a property. My investment in this is getting this sorted out. If anything ever happens to me, my wife does not have to do anything afterwards. It is an investment in our future*".
> (**Swaffham, Interview 2, male, Geriatrifier, 31 to 40 age range**)

The renovation behaviour of this interviewee was in preparation for the final stage of the life course ─ improving their property in an era of longer life expectancy.

If we move on to consider Towcester within the investment discourse, the experiences of service class people who generally inhabited the town was different. This was due to differing market town environments. Although Lutterworth had a similar profile in terms of its class composition (Chapter 4) the perception of what were 'reasonable' property

prices was quite different: "We often look at the different house prices I mean, the house prices here are very good compared to down there" (**Towcester, Interview 3, female, super-gentrifier, 51-60 age group**). 'Down there' referred to the South East of England and property prices were the most expensive compared with the two market towns. This is in part due to Northamptonshire being within striking distance of London for commuters looking to take advantage of cheaper Towcester properties. As can be seen in the photo below, the properties were quite large, executive houses in the main were characteristic of the major 'Shires' housing development, which was added in 2002.

Figure 6.3 Large estate property, and double garage. 'The Shires' development in Towcester.

6.5.2 Discourse 2: 'Potential' and 'Established Gentrification'. The Cases of Lutterworth and Towcester

As part of this discourse on the commodification of rural space, a good example of the new representations emerging in market towns is through regeneration and the desire to make market towns environments more upmarket.

Through a meeting with the Lutterworth Improvement Partnership (LIP) a copy of the regeneration Masterplan for Lutterworth was obtained and set out a vision for future development in the town. This was not just about housing development, which was referred to within the semi-structured interviews; the Masterplan had a vision to transform the built environment of the town, reflecting the large regeneration blue prints often created for much larger urban areas such as cities (Lees, 2006). This would support the work of Loretta Lees in terms of gentrification cascading down the urban settlement hierarchy that I referred to in Chapter 2.

The Masterplan noted that Lutterworth possessed a middle class population, however, they were not utilising the local retail offering. A café culture was highlighted in the plan, along with a change in the retail offering to transform Lutterworth into a gentrified market town. The words gentrification or 'gentrified' were not used as it is still considered a 'dirty' word within public policy discourse, even today (Smith, 1996). Such an example of the reluctance to employ the word gentrification is outlined below:

> "*The focus on a more distinct and high quality brand is not about gentrifying the town, or fundamentally changing people's retail habits*". (Taylor Young, 2006: 12).

> "*Lutterworth should focus on developing niche retail markets and high quality specialist and independent shops, which offer a service that typical specialist and independent shops, which offer a service that typical national 'high street stores' cannot match. This will not only position the town centre as distinct from other centres, but also develop an offer in the historic centre, which is attractive and different from the large scale convenience stores in the northern part of the town*". (Taylor Young, 2006: 11)

These two quotes are important, as this Masterplan aims to transform Lutterworth's built environment in the future. Referring back to the title of this section, Lutterworth therefore could be seen as a potential future 'gentrified' market town in the vein of Towcester, which throughout this chapter, was represented as having the 'boutique' style shops that the Lutterworth plan strives for.

The second quote noted Lutterworth required a 'brand' in order to position Lutterworth as an attractive space to visit and yet not portray regeneration as a process of class change but instead, push the regeneration plan as an attempt to place Lutterworth higher up the list of shopping destinations within the East Midlands Region. Referring back to Lees (2006), this can be seen to reproduce planning rhetoric that was present in the 1980s and 1990s with the growth regional shopping centres such as 'The Shires' in Leicester (now known as

'Highcross') where cities were attempting to compete as shopping destinations (Lowe, 2000).

Towcester on the other hand, was a stage ahead of Lutterworth as the transformation of the town had already taken place, although not through extensive physical regeneration which has been planned for Lutterworth in the future. Therefore, middle class representations were almost predominantly based in Towcester, as the town had a more balanced age profile as opposed to Swaffham, although similar to Lutterworth (see Chapter 5). One of the best ways to understand the middle class nature of Towcester was when interviewees were recounting who lived nearby:

> "*I know what next door…works for the local authority, this side he's a school teacher in Buckingham, she works for the Open University er… but it seems the houses across the road were vacated within two or three weeks of each other. There are a lot of commuters here to Northampton and Milton Keynes*".
>
> (**Towcester, Interview 1, male, geriatrifier, 65+ age range**).

People I talked to during the fieldwork noted that there was a lack of activity during the daytime and unlike Swaffham, this was not down to an aging population profile, but due to the number of people who were commuting to proximate urban settlements. This seemingly affected how the middle class population perceived the community of Towcester, as indicated in the following quotation:

> "*Yeah definitely, I would say the population of Towcester now, is far more.. middle class. Which if I'm very honest, I would class myself as and my husband and young professional. Erm.. whereas I think it was yokel-locally when we first moved down there were a lot more...lot more... you know for example next door when we moved in, in one was a single mum and one was originally a fire-fighter with a young family they moved out to go to a village, now we have an air hostess and a manager who lives next door and next door is a professional computer man who does IT*". (**Towcester, Interview 2, female, Professional/managerial gentrifier, 22 to 30 age range**).

Again, the similarity of the middle class make up of both towns from a firstspace perspective masks the differences that the qualitative interview data has revealed through examination the secondspace of representations of market towns. Whilst Lutterworth had managers, employed in distribution and supply related occupational groups, in Towcester it was skewed towards professional occupations. In summary, Lutterworth appeared to have the potential to become gentrified whilst Towcester was already a fully established, gentrified market town and more evidence of this will become apparent.

6.5.3 Discourse 3: Individualisation of Society and Neoliberalism

Individualisation was analysed in the context of Ulrich Beck's theory of the 'individualisation of society' in that people within developed societies are increasingly having to construct their own lives without the support from the state (Beck, 1992). It also

has wider connotations in terms of how people experience community and individualisation has been linked to the breakdown of family networks and for people to feel more 'lonely'.

Recently, Dorling *et al*., (2008) highlighted five aspects that have led to Britain becoming a more socially fragmented society, which could be considered as 'loneliness':

1. **Geographical inequality**: e.g. Populations increasing in some areas and declining in others and differential houses prices between the North and the South.
2. **Demographic segregation**: More than at any time since 1966, when the GB census was first computerised in Britain. Neighbourhoods were more mixed in the late 1960s and now, neighbourhoods are more socially distinct.
3. **Economic polarisation**: From 1968 and the 1970s to the present.
4. **Social fragmentation**: Increase in social isolation from 1971-2001
5. **Political disaffection**: People abstaining in general elections since 1966.

(Dorling *et al.*, 2008)

These issues highlighted by Dorling *et al*., (2008) crossover with gentrification in the 'third wave' where gentrification takes place in new territories and is more closely tethered to the interests of the private sector. This has been linked to the proliferation of neoliberalism which as Peck highlights, includes numerous elements but put simply, is an ideology used by state actors that has resulted in the rolling back of the state, liberalisation of markets

(allowing increasing competition) leading to a tension between the state and the market (Peck, 2004).

Gentrification research has increasingly adopted the term to reflect contemporary gentrification involving corporate capital, through home builders, banks and even the state, which has an interest in encouraging gentrification where tax revenues have fallen into decline (Cameron, 2003). In a market town context, the regeneration plans set out in the Rural White Paper in 2000, are effectively neoliberal policies that have become 'transplanted' into the rural context. Rural housing is required and market towns are primed to take these additional developments ─ unlike small rural villages where the middle class protect their interest in pristine villages, market towns are seen to be easier targets for concentrating resources that are no longer provided in rural villages.

The growing influence of neoliberalism has come to be represented through people via a growing individualism, where the most affluent (and often middle class) segments of the population are able to maintain their economic and social advantage. Interviewees represented their market towns in relation to their own reasons for moving in, but the common theme was of moving to a market town for their individual requirements.

An example of this was a Swaffham interviewee who in the later stages of the life course who noted "I retired erm… looking around Suffolk/Norfolk… Swaffham fitted the bill. We wanted to live on the edge of a town with amenities, that is why we moved here" (**Swaffham, Interview 8, male, geriatrifier, Service class, 65+ age range**). This

interviewee did not want to be located 'in' the market town as it was busy with cars representing the 'urban' element of the market town. With the retired profile to Swaffham, this theme was echoed in other responses in the town ─ privacy was important as well as the peace and quiet of the rural environment.

Evidence of neoliberalism was not so evident in Swaffham, being a working class market town; it therefore attracted support from the European Union that was used to help build the community centre. This meant that private enterprise had yet to sweep into the town in a similar vein to large cities. In Lutterworth, as mentioned in the previous section, there were plans to invest private capital into the built environment to help 'gentrify' the town, thus attract more passing trade, and encourage tourists that would invest money into the local economy.

Individualisation, at both the market town scale and at the level of the individual will become evident in representations to follow, which include pro and anti-urbanism (representation 4), through 'children' (representation 5) and 'life course' (representation 6).

6.6 Representation 4 Part 1: 'The Anti-Urban'

The following discourse has been split in two to reflect the differing opinions of people within the case market towns. Different discourses were recorded for each town, reflecting the differences in class and the physical environment of the towns (that I highlighted earlier). The anti-urban and the pro-urban reflects the binary oppositions that society has created when considering what is urban and what is rural─ these persisted within interview

responses, reinforcing dominant representations. Although there has been much argument in the rural geography and wider geographical literature on oppositional binaries, society and the media still utilise these binaries to form mental projections of real spaces and symbolise the rural as an emancipatory space and the urban as a spatial territory in which to escape.

For the anti-urban, two key discourses were identified that made up the overall representation of anti-urbanism. Firstly, immigration became a significant sub-theme of the anti-urban discourse and this was expressed by middle class interviewees and the working class in differing ways, which will be outlined. Secondly, changes in retail space across the three market towns and these representations reflected the different stages of gentrification that were identified in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

6.6.1 Discourse 1: 'Immigration' and Ethnic Diversity

The immigration discourse manifested itself in a different set of representations. This is important, as gentrification studies have considered ethnic minority gentrification, however, different, more conservative dynamics are present within the English countryside, where black and ethnic minority faces are often under represented (Agyeman and Spooner, 1997; Neal, 2001).

There were those who represented the view that on a national scale, too many people were being allowed into England from other countries both inside and outside the European Union. Alternatively, there were those from the middle class who expressed a lack of

diversity as a negative characteristic of their market town. The diversity of opinion across the towns is highlighted below:

> "*There's a reasonably broad section of people here. There are a number of working class people; I have no qualms about that. You just take people err you know, as people, end of story. I do object to this culture coming into this country, I think we have too many immigrants coming into the country*".
>
> (**Lutterworth, Interview 3, male, professional/managerial gentrifier, Intermediate class, 51-60 age group**).

> "*Ok look, I might as well be truthful about this. We wanted to get out of London. London, the part of London we lived in [Wife 'changed beyond recognition actually'] in. in a very, very, very short time. You cannot keep up with it. They developed Thames mead. Where they developed where we lived we had, vandalism was being imported*". (**Swaffham, Interview 13, male, Working class, 51 to 60 age group**).

> "*If you take the Belle Baulk development, there is only one Asian family and they are professionals*". (**Towcester, Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

In Swaffham, racism was more prevalent within the working class and perhaps reflects the more isolated nature of the settlements, which were not as ethnically diverse as the Midlands based market towns studied. Migrant workers were particularly a feature in Swaffham perhaps because they were seen to threaten the economic interests of local people through the labour market.

Lutterworth was interesting in that recent years had seen the immigration of middle class people based in a new housing estate on the edge of town. From observations in the field and talking to residents, these new houses on the fringe of town had attracted some British Asian families to move out of adjacent larger urban centres, such as Leicester. It might be as much down to their location in Lutterworth that this new community has not integrated into the town, in fact, as rural research has shown, those people who 'muck' into community activities tend to originate from a narrow social spectrum (Cloke *et al.*, 1995b). The interviewee quoted saw these British Asian middle class families as part of the same community, even if they were not involved in local decision-making, unlike Swaffham whereby they might be seen as a threat akin to migrant workers.

I was surprised to find in Towcester that considering its cosmopolitan appearance within the town centre, that the ethnic diversity was not apparent, with many people commuting to London, Northampton and Milton Keynes. Looking at interview 4, that was an accurate depiction of the reality ─ very few ethnic minority families could be detected. During the interview process, I was less likely than the other two market towns to record negative representations of immigrants or ethnic minority groups. It was a useful exercise to analyse this immigration discourse as it was brought up in the questionnaires and this then informed the pre-prepared questions that were used in each interview. Table 6.6 highlights the main ethnic categories from the GB census in 2001. If we look at Towcester, as with the other town case towns, ethnic minority communities were not as prominent, although I have already noted that in Lutterworth, there did appear to be an increasing presence of British

Asian families who had moved out from Leicester that would not have featured in the 2001 GB census data.

Table 6.6 2001 GB Census; Ethnic group: market towns compared with England (Crown copyright: HMSO).

Settlement	White	Mixed	Asian	Black	Chinese & others	Total %
Lutterworth	98.86%	0.27%	0.66%	0.03%	0.17%	100%
Swaffham	98.98%	0.52%	0.00%	0.22%	0.29%	100%
Towcester	97.90%	0.79%	0.78%	0.24%%	0.29%	100%
England	95.56%	0.92%	2.30%	0.63%	0.58%	100%

6.6.2 Discourse 2: Changes in the Retail Geography of the Market Towns

Already noted, there has been the decline of certain key services in rural space, most notably Post Offices and Job Centres, which have experienced reorganisations that have reduced their numbers (see Chapter 4). Both Swaffham and Lutterworth have lost Job Centres and Swaffham lost one of its two Post Offices ─ emphasising that market towns have not been immune from service changes. Most of the changes in the retail landscape were found to be taking place in Towcester, and these were relatively recent changes.

At the time, the case studies were investigated (from February 2008 to January 2009) only Swaffham and Towcester possessed a Waitrose, but since Lutterworth has also seen the opening of a store. Waitrose on the other hand decided that market towns would be an easier territory to expand in, as their stores tend to have a smaller foot print (Finch, 2008).

Figure 6.4 depicts the opening hours of the Lutterworth store, which were longer than independent retailers, which had enabled the store to capture the middle class market.

Figure 6.4 Waitrose superstore in Towcester and opening hours in Lutterworth.

The success of Tesco has largely been attributed to acquiring land for new superstores ahead of Asda and Sainsbury's (Simms, 2007) ─ who have recently held the number two position in the supermarket stakes ─ had struggled to compete in rolling out enough floor space. Waitrose, on the other hand could not afford to enrol in floor space wars in a similar vein to Asda and market towns were relatively under exploited by the supermarkets.

Supermarkets have long been linked to what has been perceived as negative market town change (DETR, 1998) and hence an investigative report by the DETR was published on the impact of large food stores on market towns. Towcester at the time of study had three supermarkets, including a Waitrose (as the case was with Swaffham) which has reflected in the Waitrose expansion into market towns to tap into a demand for high quality food and a middle class market ready to consume it. Interviewees had noticed the change in retail stores, to larger scale stores and less low cost independents (reflected in the decline of the independent white goods store previously).

Within the town centre of Towcester, retail units had not just changed hands; they were changing and becoming more upmarket. Although it was hard to attribute this retail change to the construction of 'The Shires' development on the edge of Towcester, the timeframe of its construction (completed by the end of 2002) means that it was highly probable that as people moved into the new housing stock, the retail landscape altered. The quotation below notes the physical changes in the retail landscape and the escalation of prices that resulted from the gentrification of the retail space of Towcester:

> "*There was a shop that sold white goods, such as washing machines and rented them. It was almost like your local repairman. Whereas now they are all boutiquey, if you go down there. There is a lovely baby shop but I mean the prices are horrendous; there is a really nice card and gift shop. There are less charity shops than there were. They have opened two cafes*". (**Towcester Interview 2, female, Professional/managerial gentrifier, 22 to 30 age groups**).

The change in the retail geography of Towcester was also reflected in the representations presented by the new retail offerings with 'rustic' looking eating establishments with middle class prices to match, however this was not just reflected in shops ─ the provision of nurseries to meet the demand of professional/managerial gentrifiers was also taking place:

> "*Well I think they come in for lunch, you get an influx. I don't know if you know the Dolphin Cafe, it looks rusticy inside, rustic Chic. It does the organic, posh type food. The local nursery has turned organic, you get lots of leaflets about organic home delivery, they are targeting this area as an area where they feel they can afford organic and believe in organic. I believe in it (organic)*"*…Now of course Homebase have moved in. Which is quite interesting as Homebase much better suits the kind of ... it sounds rather snobby Homebase is more middle-class than. Erm.. Focus*" (**Towcester Interview 2, female, Professional/managerial gentrifier, 22 to 30 age groups**).

Figure 6.5 A new Indian restaurant and the Dolphin Café in Towcester.

The change in retail geography was also reflected in home ware stores, with Homebase establishing in an edge of town location, with one interviewee noting this could be evidence of a middle class presence. Ironically, Focus, a competitor to Homebase has recently gone into receivership whilst Homebase has remained. As with Waitrose, they appear to be targeting market towns with smaller superstore formats.

A gradual picture was building up of a market town that has many features of a gentrified town. The next section will focus on representations that inform a pro-urban growth agenda in market towns and specifically, Swaffham, where the local middle class do not have access to the same niche consumption spaces as in Towcester. The second part examines how local residents represent the role of the market town as an anchor for a variety of services.

6.7 Representation 4 Part 2: 'Pro Urban Growth'

The pro-urban representation was constructed around two main discourses: firstly, gentrification discourses and second, through the concentration of services. The gentrification discourse reflected interviewees who were idealising about what their market town should have to improve it.

6.7.1 Discourse 1: 'Gentrifying'

In the last section, it was Towcester where most of the retail change was taking place, but Swaffham was the town where representations reflecting a pro-urbanisation discourse were present based around the lack of key retail services, namely clothes shops, which meant interviewees, found they had to travel to other urban settlements in central Norfolk:

> "*Also, as far as… shops generate interest that retains the shops. If you have something that people are going to come in they won't just spend in that shop, they will spend in perhaps another shop and draw them in. If my wife wants to go clothes shopping, there is nothing in the town for her. She goes to Norwich. Not only does she buy clothes.. When she goes Marks tomorrow and look for clothes ready for our holiday but she will buy food in Marks. That food money could have been spent in Swaffham if there was a Marks or something similar*". (**Swaffham, Interview 2, male, Geriatrifier, 31 to 40 age range**).

These representations of Swaffham as a backwater location in Central Norfolk were common among the service class interviewees, who were used to the service provision of large urban areas when they were working. The geriatrifiers did not like having to travel the distances required in Norfolk to acquire higher order goods that could not be found in Swaffham and surrounding market towns:

> "*They were saying they just don't get the customers because people in Swaffham don't want to drive and two, they don't want to pay their prices [£4 to £5 per starter and £18 for the main course]. But Swaffham does not do that. Swaffham seems to do chicken nuggets and chips and a lot of chip shops. I would have liked to have seen more that type of shops, antiques, good restaurants, clothing shops, shoe shops*". (**Swaffham, Interview 3, male, geriatrifier, 61 to 65 age range**).

This exemplifies the contested nature of spatial representations in market towns. The local working class becomes a hindrance to 'gentrifying' the retail offering of Swaffham. The town has a larger working class component to its population, therefore the retail offering tends to reflect the demand they provide as highlighted by the following working class interviewee:

> "*I think we could do with a good... shop. That would bring people in. Some people said Waitrose brought people in, but they are a different class of people that are coming to Waitrose. It is not for the 'normal'. We have not got.. maybe you shouldn't quote Asda, Tesco's and Sainsburys. But I think if it was one of those, it*

would stop people going out of the town to shop". (**Swaffham, Interview 6, female, Working class, 51-60 age group**).

Figure 6.6 Swaffham had an attractive, traditional market town feel without the 'specialist' shops and restaurants that some of the geriatrifiers desired.

Although I have highlighted the consumption conflict between the local working class and the recently arriving retirees, there was evidence of change towards catering for the geriatrifiers with the opening of the Waitrose ─ a retail establishment that is firmly aimed at the middle class, which had not been the case in Swaffham before where the supermarkets had catered for the working class market e.g. Nettos.

For the middle class in Towcester, the availability of a Waitrose and the existing infrastructure was what made some of the middle class interviewees choose to say in Towcester:

> "*This will be our sixth year here and we moved here originally because I worked in MK and my husband worked in Banbury and this was the middle [Towcester]. Now we are going to move back, as the last five years, I have worked in Brackley. But we have stayed, mainly because it is lovely. It is useful having Waitrose over the road and it is nice just having the library there, the doctors*". (**Towcester Interview 2, female, Professional/managerial gentrifier, 22 to 30 age groups**)

The original motivation of this professional/managerial gentrifier to move into Towcester was based on functional motivations such as work and the position of Towcester in relation to key employment centres. For those who did not have children, Towcester was not necessarily a location that they saw their entire future being based and this was often attributed to the nature of modern employment that requires flexibility in return for the higher wages that professional and managerial workers generally receive over manual employees (Goldthorpe, 1982; The Panel on Fair Access to the Professions, 2009).

For the above interviewee, having children meant that any move would be school related so unlike Swaffham where children often went through the local school system and their parents did not tend to move their children to enable their children to attend better schools. In a market town context, this could be seen as the continuation of a 'dual labour market'

where working class and middle class working trajectories linked to educational aspirations were operating (Bosanquet and Doeringer, 1973).

6.7.2 Discourse 2: Concentration of Services

The concentration of services in market towns is something I highlighted in Chapters 1, 2 and 4 specifically. Representations concerning service provision within gentrified space have not generally been considered within the gentrification literature; however, within the market towns for both the working class and the middle class, provision of public services was very important in relation to the other discourses discussed.

Starting with Lutterworth, there were varying representations of its service provision.

> "*One of the real, strong, redeeming features of Lutterworth are GPs practice [won award] and also our dentists*". (**Lutterworth, Interview 3, male, professional/managerial gentrifier, Intermediate class, 51-60 age group**).

This was a recurring representation noted by interviewees, and was prominent in Lutterworth and Swaffham, where their work appears to be less central to the market town experience. If we move onto Swaffham, the difference in how the concentration of services discourse comes to be represented is reflected in the following passage:

> "*My wife doesn't drive. We wanted a place where she could almost walk into town. We are very lucky there is a bus stop over there and twenty to the hour everyday*

> *there is a bus to town and also from Swaffham you can get to Norwich and Peterborough on the bus*". (**Swaffham, Interview 2, male, Geriatrifier, 31 to 40 age range**).

For this interviewee, the service provision was crucial on many fronts and not just based on health needs. The same interviewee noted the importance of a local pub culture in order to keep recreational activity localised, which in effect supports the aspirations of the Rural White Paper in meeting objectives, such as reduced usage of cars through the anchoring of bus services to market towns.

This also supports the quantitative data based in Chapter 5 in that some of the interviewees would conform to being 'geriatrifiers' in terms of the stage of the life course they are currently in. The qualitative evidence presented appears to be that service provision is associated with these older gentrifiers.

If we turn to Towcester and the significance of the concentration of services discourse, I ascertained that because Towcester was due to grow, its service provision was likely to improve in the future but on the other hand, service decline elsewhere in the settlement hierarchy would take place, such as the rural villages:

> "*One thing that is attracting people into Towcester now is the lack of Post Offices, nearly all the Post Offices have closed in the villages, so people now have got to come into Towcester. Sometimes you queue out the door many times. The big*

> *problem if people come in they have got cars".* (**Towcester, Interview 1, male, geriatrifier, 65+ age range**).

This is also could be indicative of third wave gentrification taking place in specific market towns such as Towcester where the decline of rural services in villages, which were cited by interviewees in all the case towns, has led to new spaces for gentrification and I would tie this in closely with the work of Neil Smith (1996) on revanchist representations of urban space in that the working class and the poor have become even more marginalised and this is the same for a market town such as Towcester. Living in a village in the 21st century for a working class resident has become increasingly difficult with employment opportunities scattered over greater distances and with the latest information and communication technologies often being much poorer in rural areas than urban areas, the movement to market towns can be understood within the wider changes in urban geography.

Another means to which the service concentration discourse manifested was through Towcester's good transport links with access to the major airports, such as Luton and the London based airports of Gatwick, Heathrow and Stansted. As mentioned earlier, there were those professional gentrifiers who had the ability to travel for employment or were forcibly moved through employment multiple times through the life course and for this group of gentrifiers who were younger than those present in Swaffham (but similar to those professional gentrifiers in Lutterworth), it was important for them to be able to relocate after only a few years or move their children, if they had any, to a better school.

6.8 Representation 5: 'Children' in Market Towns

The discourse that emerged based around the lives of children was most powerfully represented in Towcester. This could be attributed to data obtained in Chapter 5 that found a younger professional group of middle class people and from the semi-structured interview process, these people have been captured and might share attributes of Karsten's 'family gentrifiers', although in a market town context, they tend to be a little older (Karsten, 2003).

Two discourses were identified in a market towns context: firstly, 'children and education' featured in all the towns although, this discourse was strongly represented in Towcester, where children were dwelling. In Swaffham, where children were seen as not being as welcome, the educational discourse relating to children was more negative and represented children quite differently, which I will detail. Secondly, a discourse of 'children and security' emerged during the fieldwork that was constructed around a wider paranoia of young people and the rural market town environment was both represented as a space good for bringing up children but also as a space where children took part in anti-social activity (Little and Austin, 1996; Valentine, 1997; Matthews *et al.*, 2000). There were class differences expressed based along working class and middle class lines.

However, I wish to start with Lutterworth and Swaffham before moving on to Towcester, where more representations were constructed by interviewees. Having nothing to do was an issue of life course ─ the negative discourse of children 'having nothing to do' related to children was mainly constructed by older members of the community within the market

towns. Turning to Lutterworth, an interviewee went against the grain and summarised the problems for young people in market towns:

> "*They [children] are the potential future of Lutterworth...you could say it is like living in Devon and Cornwall as in it's a beautiful place, it is a nice place to live, but there is nothing to do*". (**Lutterworth, Interview 2, male, working class, 31-40**).

Lutterworth was not as remote as Swaffham was, although to get to the nearest city, which was Leicester, children would have to use the bus or use a car. Evidence of anti-social behaviour was cited around the schools but other than this, the only other instances were based around the 'presence' of children during the lunch hour.

Moving onto Swaffham, as with Lutterworth there was some evidence that people recognised children were often represented in a negative light:

> "*We had an example of that for Licham. There nothing there for them, a general store, post office and pub. So they all congregate at the bus stop. The youngsters got together and got a grant to build just a shelter on the village green. Everybody in the village seemed to be against this which was terrible, they gave the grant back*". (**Swaffham, Interview 4, male, geriatrifier, 65+**).

The Iceni partnership in Swaffham had created a Youth Council that at the time of study, and this was influencing the partnership documents in terms of children being involved in local planning decisions. This was interesting, as Swaffham was a challenging environment for children with the relatively remote location making social interaction more difficult and anti-social behaviour seemingly more of a problem, yet an opportunity was provided for young people to participate in local democracy. Lutterworth has similarly looked at how to give voice to young people through a similar forum.

6.8.1 Discourse 1: 'Children and Education'

Firstly, there was a discourse related to education and here I am still focusing upon findings from Lutterworth and Swaffham. Lutterworth as a market town first become known to me many years before I had begun research on market towns when I was at school. This was because after secondary school, a minority of parents sent their children to Lutterworth as the schools were seen to be better than where I was brought up. I was not aware before conducting the semi-structured interviews that the town was also attracting pupils from other urban areas:

> "*That's the other thing…they all go to the community college and you have got people coming from Narborough going to the community college why? where does that come from*?"(**Lutterworth, Interview 2, male, working class, 31-40 age range**).

Narborough, by road, was roughly 9.5 miles from Lutterworth, which is quite a considerable distance to travel to a school, bearing in mind the data from the CRC in Chapter 4 (CRC, 2010b), which allowed for a 4km (2.4 miles) commute to access a secondary school. The discourse of education in market towns stems from the New Labour choice agenda (Gewirtz, 2001) and this is reflected in market towns where people are not necessarily attending the local school, but travelling where possible to 'the best school'.

In Swaffham, a working class interviewee described to me how they had moved from the London area to provide their children with a different environment, away from the already highlighted ills of the urban (representation 4). This implied a difference between the motivations of different class groups to move to a market town. Whilst the middle class were looking to move property to attend better secondary schools, for the working class interviewee, there were in fact similar aspirations for the children. However, they did not feel the pressure to chase the best secondary schools ─ their property moves appeared in some cases to be related to lifestyle, education and community, all intersecting in this case, whilst the middle class were moving for functional reasons, particularly in Lutterworth and Towcester.

6.8.2 Discourse 2: 'Children and Security'

This discourse of representing children in market towns relating to security as mentioned earlier, was dependent upon whether children were 'dwelling' within particular spaces which made the adult population uneasy. If we analyse representations concerning security in Lutterworth, they represent a battle of wills between the older generations who are using

the market towns for a peaceful retirement and younger people, who often feel that resources are not targeted to aid them but instead benefit the older residents. Examples of the kind of tensions that were present are highlighted below:

> "*Over the last ten years we have been here, we have noticed a steady decline in civil disobedience and misbehaviour, especially of the younger generation*".
> (**Lutterworth, Interview 3, male, professional/managerial gentrifier, Intermediate class, 51-60 age group**).

One argument could be made is that market towns on the path towards gentrifying, such as Lutterworth, experience different types of tension. In both Lutterworth and Swaffham, anti-social behaviour helped to create negative representation of children 'out of control', when in fact, they were possibly lacking in social spaces that are present in larger urban areas, such as suitable youth facilities.

It was difficult in the most gentrified town of Towcester to identify similar representations of security. Instead, the representations of security were more positive, alluding to freedom rather than the constraints young people were experiencing in Lutterworth and to a greater extent in Swaffham. For some parents, Towcester lent itself as a good environment for bringing up younger children:

> "*You know the freedom I enjoyed when I was young from the age of sort of six in a village environment. I felt I could go out and about, wasn't worried, everybody*

> *knew everybody else and certainly here, you look diagonally across the road, there is a lovely park area, which is big enough for the boys to play cricket or football on, climbing apparatus. Because of the proximity of that from the age of 10, Dean could go across the park to play, with his friends, but still safe enough, if there was a problem he was literally two minutes to get home*". (**Towcester, Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

This was an example of a middle class family unit nullifying the dominant media discourse that paints a picture of continual problems from missing children or children causing trouble (Mazzarella, 2007). The positive discourses presented in the media often portray relatively affluent children achieving great educational feats whilst social ills are often represented by the working class (Reay, 2004). This same set of representations were being played out in the case market towns, but in Towcester, due to the professional and managerial nature of much the towns employment opportunities, issues with older children did not appear so much within my interview transcripts.

What these discourses concerning children provide is a means at looking at whether market town gentrifiers from the middle classes differ significantly in terms of the representations that were produced during the semi-structured interviews. However, it was not always the case that the middle class had different lifestyles as opposed to the working class in terms of bringing up children. Education has always been a strong factor on influencing gentrification from parents attempting to get their children into the best schools, to the influence of higher education and this was also the case in the market towns (Butler and

Robson, 2003b; Smith, 2005; Butler *et al.*, 2007). The final representation will focus on themes relating to life course issues, which has more recently featured in gentrification as further attempts have been made to pin down the identity of gentrifiers.

6.9 Representation 6: 'Life course'

In this section what I will not do is to provide an ordered temporal analysis of representations concerning life course ─ the thesis did not set out to do this ─ but what I will do is outline some of the key themes that formed a market town discourse related to life course. The representation was divided into the following discourses, firstly I refer back to the market town as a service centre and how this could be related to life course. Secondly, examples will be provided of people encountered where life course issues caused 'instability' within market towns space and third, representations of time featured within the interview transcripts and this was explored in the context of market towns and how interviewees represented time.

6.9.1 Discourse 1: 'The Market Town Service Centre'

> "*We, what we needed to look at somewhere..not that was a village, more of a village?, it had to have something, infrastructure*".(**Swaffham, Interview 15, male, Geriatrifier, 65+**).

As noted, in this chapter, I have already considered the representations of the market town as a service centre to the people who live within them. However, if we consider the market town as a service centre, what implication would this have on market towns themselves and

the wider rural settlement hierarchy? My argument would be that life course has been an influential in dictating market town development and no more so than with gentrifiers from the middle classes.

The above quotation highlights a shift in middle class tastes towards the market town, particularly those in the later stages of the life course, with people conscious of retirement; the market town was represented as the ideal site.

Swaffham epitomised this, with local estate agents informing me it functioned as a 'retirement town'. The overall class structure, as identified in Chapter 4 was more biased to the working class than the middle class, so why research possible gentrification? Well, if Swaffham had been researched for gentrification based on possessing young middle class gentrifiers, it would have failed! However, if we take the findings from life course research into account, then the life course itself has been extended which we see in research analysing aging societies across the Western world and within a rural context (Windley and Scheidt, 1988; Lowe and Stephenson, 2003; Bailey, 2009).

The question then becomes, does the gentrifier in terms of age remain static? In Chapter 2, many variations of what constitutes a gentrifier were highlighted, but in summary there were the younger twenty to thirty year olds who formed the yuppie gentrifiers typified in the 1980s and those in their later thirties and forties who through promotion and appreciating salaries based on experience, gentrified inner city neighbourhoods (professional/managerial gentrifiers). I believe we have to revise these narrow conceptions

of what constitutes gentrifiers, without fear of stretching the term gentrification too far as to dilute its utility within academic studies (Boddy, 2007).

Government policy to concentrate development within market towns highlighted in Chapters 1 and 4 was interlinked with other economic trends at the turn of the 21st century relating to gentrification. In an urban context, the stock of Victorian dwellings that have typified gentrification in parts of Bristol, London and cities abroad, such as Melbourne cannot be recycled forever and eventually, this stock will decline as it ages (Glass, 1964; Jager, 1984; Bridge 2003; 2006).

Rural areas also have a limited number of desirable cottages and historic buildings that can be converted and gentrified, so once this point has been reached, does gentrification cease? In addition, as the population of the UK progressively ages, does gentrification decline as the supply of younger adults declines?

With market towns more likely in the future to act as service centres, older middle class residents in pre-retirement/retirement are likely to be unable to afford appreciating property prices in rural villages. These are likely to increase as due to the policy of concentrating housing development for rural areas in the market towns and thus the housing stock in villages will not be added to significantly (unless we are talking of a large village). With the middle class being mobile and people generally living to a longer age compared with the working class (Wilkinson, 1992), market towns could become increasingly attractive for gentrifiers ageing in situ, which I have termed geriatrification.

The argument being made here is that the market towns suit an older demographic of gentrifier and this is why they were particularly evident. However, although towns such as Swaffham possessed more of these 'geriatrifiers' who were ageing in situ and were not as dependent upon commuting for work as people residing in Lutterworth and Towcester, some of the middle class did recognise through the service provision discourse that market towns had changed:

> "*There used to be two newsagents, greengrocers, 7-11 type stores. The Sunday paper was sold by a man down the road. One of the newsagents has gone, the greengrocers gone err.. book makers are doing fairly well. A baker has come in, lawnmower shop was here, a little electrical repair shop has gone, he's gone, still in Towcester. A big bed shop took his premises. I wonder is there call for such beds in Towcester you know?*" (**Towcester, Interview 7, female, landlord/developer 51-60 age group**)

This does counter the government and policy based discourse on service provision that views service concentration in market towns in a positive light. In reality, the built environment of market towns are in a state of flux and the quote above acknowledges the types of services that have disappeared ─ newsagents, lawnmower shop and the movement of the electrical repair shop and all serving the previously established residents of Towcester.

In Lutterworth, apart from a well-regarded general practitioner service, there was a view that local services and shops were inadequate:

> "*Apart from a few pubs there is nothing. The shopping is poor because I think the rents are high*". (**Lutterworth Interview 7, professional/managerial gentrifier, 61-65 age group**).

> "*It has grown heck of a lot. There isn't a lot of shops for the size of Lutterworth*". (**Lutterworth, Interview 8, female Working class: 61-65 age group**).

The next section will allude to some of the issues concerning some of the difficulties of living at different stages of the life course in market towns. These representations come from the experiences of interviewees living market towns and reflects how 'sectionalised' many market towns are which makes it a struggle for different demographic groups such as children, adults and older people to co-exist.

6.9.2 Discourse 2: 'Life course Difference'

In the last section, I made the case for a substantive consideration of later stage gentrifiers, known as geriatrifiers. As with other studies of gentrification that have chronicled tensions within gentrified space (Smith, 1996; Newman and Wyly, 2006; Ley and Dobson, 2008), market towns are, as with other urban areas, experiencing profound changes which were highlighted in the third representation with the discourse concerning individualisation and neoliberal representations.

Many interviewees in Swaffham noted that although Swaffham was often represented as 'backward' as a result of its remoteness and working class composition, the flipside to this was that the community was more bonded as people had been resident longer within the town. Looking back to the length of residence data in Chapter 5, both working class and service class respondents tended to have been resident for between 1 to 5 years and the working class were similar in this regard. Both Lutterworth and Towcester also displayed evidence of this trend therefore indicating that the population movement to market towns has been relatively recent.

Residents had also displayed evidence of rejecting planning applications until concessions by developers had been made, for example at a proposed housing development in land near Brandon Road in 2008 where concessions were made to include 30% of houses as 'affordable' and the use of green building materials for the affordable homes (Watton & Swaffham Times, 2008). In Lutterworth, the conflict between the desires of older people and those attempting to get onto the housing ladder were exemplified by the fight to preserve allotments, as well as dealing with increased expansion that could place great strains on local school places ─ these are eagerly sought after and increasing housing development could threaten this.

Many geriatrifiers have gained from appreciating property prices over time and this has enabled them to move into market towns and even profit from their moves to invest either in a better property or downsize and save the additional capital acquired, as indicated below:

> "*Yeah, well the last place we paid £116,000 and spent £30,000 on it and was told 5 years later it was worth £235,000*". (**Swaffham, Interview 10, male, working class, 51-60 age groups**).

However, there were instances where socio-cultural exclusion was experienced through living in a remote, rural market town. This seemed to be the case where people were single or didn't have many connections within the area in which they were living:

> "*That's another aspect I don't [employment], I mean I'm reduced to working evenings in a supermarket because I don't want to have to travel to Norwich to work. I don't want to work full-time cos I have kids and dogs and everything else…. But it is weird cos I'm single at the moment so I want to socialise as well which means wanting to be near..bars and lively places*". (**Swaffham, Interview 9, female, Service class, 41-50 age group**)

For those people in the later stage of the life course such as retirement, the market town represents a space for relaxation and quietness but those in the middle class and also middle age ranges often found that the market town represented a more repressive environment and this does shift towards consideration of the 'thirdspace' where were we are moving from the secondspace to how people live their lives in real space. The practice of people in space will become more of a focus on the chapter to follow (which specifically focuses on the thirdspace or 'lived space' see Chapter 2), but it does emphasise how the second and thirdspace intertwine ─ representations inform practices in the real lived space.

The points I have made above were relayed also by the interviewees, particularly if they had experience of living in different locations across the UK. The interviewee below notes how the representation of the village has changed over their life time and this affected their real world practice:

> "*Oh yes you have to project that, something we might have done if we had moved to this area 20 years ago you might have gone into a smaller village, because you were more mobile erm.. but the infrastructure was there. But in the last 10 years, that has been killed off. The pubs have gone, a lot of the churches have gone*".
> (**Swaffham, Interview 15, male, geriatrifier, 65+**).

The representation of service decline here becomes important not just from the academic perspective of this thesis ─ I have access to extensive data on rural services (see Chapter 4), but people themselves over time experience changes in areas in which they live. This emphasises how in recent years, the decline of service provision has become of increasing concern.

As with previous studies that have focused on how the rural has been represented in the popular media (Phillips *et al.*, 2001), people have been influenced by the media and policy landscape where national news outlets have focused upon service decline in rural areas, particularly the villages. Some scholars, more so in health related fields, have made the assertion that the decline of rural services can be attributed to commuters:

> "*Accessible rural areas have been colonised by commuters and the decline of local services ─ the village shop, post office, bank ─ are hastened*"
>
> (Farmer *et al.*, 2003: 673-674)

This sub-theme of the life course representations that were uncovered during the fieldwork reflected a squeezed middle of those in the middle age stage of their life course, particularly in Swaffham. This minority felt that the social scene was not providing for them and the burden was felt more when such members of the community also were at family forming stages of the life course as well:

> "*I don't feel I really know anybody. I chat to the neighbour now and again and the wife, she knows a woman closest in from us, she works with her, that's where she is tonight. I don't know who comes or who goes.* (**Swaffham, Interview 16, Service class, 31-40 age range**).

This was not an isolated response from the middle class in Swaffham, being middle aged but not yet at the pre-retirement or the retired stage of the life course. In this instance, a nearby village close to the respondent's place of work had also experienced declines in key services such as local shops and GP surgery provision. However, although Swaffham was imbued with more services than many market towns, it was the lack of opportunities to socialise with 'people like us' (Butler, 1997) as the demographic of the town was skewed to the working class and retirees, who tended to be more middle class.

What the case of Towcester emphasised ─ and there were examples of this in both Lutterworth and Swaffham ─ middle class retirees or those lowering their work commitments did not want to perform to traditional stereotypes of the middle class commuting that typified younger adults in the market towns:

> "*I have travelled from Burton-on-Trent to Merryhill, which is 45miles each way. Erm for my last job I travelled..40,000 miles a year plus. But now I have got to a time in my life where I don't want the hassle and don't want to have to do miles*".
>
> (**Towcester, Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

Another issue linked to life course differences in Towcester were related to the forming of a new collation government of the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats. As a result, Regional Spatial Strategies (RSS), which allocated housing on a regional basis, were scrapped and therefore power on housing numbers was shifted to councils, such as the South Northamptonshire County Council (SNC). However, a large number of houses planned for Towcester and nearby Brackley were still to be constructed ─ protecting smaller rural areas from significant development (Bicester Advertiser & Review, 2010).

The concentration of development in the larger centres benefits the older generations, who manage to preserve their interests whilst younger adults lose out in terms of being able to afford to live in market towns such as Towcester. The homes being built reflect those already constructed in the Shires development highlighted earlier.

6.9.3 Discourse 3: 'Construction of Time in Market Town Space'

The final representation that formed the life course discourse in the case market towns was based on a series of representations that referred to the 'pace of life' in market town living. This has featured in the rural studies literature whereby people perceive time to pass more slowly ─ the pace of life in larger urban areas through psychological research was perceived to be 'quicker' the larger the urban area was (Lowin *et al.*, 1971). Older age groups studied thus far appear to espouse 'positive' representations of market towns and this was carried into discussions of temporality in market towns whilst the pace of rural life for younger people appeared to be represented as more of a hindrance.

Bokemeier and Struthers (2000) noted than in relation to younger people in the rural, the very factors that adults perceived as benefits of rural life ─ self-sufficiency, safety, family and community solidarity, were in the main, 'myths' and in reality were not often experienced in lived space (thirdspace) as positive. This is crucial when considering the views of interviewees in this chapter in that many views expressed are based on perceptions of reality that are often informed by representations from other sources rather than 'lived' experiences that form the thirdspace (Soja, 1996).

This 'temporality' that interviewees represented was reflected by both working class and middle class members of the interview samples. Beginning with Swaffham, time was represented by the spatial divide in Norfolk between the working class strongholds of central Norfolk and what were represented as the 'touristy' middle class north:

> "*I knew of Norfolk, we came up for holidays me, my brother, mum and dad every year on the broads for about ten, twelve years. We didn't want to go on that side really, cos 'touristy', it is a bit too much 'touristy' you could move somewhere like Norwich or something like [referring to other places] that six months of the year it will be dead, the other six months you won't be able to move for love nor money, cos of all the traffic*". (**Swaffham, Interview 1, male, Working class, 41-50 age range**).

This working class interviewee moved to Swaffham to escape more gentrified areas of Norfolk that did not appeal and the lack of activity when the tourist season was not in full flow. For the middle class the pace of life was perceived as being slower compared with the previous places of residence:

> "*We live here cos we want the type of life that goes with this area. It is a lot slower. My son came to stay over and he went up the shop to do his lotto. He gave up cos it took him so long*" [laughing]. (**Swaffham, Interview 2, male, Geriatrifier, 31 to 40 age range**).

Swaffham was particularly indicative of this trend towards the middle class moving to subvert what appeared to be urban space time and to exist in a space where time could be controlled to be more conducive to everyday living and enjoyment.

The construction of time was very important in Swaffham, however it appeared less so in Lutterworth and Towcester ─ both more 'urbane' market towns ─ particularly if the representations covered in this chapter are re-examined. Looking back to some of the quantitative data collected, some respondents had a very narrow conception of what they considered a market town to be. For example, the fact that Towcester was surrounded by countryside was enough for some to consider the town a 'rural market town' akin to Swaffham. As noted earlier, one interviewee attributed this landscape with the presence of an 'imaginary' agricultural population that had long ceased to exist to any great extent.

Lutterworth and Towcester both possessed residents that represented the town as being more urban through their everyday practices of work. Within both these market towns middle class gentrifiers were busy making the most of their educational and work based credentials but did not have time to reflect so much on their experience of market town living, particularly when they were also attempting to build a family. It remains to be seen whether market towns become long term residential spaces for people not looking to retire, as the aforementioned mobility of the middle classes means that people are increasingly mobile based on their employment prospects.

6.10 Summary

This chapter has sought to examine the representations of market towns constructed by both working class and middle class respondents. In representation 1, the service class members of the questionnaire samples tended to see their market town as rural, although there were variances with Towcester containing more responses that noted the urban nature of the

town. Overall, market towns were still seen to be rural entities in the settlement hierarchy, rather than urban. This was emphasised in representation 2 where people linked their market town to the agricultural community ─ even in Towcester where there was little evidence of this apart from a farmers market and as one interviewee noted , 'a desire' for organic food. Swaffham was often compared with larger urban community representations in urban centres such as London, where the community was represented as being more 'fragmented' linking into representation 3, based around market town commodification.

Representation 3 noted that housing had become a key means to which market towns had become 'commodified'. Within Lutterworth, interviewees noted that people were not using the town centre as a community space or for retail and this reflected in the retail mix, which was not perhaps representative of the population and had the same proportion of service class people as Towcester, which has been represented as a 'gentrified' market town.

In fact, the commodification of Lutterworth has not really begun, although future plans set out in the town Masterplan indicate that this market town could become more gentrified than Towcester. In Swaffham, commodification was represented through investments at the later stage of the life course. Some interviewees were improving homes for the later stages of old age and so perhaps were not representative of typical gentrifiers that have traditionally been of working age ─ the property of geriatrifiers was often part of a downsizing decision, again based on preparing for the later stages of life. Towcester was the most commodified in terms of the built environment and the Chic shopping experience in the town centre was testament to the presence of professional/managerial gentrifiers.

In representation 4, respondents highlighted anti-urban representations. For the older population of Swaffham, escaping the crowded urban environment was paramount, particularly among the middle class retirees who had often been members of the service class. The retail offering met the needs of the majority of the elderly population, with Boots an example of a national chain store operating in a relatively small urban settlement, with demand generated by the retired population. In Towcester, the service class interviewees saw the town as an urban village; represented through a boutique retail offering. Changes in the retail offering had been noticed by some interviewees since they, moved in and I reflected on the fact that most people sampled within the questionnaire had moved to their market town within the last 1 to 5 years. The retail offering of Lutterworth, as noted, is set to change towards attracting tourists that was envisioned through a more café culture.

In the second part of representation 4, a series of representations were collected based on the 'pro-urban growth'. For Swaffham, based in Norfolk, some of the older gentrifiers noted that Swaffham did not quite fit as a space for middle class consumption. These were often people who had taken advantage of the cheaper property prices to downsize, but were surprised at the lack of local restaurants. In Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester, the provision of services were noted as an attraction.

The representation of children was interesting as in both Swaffham and Lutterworth; children were represented negatively through 'hanging around' a predominately-adult market town space. This linked closely with the life course representations, as it tended to

be older interviewees who cited children as an issue. In Towcester, children featured more so in positive representations, with the market town almost acting as an incubator for young professional families.

The final representation on life course intersected with most of the representation discourses outlined in this chapter and from the evidence, it does appear that the three case towns show evidence of the wider aging in the countryside of England (Wenger, 2001). For Lutterworth and Towcester, their location close to good road communications appeared to influence the types of people present; particularly gentrifiers where they were significantly older in Swaffham compared with Lutterworth and Towcester. The next chapter will build upon these secondspace representations by examining the thirdspace, which represents the lived practices of the differing class groups I have picked out in my samples.

Chapter 7: Gentrification and Lived Space in Swaffham, Lutterworth and Towcester

7.1 Introduction

The final chapter of the thesis seeks to examine the thirdspace of the three market town case studies of Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. This thirdspace is a 'lived' space ─ and goes beyond consideration of space as a purely fixed entity and the aim is to look at how the interviewees lived in their respective market towns.

The policy discourse focusing on market towns was based around population thresholds and the critical mass of people required to support public service provision, particularly through the Commission for Rural Communities and the Rural Service Standards set up in the Rural White Paper (DETR and MAFF, 2000; CRC, 2006, 2010b). What has been lacking in research into market towns has been a focus upon how people live in these spaces and why they live in a market town. Quantitative data can only indicate overall trends in market towns ─ which are becoming more middle class and the others that are static or in economic decline.

We know very little about how gentrifiers live in market town spaces as gentrification research has tended to be biased towards the larger cities, although as highlighted in Chapter 2, in recent years there has been a focus upon shifting attention down the urban settlement hierarchy across the globe to consider smaller cities and towns (Smith, 2002b; Lees, 2006).

Through the analysis of the qualitative interview transcripts, a picture will be constructed of what has led market towns to be considered as spaces of gentrification and this will be outlined through four themes including market town retail spaces, children and education, property and home ownership and migration and life course.

7.2 Market Town Retail Space

The retail space of market towns was referred to in the last chapter through a secondspace approach of examining the symbolism of certain market towns such as Towcester becoming more affluent and others, such as Swaffham, catering to a working class market. The focus in this section, however will be on 'lived' (the thirdspace) practices of retail consumption and the differences between the working class and the gentrifier types that were revealed in Chapter 5.

7.2.1 Practices of Retail Consumption

Within Chapters 5 and 6, Lutterworth was identified as a market town in the process of gentrifying and in the representations espoused by questionnaire and interview respondents, it had not achieved a stage of development akin to Towcester. A report by the architects (Taylor Young) noted the potential of Lutterworth to become a quaint market town, capable of supporting the local middle class with cafes, restaurants and other cultural facilities to satisfy their consumption needs.

If we look at how interview respondents see Lutterworth in terms of acting as a consumption space, then the town appears to fall short of expectation for the working class and the gentrifiers:

> "*There is nothing in town. Apart from Morrisons and the Co-op and the hardware store. If you want anything… you have either got to drive up the motorway to Leicester or you have got to drive to Coventry or Rugby or elsewhere*" (**Lutterworth Interview 2- Working class, Non-gentrifier, 31 to 40 age group**).

> "*We do a bit of both we do like to walk from here and go for a meal, there isn't always quite what we want or fancy*". (**Lutterworth Interview 9, male, landlord/developer gentrifier, 65+**).

The accessible nature of the town might explain why there appears to be a lack of local consumption in the town as many questionnaire respondents also noted that they tended to travel outside of Lutterworth in order to access higher order products and services, such as electrical items or restaurants. In a sense, the middle class in Lutterworth have less opportunity to practice being middle class due to the limited opportunities in the town even compared with Swaffham. However, after fieldwork was completed in early 2009, a Waitrose store was subsequently established in the town, reflecting the strategy of Waitrose to take a foothold in market towns, as revealed in Chapter 6. Waitrose targeted middle class consumers with the contemporary wisdom being that food superstores did not

necessarily impact on medium sized town centres if they are located on the edge of town and were linked to existing retail infrastructures (Thomas and Bromley, 2003).

If we move onto Swaffham, a similar set of responses from interviews could be identified. The downside to Swaffham appeared to be that there was no real variety or choice in terms of the retail offering, unlike Lutterworth, where there was access to out-of-town shopping facilities in Leicestershire, such as Fosse Park:

> "*You haven't got a proper clothes shop… or a department store where you can browse for a pair of trousers or a shirt. I mean the closest we have to that is the charity shops. I bought clothes in charity shops rather than trek down to Kings Lynn or Dereham or Norwich to go clothes shopping*". (**Swaffham Interview 1, male, working class, 41 to 50 age groups**).

> "*And also, it is cheaper living in Norfolk; you look into local shops and local shops in London. I notice a tremendous difference cos my father still lives in London. I go to take him out and I'm surprised at the difference in prices*" (**Swaffham Interview 4, male, Geriatrifier, 65+ age group**).

> "*I suppose so, but to attract people you need decent coffee shops, a decent bakers to make it attractive enough to stop. At the moment it is a catch 22. There is one really good restaurant in Swaffham*". (**Swaffham Interview 12, female, Geriatrifier, 61 to 65 age groups**).

Therefore, we can see with Swaffham that there are multiple localised discourses on how different interviewees saw their everyday lived practices curtailed. In the first quote, as with Lutterworth, the lack of clothes shopping was perhaps cited more so in Swaffham, however there were few alternative unless travelling a significant distance to a larger urban centre such as Norwich. The working class respondent (interview 1) however, adapted to the lack of clothes shopping and attempted to keep consumption localised. Interviewee 12 emphasises the service class perspective, where every day middle class practices were curtailed, almost inhibited.

Moving on to Towcester, the 'lived' space of consumption here was very different ─ it could almost be said to be an example of a gentrified market town yet to reach full maturity. There was evidence of definitive middle class consumption practices, for example, still having a milkman when most people buy milk from the supermarket:

> "*We shop local, we still have a milkman, wherever possible we use the local bakers, butchers erm eat locally, whereas in Somersham we would travel 10 miles to Huntingdon, to do all the shopping*" (**Towcester, Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

Existing research has emphasised this local element in consumption among the middle classes through localised collective behaviour and this distinguishes them from both the working classes and the small upper class through the retail landscape of Towcester

(Warde, 1991; Bridge and Dowling, 2001). The example of the milkman and butcher is a market town take on a more 'countrified' gentrified retail landscape.

If the retail offerings are examined more closely, it was not always what they sold that was crucial in identify a gentrified retail offering. For example, the quotation below notes the bed shop and this was a recurring theme in working class and middle class interview responses:

> "*Erm.. the high streets got a bed shop, that's trying to go to your up market look. There is a couple more chic clothes shops, women's clothing. The supermarket in the centre used to be Safeway but then that was taken over by Morrison's and Waitrose. They had to get rid of some of them*" (**Towcester, Interview 8, female, working class, 51 to 60 age ranges**).

The bed shop in the interviews became emblematic of retail gentrification in Towcester. Even some of the services class respondents in asides, that were not recorded, noted the expensiveness of the beds. As with the other two case studies of Lutterworth and Swaffham, most interviews had arrived in the last 1 to 5 years and this was interesting, as they had noted the change in retail outlets during this time:

> "*There used to be an ironmongers, but little by little they are being squeezed with the likes of Focus and Homebase. They were offering a service that catered for nuts, bolts and things. Whereas the things that have replaced them don't*". (**Towcester, Interview 9- Geriatrifier, 65+ age groups**)

The small hardware and knitting shops had disappeared in Swaffham and in Towcester too, many of the traditional market town stores were replaced by either large chain stores or high-end independent retailers looking to take advantage of the recent expansion of Towcester. The previously mentioned local consumption desires of the middle class meant that the seepage of income from the entry of large superstores such as Homebase and the chain retailers did not appear to affect the town. Interviewees mentioned that they could obtain most products within town, unless it was a more expensive purchase. This contrasted with Lutterworth where people had to commute to outlying villages for restaurants or travel to the larger cities, such as Leicester to access similar consumption spaces to Towcester.

7.3 Children and Education

In this section, the balance of responses shifted towards Towcester in terms of positive lived practices being outlined by interviewees. The more negative practices of children in space were recorded in Swaffham which follows some of the negative representations outlined in Chapter 6 (representation 5, discourse 2 'children and security'). The practices related to education followed a similar line, although Lutterworth was still under represented in terms of practices in lived space relating to children.

7.3.1 Lived Practices of Children

In relation to children, their marginality varied across the three market towns. In Swaffham, children, as noted in Chapter 6, were likely to feel alienated in rural space

(Matthews *et al.*, 2000). An interviewee noted this, arguing that the reason such practice was taking place was due to the relative quality of life older people experienced in Swaffham:

> "*My feeling is a lot of people in Swaffham do not want to attract younger people. So the emphasis of pushing something to attract them is not being pushed along. When you speak to people in their retirement, they are happy with the situation, it's quiet in the evenings*". (**Swaffham, Interview 4, male, geriatrifier, 65+ age groups**).

Once the population balance shifts, this is reflected in the 'lived' space of the town that many people experience in their everyday lives. This could be seen to relate to the work of Caulfield (1989; 1994) in people expressing 'structures of feeling' in that there were expressions related to the marginality caused by the balance of the population in Swaffham. As with many market towns, the working class appeared rather absent from the local decision-making.

Unlike Towcester, there was not a local culture of sending children to be privately educated, and when Towcester was analysed under the interview discourses based around children, there was a different emphasis placed upon children. Interviewees noted how Towcester was an ideal location for their stage of the life course, particularly if they had children as the following quotes indicate:

> "*We wanted to bring Jack to a place where we could still give him a certain amount of freedom,* (**Towcester Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41to 50 age group**).

> "*Erm there is plenty of space; we can take the dog out for a walk. Tim now bikes to Tesco's to get the Saturday lunch. Erm and he's nine, I feel comfortable for him going out and about, I want the kids to be able to just play out, so it is quite quiet here. Schools are good, erm if I want them to get a bus, they can get a bus to wherever*. (**Towcester, Interview 5, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, Service class, 41 to 50 age groups**).

There were several key terms here, 'freedom', 'plenty of space' and 'play' ─ these were all words associated with the practices of children and were much more positive. This could also be linked to the size of Towcester ─ it is set to expand significantly to nearer 20,000 people and this firmly places it in the larger market town category. There was further evidence of this freedom that challenged dominant media representations noted in the previous chapter based on keeping children indoors and safe from the ills of the outside world:

> "*Yes definitely, it does come up as a number of parents are surprised that I let Tim go round the corner, but he peddles fast erm so, but he can't stay around the house, He is a bright boy and needs his independence and he needs he can feel he can control stuff. Part of that maybe cos we have two young children, therefore, if we want to do anything as a couple, we have to get a baby sitter and that costs and*

> *therefore you try to get the stuff within the house".* (**Towcester, Interview 5, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age groups**).

This was quite a different position on the practices of children in the other two market towns and reflected a very middle class take on how children were allowed to 'perform' as opposed to being 'regulated' in the other market town spaces being studied. As noted in Chapter 5, the dominant age groups in Towcester were the 31 to 40 and 41 to 50 groups and those with school age children.

The lived practices of these professional/managerial gentrifiers ─ represented through 'distinctive' consumption such as high-class restaurants ─ were constrained at this stage of the life course. This could be important methodologically in terms of people filling in questionnaires, as this quote indicates:

> "*We don't go out a huge amount. Not like we used to ─ we used to go out a lot more before the children. We tend to have to go out of Towcester to a restaurant as a family. Yeah, the things we do the kids are at the centre. I have managed to channel the kids into scouts. The eldest is a swimmer. We set up a swimming club here based at the leisure centre this has since had to fold because the coach erm got a better job. I volunteer like crazy but that's an excuse not to clean and tidy the house! Before you got here I was sorting stuff out for a jazz evening they are having in the senior school, trying to sort the catering arrangements for that. We used to run a toddler group in the morning. We only stopped running that when*

> *there were issues with the floor on the upper level. We have plenty of pre-schools and upper schools. There's the Tiny Toes (charity preschool* not private)". (**Towcester, Interview 11, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

Figure 7.1 Day Nurseries, both in the private sector in Towcester and providing the professional/managerial gentrifiers childcare whilst at work.

Although this particular interviewee was constrained to practice their middle class lifestyle at the child rearing stage of the life course ─ indeed, they mentioned that going out was more common before having children ─ through community volunteering they were asserting themselves in local associations and groups and these were child related. In the next section, I will focus on lived education practices.

7.3.2 Lived Education Practices

Education has been an important theme within gentrification research and there were examples of differing practices between different groups of people within the three market towns. In Lutterworth education practices featured more prominently than the general discourse on children, perhaps because, Lutterworth is known to have good schools even though the market town perhaps does not appear to be gentrified if for example the physical appearance of the town centre is taken into account.

As noted in Chapter 6, some people outlined a rationale for sending their children from outside Lutterworth in order to get a place one of the schools.

> "*We wanted to buy a house that was bigger than we immediately needed to circumnavigate the need to move too many times. Looking forward, we knew we wanted a family and we knew where the schools were*". (**Lutterworth, Interview 2, male, working class, 31 to 40 age group**).

This interviewee was working class and it was interesting to hear that working class people too had strategies in terms of schooling for their children. It can appear at times in the gentrification literature that it is only the middle class that make specific plans relating to education for their children, although there are notable differences in these educational strategies as indicated with an example from Towcester: "Well actually, now because of him [[baby]] the next move we will make, will be for 10 years, I would move based on

schools not on work". (**Towcester, Interview 2, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 22 to 30 age group**).

In Swaffham for example, the working class couple were planning for the future growth of the family and therefore planning their property purchase on this basis. This contrasted with the middle class strategy of moving house at certain stages in the child's life course, particularly the transition between primary and secondary school (Butler and Robson, 2001b). In all three market towns, there was little evidence of children past the age of eighteen being present in households. This might be due to moves relating to university or even moving for work and housing. There were clear differences between the market towns, although there was evidence of Lutterworth being unable to cope with the growth in school numbers:

> "*All the schools in Lutterworth are oversubscribed. I think Lutterworth being self-contained, people like their school within walking distance. It is another reason why I wonder if there are any long-term plans to develop Lutterworth. The other issue about the schools is the college over the road, which is very heavily subscribed, doesn't physically have enough places to house the young people at lunch time, there are streams of youngsters going up and down the road*".(**Lutterworth, Interview 9, male Landlord/developer, 65+ age group**).

There were few examples of lived education practices evident in Swaffham although there was some evidence of the educational choices made by young people:

> "*Out of my age group, the people I went to school with only a tiny, tiny proportion of them actually stayed here. A lot of the people round here went to UEA and stuff like that. Cos its I don't know why a lot of people who went to university did not go very far afield*" (**Swaffham Interview 5- Cannot classify, Working class, 22 to 30 age groups**).

Some of the geriatrifiers, based in Swaffham noted that they had grown up children who had gone on to obtain professional jobs or were working abroad which contrasted with the lived experiences of local working class children. Even if working class children did attend university, their aspirations were often limited to local universities such as the University of East Anglia (UEA) and curtailed by their own parents lack of experience in the higher education system.

In Towcester, there were examples of strong parental influence by professional managerial gentrifiers and this was reflected in how they described their children's lives and experiences:

> "*So wherever we chose to live, we knew we wanted accessibility to a really decent secondary for Jack. Erm, plus the fact we had got a dog, so we wanted access to kind of countryside walks on our doorsteps, without having to put the dog in our car, just be able to open the front door and get to some kind of green space. All those factors I suppose link together and Towcester became the ideal choice*". (**Towcester, Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age groups**).

Although the market town in this instance was not the primary choice to meet this interviewees needs, Towcester was able to provide good enough schools and possessed a series of open spaces around the housing estates which allowed children to play in relative safety.

Within Butler's studies of gentrification in London, he identified education as a key 'field' of gentrification and this was referred to in chapter through the work of Bourdieu (1984) and the cultural field whereby consumption informs production ─ they are not separate entities. Towcester was also being used as a platform for getting children into private schooling, thus maintaining the strength of this field and in Towcester, for those who had children; education was a key driver in terms of service class mobility:

> "*Well actually, now because of him [baby] the next move we will make, will be for 10 years, I would move based on schools not on [[work]]. I have to say, we will look to Croughton, a village because it is the catchment area for the grammar school. I am a secondary school teacher and worked at the local comps [comprehensives] I know the schools pretty well. We are thinking villages that way, because of the catchment. Because we have projections for the next 10 years of child populations coming in, the actual school will possibly have to decline, and possibly lay off staff*". (**Towcester Interview 2, female professional/managerial gentrifiers, 22 to 30 age group**).

This was very interesting in terms of how it mapped onto existing findings in gentrified areas of London whereby the primary school was central to creating local circuits of schooling (Ball *et al.*, 1995) . The villages were intertwined with the market town and used to access local private schools, although from conversations with locals, many could not actually afford the house prices in the villages or suitable stock for a growing family were not available.

In addition, as Swaffham demonstrated in my research, there was an example whereby people with children moved from a village in order to access better facilities of the market towns. However, the approach outlined above was criticised by one middle class interviewee who expressed concern that some friends did not consider the state education to be good enough:

> "*Nicholas Hawksmore is classed as a 'good' school. I was astonished, it happens in Edinburgh and Glasgow but it doesn't happen in the towns, astonished in the polarity of people that consider that state education isn't that good. Sponner is perceived to be a good school, but there is a number of parents even in my circle of friends who don't want to send their children to such a mixed group. So you get people paying to go a private school such as Ackley Wood, there is a bus on Main Street to go to Ackley. It is interesting the school down the road is similar to mine it brings people from very mixed backgrounds if your bright it provides for that and the less able. They are doing very well so why would I pay £9,000 a year to send them to a school where they have exactly the same this*?" (**Towcester Interview 12, female, Landlord/developer, 41 to 50 age groups**).

This was quite interesting as it reflected in the characteristics of the resident middle class population in Towcester and the more conservative element of the professional middle classes that was identified by Thrift and Williams (1987) in the late 1980s. In Chapter 5, I examined the political affiliations of respondents and in Figure 5.41, the service class respondents in Towcester indicated they would vote Conservative at the next general election, which does support the idea that the professional/managerial gentrifiers are perhaps part of a Conservative, rather than liberal faction of the middle class.

7.4 Property and Home Ownership

Property has always been a central element of gentrification research as it is perhaps the most significant investment people make during their lives unless they are from the most elite echelons of society. This part is divided into three sections; firstly, the practice of home building encompasses some of the themes already discussed such as the differences between professional managerial gentrifiers, geriatrifiers and the working class. Secondly focus is applied to 'lived renovations' whereby rather than just documenting the renovation activity, I seek to examine the differences between market towns and the existing stereotypes within the gentrification literature. Thirdly, I will examine the lived practices of second home ownership where interviewees noted they had second homes in their questionnaires.

7.4.1 'Practice of Home Building'

This section reflected on a variety of themes related to homes and property in market town spaces. In Lutterworth, there were few interviewee responses that could be coded to this property building discourse and this reflects, I feel, the housing stock available, which did not offer the historic Victorian or Georgian property offerings. In addition, the layout of newer property has attracted some people to market towns that have older housing stock from post-war up to the present day:

> "*I think the developments in Rugby we looked at we found very crammed, even in the detached houses*". (**Lutterworth, Interview 10, female rural gentrifier, 31 to 40 age group**).

In this instance, the market town offered more space in which to live compared with newer developments that have had more stringent density requirements as a caveat for their construction. With the other two case study towns, there were more examples, which were related to what I have termed the 'practice of home building'. As with many of the key practices highlighted thus far, they intersect with other lived practices. If we begin with Swaffham, a working class interviewee provided evidence of this in terms of summarising a strategy that people use to get into a market town:

> "*I think they are doing that more for long-term. One, they get the kids.. out of.. the London environment. The schools up here are brilliant, can't do enough for you. Plus you got the wife if he is in a good enough job, working in the city stockbrokers, can afford a little place, a bedsit keep erm over for the week or stay with family for*

> *friends. You can get a four five-bedroom place for a two-bed place in London. Once they done their bit and go for early retirement they already got their nice country house set up*". (**Swaffham Interview 1, male working class, 41 to 50 age group**).

London often could not meet the housing aspirations of many of the middle classes who had to sacrifice proximity for quality in terms of housing. In other words, by merely looking at a person's property, it was not always possible for the middle class to distinguish themselves due to the relative expense of property in London. Swaffham on the other hand offers retirees the opportunity to 'trade up'.

What was happening in Swaffham in regard to property was not however, just the practice of trading up, there was evidence of people taking on properties where people had died which in a market town with an aging population, was perhaps not surprising given the findings in Chapters 4 and 5 on aging in market town space:

> "*If it was an old person that died, it probably needed modernisation and updating. The other thing to look at was somebody who had already done that, brought a property to make some money and you did not have to do anything you could just move in*". (**Swaffham, Interview 2, male, geriatrifier, 61 to 65 age group**).

The seeds of property buying were planted relatively recently before the housing boom took over at the turn of the 21st century when property values were very cheap, however,

recent population growth means that additional pressure has been placed on property prices where demand outweighs the supply (Barker, 2004; Communities and Local Government, 2009a) . Property prices at the time of study in 2008 were relatively high compared with average wage levels and this was also noticed by interviewees:

> "*10, 15 years ago Norfolk was an attractive area for people to retire as Norfolk was so cheap. Not so now prices have shot up here more so percent wise than London*". (**Swaffham Interview 4, male, Geriatrifier, 65+ age groups**).

But one of the key practices was an not just investing in property for investment purposes as has often been the case in gentrification research ─ downsizing was more common in Swaffham than the other two market towns and there were examples of this for both the working and the service class interviewees:

> "*This is about right ─ it is about manageable. But erm.. we actually came up to buy a bungalow [they on commuter estate]. We plan to stay 5 years and downsize*". (**Swaffham, Interview 10, Cannot classify, working class, 51 to 60 age group**).

> "*Norfolk was appealing as taking early retirement was obviously for the profits/gains*". (**Swaffham, Interview 13, Cannot classify, working class, 51 to 60 age group**).

> "*If you're downsizing at the same time of course, which a lot of people are, a lot of people come because they have finished/are finishing work and they no longer need*

> *their large property they had when they were down London or where ever. Not only you have the benefits of downsizing, you have the benefits of living in an area where housing is cheaper*". (**Swaffham, Interview 14, male, Geriatrifier, Service class, 65+ age group**).

Interestingly, it was a mixture of working class and service class retirees who said they were downsizing or planned to do so with 7 interviewees of the 39 providing evidence of this, but as noted earlier, the service class were still often living in larger properties and planned to down size in the future. Five out of the seven interviewees were based in Swaffham. In a Bank of England report on house prices and consumer spending, they concluded that 'trading down' in the housing market was more beneficial than trading upwards and this has become the classic problem within the English housing market (Benito *et al.*, 2006).

As with Lutterworth, there was evidence of sectionalised housing in the market towns as interviewees noted the locations in their market towns in which they wanted to live that reflected their aspirations and work patterns:

> "*I think also, this housing development of Belle Baulk is considered to be the place to live in terms of quality of housing. A lot of people live on here, work in London. Our previous neighbours next door, he worked in London. Ron commutes everyday by train. Guy past John, they commute everyday*". (**Towcester Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

This could be seen as functional practices of home ownership in terms of buying to reflect aspirational desires and the level of job they have. This was particularly the case where the interviewee was in full time employment and at the 41 to 50 age range; people still have a considerable amount of their working lives left. Taking early retirement at 50 or 55 is no longer as feasible as it once was in part due to the extent to which people living in OECD nations (including the UK) have been voluntarily retiring from the workforce.

The Cabinet Office in 2000 reported that a third of early retirees between the ages of 50 and the official state retirement age were retiring voluntarily and the cost to OECD nations of the loss of these members from the labour force was estimated to account for 7.6% of output by 2003 and 9.1 % by 2010 (Herbertsson and Orszag, 2001).

For the Towcester interviewees, some noted that the town was not their first choice of destination. The future expansion of the town was seen as affecting the town negatively as they were worried that their everyday lived experiences and further growth would adversely affect their experience of Towcester:

> *We came here blissfully unaware that the authorities were planning major expansion of Towcester. We find the people are extremely friendly and their make-up is that a lot of them work in Milton Keynes without wanting to live in Milton Keynes. The bit we find most concerning is that they are saying we will expand Towcester and it will double in size, and then you worry, will the infrastructure support it*"? (**Towcester Interview 9, male, geriatrifier, Service class, 65+**).

Bridge (2003) acknowledged that more recently, people have to make compromises on housing choice away from the Chic, Victorian and Georgian properties within Bristol towards settlements with the right housing to support a growing family. Towcester appeared to be an example of this in rural space and was very popular with the professional/ managerial gentrifiers. The complexity of the housing decisions was reflected in their responses:

> "*This wasn't the ideal location. When they were coming up Bill, was working here, he would go and the agent would ring him about a house, he would go and view it and he would say that's the sort of thing we should look for. I'd come up with him at the weekend and the agent would ring us before and say "it's sold". It got to the stage I was heavily pregnant with my third and we just had to get somewhere. We started to look over at this estate which was a bit more than we really wanted to pay and I think it was the attraction of this house - it was 5 bedrooms with. Family living away, it is important to have a spare room*".(**Towcester Interview 11, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

So similarly to what Bridge (2003; 2006) identified, compromises had to be made to in order to secure a property relating to the family forming stages of the gentrifier life course (Karsten, 2003). As with the previous quote, there was a desire to live in a market town that did not intend to grow in population terms, even if this led to a wider range of public and private services to be provided:

> "*I think the planning authority has made quite a stand. I sit on the South Northampton Leisure Trust and we had a talk from the planning officer and they have stood up in terms of the growth agenda cos we want to preserve the character of the area*." (**Towcester Interview 12, female, Landlord/developer, 41 to 50 age group**).

The use of the term 'character' was interesting as a lot of housing development had taken place within the last decade in Towcester and physically, these properties perhaps did not have the character of those properties in the centre of Towcester. In the next section, the focus will shift towards examining the renovation practices in the market towns.

7.4.2 'Practice of Lived Renovation'

Renovation or 'doing up' a property has long been associated with gentrification, with gentrifiers physically transforming the appearance of their property both internally and externally. The point this section attempts to raise is that in the market towns studied, the renovation activity was less intense than city based gentrification studies ─ furthering the arguments of Phillips (2005a) of there being differential productions of gentrification.

Unlike rural villages, there were very few cottage style properties that would attract rural gentrifiers or the inner city style flats that would attract younger professional and managerial gentrifiers. There was not extensive evidence of renovation, reflected in new build property on the fringe of all three market towns. Towcester still possessed a core of

older terraced houses in the town centre where there was some evidence of renovation activity:

> "*Yeah, we've had erm… flooring the wooden flooring, slate flooring in the kitchen. When you think about it, we have done a fair old bit.* (**Towcester Interview 4, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

Figure 7.2 Examples of the terraced properties present in the centre of Towcester.

As Towcester indicates, market towns can exhibit evidence of renovation activity in specific areas of the town akin to traditional urban gentrification with the modification of urban property to make it blend in with past architectural styles (Jager, 1986; Mills, 1988; Caulfield, 1994).

> "*Yeah, we have just finished doing bits to the kitchen this year. We are going to put some water proofing in and sort out the flooring. We redid the floor in the kitchen and put down erm just a membrane they were okay about that. Dark sort of grey, I suspect they were the first ones down there. I quite like living around this old stuff*". (**Towcester Interview 13, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 31 to 40 age group**).

What was interesting was that again, Lutterworth, as with the previous section appeared to lack evidence of renovation activity, even though the social class make-up of the town was similar to Towcester. Simple decoration or having French doors installed were the most common improvements. In Swaffham, vans related to the trades in the town at the time of study were evident and this was verified by some interviewee respondents:

> "*I don't know that many people but there are loads of small builders who all seem to be working all the time. Swaffham is awash with vans*". (**Swaffham Interview 3, male, geriatrifier, 61 to 65 age groups**).

> "*There's loads of building going on. Also the old Fair School you know the old Shirehall? well that used to be primary. They sold that off for development so that's now masses of flats. In town that [Six Form Centre] will be sold off, massive place sold off for development. So..a lot of the older buildings that had a purpose have been replaced and put into use as luxury apartments. So there is a lot of renovationary work going on. Any of the smaller, cheaper property what would have been first time buyer houses have been bought up by builders and developed*

and actually stayed on the market for months as people have not got the cash". (**Swaffham Interview 5, female, working class, 22 to 30 age group**).

It was quite interesting to hear there had been building activity, as in Chapter 6; Swaffham was represented as the least affluent of the three market towns studied. People in some cases did not want to renovate at later stages of the adult life course, particularly in the early adult stage where people could only afford a property that needed 'doing up'.

Figure 7.3 Example from Swaffham of one of the numerous vans undertaking work in Swaffham. This relates renovations that geriatrifiers undertook later in the life course.

"*Wife: That's right. Husband: Exactly. As you get older you have not got the energy to do that. We just.. we hadn't got the inclination to either [Laugh]. Don't mind decorating but pulling down walls and you know…*" (**Swaffham Interview 8, female, geriatrifier, 65+ age group**).

> "*Well we did contemplate buying down a rundown place and doing it up. But erm.. yeah we looked at one and put a first offer on and come back a month later to take measurements, they hadn't found anywhere. This was a bit more money but needed less spending on it*". (**Swaffham Interview 10, female, working class, 51 to 60 age group**).

We can see this logic of buying a property that does not require much renovation reflects the relative wealth that these residents have accrued over time, particularly from property moves and this cuts across the working and service class groupings in Swaffham. Although I have made the observation that the market towns studied tended to exhibit the same sort of renovation practices as with villages or some inner cities around the world, as with Towcester, there were examples where gentrifiers were renovating in a similar way to other settlement types documented in gentrification research:

> "*It was quite erm.. down up heel. I think it had not been…updated since the 70s. The kitchen was really unpleasant. The… original house was flat, if you can see that window; [gestures] went across there. There was no utility. There was a pantry with silver fish and wobbly shelves just here. That was the motivation. We thought we might as well have an extra room as I like talking and cooking if we are entertaining I quite like part of the room, so we built this room on. Also it kept the house in proportion. No not really I just don't like living in depressing surroundings. So every house I move into I do up. It is me and not Andrew. I quite like painting and decorating*. (**Swaffham Interview 12, female, geriatrifier, 61 to 65 age group**).

Swaffham allowed the gentrifier the opportunity to employ more capital in renovating the property, if this was the motivation of the gentrifier then a market town such as Swaffham was a prudent choice. However, as has been determined thus far, market towns such of Swaffham lack the distinctive consumption space in order to meet the needs of gentrifiers that have migrated from urban areas, as the case was with this interviewee.

In the section to follow, attention will turn to those gentrifiers who owned second homes either in the UK or abroad. This is important as those moving to rural areas are likely to still have properties in previous locations in which they have lived and this has been examined before in the context of tourist towns in South Africa where gentrifiers bought holiday homes (Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2004).

7.4.3 'Lived Practices of Second Home Ownership'

Those interviewees who owned second properties did not want to be seen as 'affluent' due to the fact they owned a second property and would cite the long hours worked in order to achieve their goal. Other interviewees were more open about their second home purchase:

> "*Really, it was the location, the distance and the price that made us start looking to North Wales, particularly the price, we did not want to go down mortgage routes. We did not buy it as an investment, but nevertheless when you buy property you hope that it is going to prove something of an investment*". (**Lutterworth Interview 9, male, landlord/developer gentrifier, 65+ age group).**

Cheaper locations seemed to be popular where the gentrifier was not looking to base him or herself all the time. With Lutterworth, its linkages to the M1 allowed people to maintain two homes, although as with the above gentrifier, they argue the home was owned for more emotive and family reasons so buying property is not purely for investment purposes. In Towcester, there were some examples of a more international flavour to second home ownership and the practice of living two lives ─ one in England and one in Australia:

> "*Because I had retired and then of course I was going to Australia for six months and I was having to employ a local man from Whittlebury to mow the lawn keep the garden and look after it*". (**Towcester Interview 1, male, geriatrifier, Service class, 65+ age groups**).

In Towcester, the second home ownership was related to investment or saving decisions and the ability to live multiple lifestyles as opposed to Swaffham where it appeared second homes were almost a by-product of previous housing strategies. Interviewees were least likely to refer about them much and it was only by going through questionnaire scripts that you could identify second home ownership in Swaffham. This was perhaps because people did not see them as holiday homes, which has become a popular discourse within contemporary rural studies (Gallent *et al.*, 2005; Communities and Local Government, 2009b; Gallent, 2009).

The current crisis in pensions where final salary schemes are closing, affected the future lifestyles of the middle class who have benefited most in recent years from appreciating property prices and this also influenced individual housing strategies:

> "*Pension. As I said earlier I have concerns for when we retire, there will be next to nothing in the pot. I don't necessarily, it will be by choice, I might go to 65 I might not. I want to have the choice, if I want to take my foot off the gas. So we brought the house in Spain, we thought we could go on holidays when we want. Also with my father's situation with his pension, he can go and live there when he wants; He is there at the moment. I thought as well as that we could sell it, retire to it*". (**Towcester Interview 10, female landlord/developer gentrifier, 41 to 50 age groups**).

For this interviewee in Towcester, investments in property could help make up for the poorer return on pensions. In summary, second home ownership was related to personal investment, although here as with Swaffham, there was the consideration of living for a longer period and this was being factored in to the investment decisions of the service class, professional managerial gentrifiers. The final part of the chapter will examine migration and life course related lived practices within the case study market towns.

7.5 Migration and Life course in Market Town Space

Following on from some of the results thus far in this chapter, the focus of this part is based around responses related to practices of migration and how this linked to working class and gentrifier practices in market town space. This was then divided into two main areas, firstly a section on lived migration practices where interviewees reflected upon their own personal migration journeys and also those of other people within the town. Secondly, 'lived life course' focused upon specific reflections on human practice in market towns.

7.5.1 Lived Migration Practices

With Lutterworth, the population movements were seen as being more localised, with people making intra-rural moves within the same town:

> "*No one apart from next door, quite a few have moved within Lutterworth*" (**Lutterworth Interview 10, female, rural gentrifier, 31 to 40 age group**).

Moves to market towns like Lutterworth were seen as 'functional' and people did not always seem to think that moving within a short distance was significant enough to report. Referring back to Chapter 6, this focused on the second space representations of market towns ─ the urban architects who were designing the regeneration plan for Lutterworth, noted that the town had a middle class population living in the town that was not consuming significantly in the town in terms of the retail offering.

Actually moving into the town was perhaps not seen as such a distinctive act when compared to moving to a city or a village. Lutterworth's location, close to Magna Park, a huge distribution hub, was reflected in many of the jobs people had in the questionnaire. As with Towcester interviewees, people did have quite complex migration histories emphasised by the connectivity to the M1 motorway.

Moving to Swaffham, much more detail was provided via qualitative responses referring to lived migration practices. This might seem surprising in Swaffham where more of the population was working class compared with Lutterworth and Towcester. Both working

class and middle class interviewees appeared to draw from the strength of localised London based networks:

> "*I think there was a lot of people moving up, when we were popping up here and the amount of people who would say 'oh your from London' I lost count the amount of times people said 'I'm from London, I'm from London*". (**Swaffham Interview 1, male, working class, 41 to 50 age groups**).

> "*As you say quite a few have retired from London [cites numbers, two young families]. We met people when we walk the dogs*". (**Swaffham Interview 7- Non-gentrifier, Service class, 41 to 50 age groups**).

The relationships people attached to larger urban areas, such as London, have been a key theme in many of the interviews conducted. When gentrification is studied, typically, it is based on a single city or series of neighbourhood case studies, yet it appears that past-lived practices in other urban and rural area become significant in narrating contemporary migration choices.

Areas already discussed in the thesis, such as education intersected with practices of migration in the thirdspace of market towns. Swaffham was the market town that overall, possessed the least educated population in terms of accruing educational credentials and such socio demographic factors affected residents' lived migration practices in Swaffham:

> "*Out of my age group, the people I went to school with only a tiny, tiny proportion of them actually stayed here*". (**Swaffham Interview 5, female, Working class, 22 to 30 age groups**).

This interviewee travelled to other parts of the UK in order to access higher education and jobs but also for furthering her experiences. Although young people often had to move outside the town in order to access employment, this migration was often over short distances for example when making university choices, educational professionals noted that The University of East Anglia (UAE) was often chosen as it was local, even if a better university course was on offer elsewhere. These people tended to be drawn from the working classes. If we link migration with education and employment, the following quote provides evidence of the differing lived experience of Swaffham, compared with the resident working class population:

> "*Yes erm, my partner got a job at UEA. He was down for a year living in Norwich. I always intended to come but my daughter was doing her A-Levels so I stayed up in Manchester for an extra year. Then I got a job in Kings Lynn and Swaffham is about halfway between the two. We chose Swaffham as it is on the A47. Here there are a few…I'm an ex NHS I know a number of doctors that have settled here and managers.*" (**Swaffham Interview 12, female, Geriatrifier, 61 to 65 age groups**).

So the migration practice of gentrifiers was rich, diverse and above all more complex. When examining interview transcripts, the residential history of interviews reflected

existing class divides in terms of the distances travelled and the number of destinations taken to reach their market town. Even the middle class were becoming constrained in terms of their choice of settlement and this was mentioned on more than one occasion:

> "*What moved us from the coast was the premium you paid for living on the coast*". (**Swaffham Interview 14, male, Geriatrifier, 65+ age groups**).

Interestingly, migration also intersected with desires for community and life course, and this provides an interesting narrative of how people move through the life course which has featured throughout the results chapters (Chapters 5, 6 and 7):

> *"Wife: The people who were on the edge on London in the rural areas, Basildon, people have moved here. A few like us have come from further afield, some for a reason because their roots are here. Probably the parents/grandparents had moved to London and now they are moving back again. Husband: There is a fairly common theme when you speak to them [outsiders].. erm is that…one of the reasons we came was the community spirit, the people here strangers will talk to you"* (**Swaffham Interview 15, female, geriatrifiers, 65+ age group).**

There appeared to be a consensus that this desire for community appeared later in the life course having experienced a diversity of settlements that were selected based on work or personal circumstances. In Towcester, migration practices as with others, were based around the everyday rhythms of work in stark contrast to Swaffham, where people were at

stage of the life course whereby leisure time and the needs of older age were more important, certainly based on the interview transcripts.

> "*It does seem you either got people that have got erm..who have been born here, grown up and haven't moved away at all, they seem to have family locally everyway, which is amazing and then there is people that have moved with work, and they talk about commuting down to London or commuting up to Birmingham*". (**Towcester Interview 5- professional/managerial household, 65+ age groups**).

The migration journey for gentrifiers in Towcester was also more extensive due to their education at university, which in the past was even more advantageous than the present time as there were less people going to university and thus university was a passport to a good job (Willetts, 2010). Possessing a good education also appeared to make more complex, migration practices:

> "*Well I was born in Woking. My father came to London for a job and they lived in Woking. We settled in Airdrie, about 20 miles from Glasgow in Lanarkshire, so my upbringing was in a town with about 100,000 people. Then I went to university in Glasgow, the first job was in Kilmarnock and I lived there 3 years and then we went to Edinburgh and I got a job, spent a year going back and forth between Kilmarnock and Edinburgh daily*". (**Towcester Interview 12, female, professional/managerial gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**)

The mobility of the middle class was not always through choice and in the geographical literature; the personal mobility of the middle class has often been represented as a major advantage and this was recognised as far back as the post war period, where mobile middle class groups could leave the city (Hamnett, 2003). In the quotation to follow, there were the negative aspects of living longer such as being able to afford a car, which was taken account in the move to Towcester:

> "*I think its people who have been around, from the friends I have known, moved from villages into the town. Both my neighbours and my others friends have migrated to the town. I was thinking more of when I retired I wouldn't be able to afford a car*" (**Towcester Interview 7, female, landlord/developer gentrifier, 51 to 60**).

Within the gentrifier types I have identified in a market towns context, there was some evidence of marginality among those who were in the older age ranges. Although in their past life course the gentrifier may have possessed a middle class occupation, the expense of living longer for some who have had inadequate saving or pensions provisions means that their later life consumption has been inhibited by economic necessity.

The next section will specifically focus on lived life course practices that have been hinted at within this section and previous chapters within the thesis. This is important when considering market town gentrification as we need to understand the differences and

similarities of the human practices performed by gentrifiers and the working class in a variety of contexts.

7.5.2 Lived Life course

Life course was interesting in terms of how it manifested differently in market towns in terms of gentrification. Existing research has tended not to create specific life course groupings from younger to older age ranges which I believe to be disappointing ─ if life course research has been about considering life events at different stages of people's lives, we need to be considering what particular events influence human beings at differing stages of their lives (O'Rand and Krecker, 1990). This leads to a plethora of literatures on life course ─ whilst interesting ─ leads to a fragmentation of the literature and limits scope for comparability across disciplinary boundaries.

In the context of the geriatrification of Swaffham, specific housing estates geared towards early retirement and the retired linked to the wider aging of society and particularly rural society (Wenger, 2001). The working class interviewee below highlights some of the features of these estates:

> "*Yes there is. It is a pre-retirement estate; you have to be over 55 to be on here. We go local pubs for a lunch. They go down to the swimming pool as well as bowls*".(**Lutterworth Interview 6, female, working class, 65+ age group**).

These retirement estates were private spaces, in one instance in Swaffham, as a researcher, I had inadvertently parked on the kerb in order to drop off questionnaires and was challenged by a local. This was due to the residents in these retirement estates having to pay for the maintenance of the pavements and the basic infrastructure. These estates fulfilled a demand for older retirees to be housed separately away from younger families who might have children, which older people did complain about during the semi-structured interview process.

What has been interesting whilst analysing the data from the fieldwork, has been the strategic thought behind people living longer and how people have been putting strategies in place to negate aging. Gentrifiers have been in the best position to achieve a good standard of living in older age. This was reflected in geriatrifier renovation practice in some instances, although more research would need to be conducted to verify this. The quotation below reflects how residents in Swaffham have planned for later stages of their life course:

> "*There's two things now..previously we lived where we moved. When we first started looking round, I was due to retire and at that point I had to retire at 60. With the new legislation I could have stayed on. Another job came up that was part-time. It just seemed sensible to go into semi-retirement. That meant when we looked at a) could I still carrying on working where I was b) its investing in your life as opposed to finance*". (**Swaffham Interview 2, male, geriatrifier, 61 to 65 age group**).

In this instance, we can see how a service class geriatrifier has taken on new leisure activities later on in the life course. The activities undertaken tended to be local, such as attending more amateur dramatics rather than going to the theatre for example, which in Swaffham was logical as a reasonably sized theatre would be a 30-mile drive, which was not the situation in a market town such as Towcester.

The negative accounts of living in the market towns were reflected by those gentrifiers and working class who were of working age. This was reflected in both Swaffham and a few examples are highlighted here:

> "*I actually trained in interior design so it is a kind of an obsession. I don't buy this place to live in as a home, I bought it cos I got divorced and I did not want to move the kids and let them finished college*". (**Swaffham Interview 9, female, sweat equity/marginal gentrifier, 41 to 50 age group**).

> "*Again I can't really tell the difference because, I get in at half five, and before you know it its half seven. Erm.. it has been like that since I have had these pair, the last seven or eight years unless one of us has got something planned or there is at least one of us here. We rarely go out mid-week together cos the kids are in bed half seven eight o clock we don't do nothing else. I'm probably not an ideal candidate for your interview*". (**Swaffham Interview 16, working class, 31 to 40 age group**).

The first quote reflects a functional house purchase to deal with circumstances at the time and with children ─ the market town in a rural context providing the better educational opportunities. It is also reflected in marginal gentrifiers identified, who in a previous phase of the life course where perhaps more affluent but changes in family circumstances meant that a relatively affluent position could not be maintained. This experience with having children and the difficulties of balancing the spheres of employment and home life were associated with the middle class interviewees.

Although Chapter 5 concluded that moving for employment was a strong 'pull' factor towards moving into Towcester, by looking at gentrifier motivations for moving into market towns, interviews allowed the true extent of intersections of people's migration practices to be revealed:

> "*Initially it was closer to where my husband was working at the time and then we had a quick look on the internet as to what schools were available, as Matthew was only a year and a half, at the time. Erm.. but certainly there were schools with good reputations that were not far away, made a difference. Also as there were three or four that I was happy to send him to, I was happy to go on this estate*". (**Towcester Interview 5, female, professional/managerial, 41 to 50 age group**).

For the younger to middle age gentrifiers, education was a powerful factor and this family forming stage of the life course in a gentrification context has been discussed by Karsten (2003), although in the case of Towcester, the town reflects people having children much

later in the life course compared with previous generations (Stein and Susser, 2000). Interestingly, children have been found to do better with older parents (35 and older) as opposed to very young parents ─ reflecting the often higher education credentials of service class gentrifiers (Zybert *et al.*, 1978).

7.6 Summary

This chapter has examined a variety of lived practices relating the interviewees who inhabit the market towns of Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester. The purpose has been to determine how the gentrifiers in market towns compared with the characterisations in the gentrification literature.

The professional/managerial gentrifiers were found to be quite similar in their lived everyday practices. There was some evidence of renovation both in previous residential locations and in their new homes. However, this was not noted as a significant practice compared with other studies of gentrification in the past (Glass, 1964; Jager, 1986; Helms, 2003).

Bridge (2003; 2006) has noted the realities of finding a home to aid a growing family mean gentrifiers often have to compromise their ideals and buy into suburbia and this was found to be the case in Towcester. The point of much of the gentrification literature has been to show how distinctive gentrifier practices compare with the working class in which they displace. The overall lack of 'distinctive' physical renovation activity in the market towns ─ already noted in Chapter 5 ─ might reflect the composition of market town housing

stock, which is increasingly being added to through new estate developments (Powe and Gunn, 2008).

The other major group of gentrifiers were the geriatrifiers and their practices in the lived space of the market towns reflected the more advanced age range and their status as early retirees/retirees. It is worthy of note that although these interviewees would be considered beyond the normal age range of traditional gentrifiers where the age ceiling appears to stop in the forties (Karsten, 2003; Boterman *et al.*, 2010), they have been able to unlock the capital from previous residential locations.

In Lutterworth, these residential locations were quite diverse, perhaps correlating with the M1 link, with London less of an influence compared with Swaffham and Towcester. Swaffham on the other hand had quite close ties with London with both the working class and middle class citing London based settlements in previous places lived. The town was benefitting from the coastal premium that was required to live in popular areas such as Dorset, where both retirees and a tourism market have forced up prices significantly.

The wider demographic situation in England should also be borne in mind when discussing market town gentrification. The population overall is aging and the living standards of younger adults has begun to decline as many topical books such as '*Generation Debt*' have documented the decline of the young and the educated and this could see the decline of the 'yuppie' young professional/managerial gentrifiers typical of the 1980s (Smith, 1987b; Short, 1989; Kamenetz, 2006).

The very act of living in a market, based on the research conducted in this thesis, appears to reflect a government policy drive to concentrate rural housing in the market towns to negate the lack of progress made in building homes in rural villages in the past. Market towns also appear to be representative of the emancipatory power of the 'thirdspace' that Soja (1996) has documented ─ they have allowed the service class to maintain both a job in a large urban centre and still occupy a place in the country.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Key Findings

This thesis has sought to ascertain evidence of gentrification within English market towns. What the chapters have indicated is that gentrification is taking place in market towns although it has reached deferring stages of maturity. An analysis of the 1991 and 2001 GB census indicated that we could identify those market towns that were likely candidates for gentrification and this was used as a basis for selecting the three case study market towns used in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Based on the quantitative and qualitative data collected, market towns could be viewed from four vantage points:

Non-gentrifying towns: These market towns appear to be dominated by working class populations and tend to be located in relatively less affluent parts of England, such as the North East. These towns appear to have had a history of lower socio-economic status.

Potential to gentrify: This was a category reflecting market towns such as Swaffham. These towns at least statistically do not appear to be gentrifying, although this approach neglects the changes that can take place during inter-censual periods. The potential is based on demographic factors, such as the aging rural population (Champion and Hugo, 2004; Champion, 2007) and the fact that the baby boomers are approaching or are in retirement and are one of the most affluent generations in recent history (Willetts, 2010).

Gentrifying market towns: These are market towns that are undergoing the early stages of gentrification, characteristic of the first and second waves of gentrification (Hackworth and

Smith, 2001). As with Lutterworth, there could also be evidence of the third wave in terms of extensive regeneration plans for market towns.

Gentrified market towns: These are market towns in the vein of Towcester and are already gentrified. They tend to have more people who belong to the service classes as opposed to the working class, unlike non-gentrifying towns.

I think this is a crucial intervention for researching market towns when compared to existing studies that have been biased towards market town economics, such as service delivery and regeneration (Caffyn, 2004; Powe and Shaw, 2004; Powe and Hart, 2007), although Powe and Gunn (2008) have begun to focus on housing as significant in a market town context. Housing was important within the case study towns, as the level of housing development in terms of their size was indicative of the levels of gentrification experienced.

Table 8.1 Population of cases market towns compared with England between 1991 and 2001.

Market town	Stage of gentrification	1991 GB census	2001 GB census	% Change
Lutterworth	'gentrifying'	7,380	8,752	+15.68%
Swaffham	'potential to gentrify'	5,332	6,734	+20.82%
Towcester	'gentrified'	7,005	8,073	+13.23%
England		47,875,031 (millions)	49,138,831 (millions)	+2.60%

Although the towns had relatively similar populations as of 2001, it was Towcester that had the largest future housing developments, with Towcester Vale containing up to 5,000 dwellings. Additional development up to 2020 will see the town reach a population of around 20,000.

This approach of dividing market towns into four categories might be seen as 'reductionism' however, from the evidence collated it does not appear prudent to argue that market towns were all similar urban settlements, although it was recognised there would be market towns that do not fit neatly into the above categories.

Soja's (1996) Lefebvre influenced first, second and thirdspace epistemology was employed as an attempt to move beyond the 'double illusion' highlighted of concentrating on the first and secondspace when examining geographical phenomena. The existing research has tended to analyse the statistical evidence, which is perhaps a logical step, although as I noted in Chapter 4, it was very difficult to manipulate the GB census data due to market towns being inadequately defined, unlike larger towns and cities which are far easier to analyse with socio-demographic data. As Boyle *et al*. acknowledged in comparing the US census with the GB census and comparing variables that were measured differently, the use of SEGs in 1991 and the NS-SEC for the 2001 GB census also made comparisons across time difficult (Boyle *et al.*, 2002).

Within Swaffham the evidence of gentrification was represented through the continued presence of older and more affluent geriatrifiers, leading to what has been termed previously 'geriatrification' which has been used in the academic literature in the context of a general ageing of rural society and as one explanation for continued counterurbanisation (Weekley, 1988; Farmer *et al.*, 2001).

In Lutterworth, the town does not physically appear 'gentrified' in terms of a visible gentrification aesthetic as Zukin outlined in the late 1980s with the brownstone properties in the US and the obsession with Victorian/Georgian property highlighted in Australia and England (Glass, 1964; Jager, 1986; Zukin, 1987).

It was Bridge (2006) who argued that based on a case study of a gentrified neighbourhood in Bristol that gentrification 'is not just a question of taste'. In this instance, gentrifiers due in part to family commitments were looking to move beyond the confines of inner city space where family homes of a decent size were not readily available. For Swaffham, the geriatrifiers were often thwarted from retiring to established bastions of middle class retirement such as Dorset, due to such areas already being geriatrified and associated with the tourist industry that had forced up property prices.

In Towcester, the professional managerial workers occupying NS-SEC classes 1 & 2 in the 2001 GB census were present in a similar concentration to Lutterworth. However, as was noted towards the end of Chapter 5, the jobs people had in Towcester were more likely to be professional, with a differing set of jobs cited in interviews and questionnaire data such as people working in the financial sector as graphic designers or computer developers. The differences were reflective of local labour market geographies and within the last couple of decades there has been recognition that in both the academic and policy arenas that the national labour market masked local and regional variations (Peck, 1989; Martin, 2003).

Table 8.2 Gentrifier types for all three market towns.

Gentrifier type	Frequency	Percentage
Professional/managerial gentrifier	56	30.60%
Sweat equity/marginal gentrifier	4	2.19%
Landlord and developer gentrifier	13	7.10%
Geriatrifier	23	12.57%
Rural gentrifier	14	7.65%
Petite bourgeoisie	2	1.09%
Working class (non-gentrifiers)	44	24.04%
Cannot classify	19	10.38%
Super gentrifier	8	4.37%
Total	183	99.99%

***Note: Not all column totals add to precisely 100% due to SPSS rounding errors when rounding to whole numbers. The errors, if present, are very small.**

Professional/managerial gentrifiers across all towns accounted for 30.6% of the questionnaire survey undertaken. Geriatrifiers made up 12.6% of the total sample, although they were predominantly concentrated in Swaffham. Landlord/developer gentrifiers and rural gentrifiers accounted for roughly 7% respectively with the supergentrifiers accounting for 4.4% of total respondents to the questionnaire and like the geriatrifiers; these were specifically concentrated in one of the market towns, which was Towcester.

The tables to follow outline the gentrifier types divided by the respective case study market town.

Table 8.3 Gentrifier types in Lutterworth.

Gentrifier type	Frequency	Percentage
Professional/managerial gentrifier	17	32.08%
Sweat equity/marginal gentrifier	2	3.77%
Landlord and developer gentrifier	4	7.55%
Geriatrifier	4	7.55%
Rural gentrifier	9	16.98%
Non-gentrifier	10	18.87%
Cannot classify	6	11.32%
Super gentrifier	1	1.89%
Total	53	100.01

***Note: Not all column totals add to precisely 100% due to SPSS rounding errors when rounding to whole numbers. The errors, if present, are very small.**

The gentrification in Lutterworth was defined by the professional and managerial gentrifiers and interestingly followed by rural gentrifiers. The rural gentrifiers were concentrated in Lutterworth (64.3% of the total number identified across the three towns) which was intriguing bearing in mind that Swaffham was more remote in terms of its proximity to larger towns and cities.

With Swaffham, by examining Table 8.4, a different pattern of gentrifier types was identified compared with Lutterworth. The professional and managerial element was much lower (6.5%) reflecting in the retired characteristics of the overall population in Swaffham (see Chapter 4). This was where the geriatrifiers were established and their dominance amongst identified gentrifier types in Swaffham was apparent.

Table 8.4 Gentrifier types in Swaffham.

Gentrifier type	Frequency	Percentage
Professional/managerial gentrifier	4	6.45%
Sweat equity/marginal gentrifier	2	3.23%
Landlord and developer gentrifier	2	3.23%
Geriatrifier	16	25.81%
Rural gentrifier	3	4.84%
Petite Bourgeoisie	2	3.23%
Non-gentrifier	24	38.71%
Cannot classify	9	14.52%
Total	62	100.02

***Note: Not all column totals add to precisely 100% due to SPSS rounding errors when rounding to whole numbers. The errors, if present, are very small.**

Table 8.5 indicates the aforementioned dominance of the professional/managerial gentrifiers who account for 51.5% of all gentrifiers identified in Towcester.

Table 8.5 Gentrifier types in Towcester.

Gentrifier type	Frequency	Percentage
Professional/managerial gentrifier	35	51.47%
Landlord and developer gentrifier	7	10.29%
Geriatrifier	3	4.41%
Rural gentrifier	2	2.94%
Non-gentrifier	10	14.71%
Cannot classify	4	5.88%
Super gentrifier	7	10.29%
Total	68	99.99%

***Note: Not all column totals add to precisely 100% due to SPSS rounding errors when rounding to whole numbers. The errors, if present, are very small.**

Table 8.6 specifically highlights the key characteristics of the gentrifiers identified in Chapter 5 and the data collected was intriguing in the context of the thesis title 'The transformation of English market towns: gentrification'. Whilst Chapter 5 initially attempted to focus on the key differences between the working class and middle class populations within the case study market towns, analysis of the data led to a more nuanced interpretation of the gentrification processes taking place in English market towns. The provision of retail facilities identified in Chapter 7 was indicative of the importance of research that examines the effects of concentrations of particular social groups such as affluent retirees and mobile middle class gentrifiers towards further clustering in affluent commuter settlements.

Table 8.6 indicated that the gentrifiers in markets towns occupied key life course stages, which differed from some existing conceptualisations, particularly the older phases to which evidence from Swaffham indicates we need to reconsider:

Young adult: In a market town context, gentrifiers have been recruited from those middle class people in their 20s which became known as the yuppies (Smith, 1987b; Short, 1989). In the rural context at least in the early adult life course stage, there appeared to be less younger adults present within the case study market towns and there was little provison for first-time home buyers. For some this was also the stage of family formation, although this tended to be evident in Towcester.

Table 8.6 Socio-economic characteristics of different gentrifiers identified in Lutterworth, Swaffham and Towcester.

Gentrifier types	Age	Housing group	Income (Gross)	Dual Income service class household (%)	Educational qualifications	Secondary school	Politics
Geriatrifiers	51 to 60, 61 to 65 & 65+	Semi-detached, detached	£30,000 to £49,999	39.1% of gentrifiers	Professional or vocational qualifications. (39% of gentrifiers).	Grammar school, & Secondary modern.	Conservative
Landlord/developers	31 to 40, 41 to 50	Detached	£30,000 to £49,999 and £50,000 to £99,999	53.8% of gentrifiers	Degrees Professional or vocational qualifications. (38.4% of gentrifiers).	Comprehensive, Grammar, secondary modern.	Conservative
Rural gentrifiers	41 to 50	Detached	£50,000 to £99,999	71.4% of gentrifiers	Degrees Professional or vocational qualifications. (57.1% of gentrifiers).	Comprehensive	Undecided voters, Conservative & Labour split.
Professional & Managerial gentrifiers	31 to 40, 51 to 60	Detached	£50,000 to £99,999	78.2% of gentrifiers	Degrees/higher degrees (60% of gentrifiers).	Comprehensive	Conservative
Super-gentrifiers	31 to 40, 41 to 50	Detached	£100,000 to £149,000	87.5% of gentrifiers	37.5% with degree/higher degree.	Comprehensive	Conservative

Adult: This stage of the market town gentrifier life course includes the 31 to 40 age groups. The expansion of higher education has delayed entry of young people into the work force. In addition, this was the age group that was starting to establish itself in Towcester as they have accrued a critical mass of both culture and capital required to invest in more prestigious market towns. This was the most common age to have children for professional/managerial gentrifiers.

Mature adult: This group encompassed those aged 41 to 50 age group. This was where the rural gentrifiers in Lutterworth were clustered in a slightly older age range compared with other gentrifiers, who by this stage of the gentrifier life course had the ability to acquire property in market towns.

Pre-retirement/retirement: This stage of the market town gentrifier life course was perhaps the most interesting contribution to the existing body of gentrification research. These gentrifiers tended to be in the 51 to 60, 61 to 65 and 65 plus age groups, reflecting those who have been able to take early retirement and predominately from the middle class respondents sampled from the questionnaires. In terms of the assets they possess, these were locked up in their properties with Swaffham being a casing point where a London based location enabled many to obtain a larger property than before. In addition, this stage of the gentrifier life course allowed for participation in the local community more so than those in the younger life course stages where family formation inhibited community participation.

8.2 Market Town Gentrification: A Differing Aesthetic?

Market towns displayed evidence whereby migratory practice was motivated in a functional sense, such as being proximate to workplaces and in Towcester. This factor along with the market town being smaller than many of the previous urban centres people had lived in before means that gentrification in smaller urban spaces should be taken seriously within the gentrification literature. The 'aesthetic' of this town was attractive in that it was represented as an historical market town with traditional independent shops and secondly as a place becoming increasingly urban ─ reflected by developments out-of-town which included both a mini retail park and office/industrial spaces.

Keeble and Tyler (1995) noted such trends in the 1980s and 1990s in regards to firms wishing to locate into rural areas. Thus far, this has predominantly been in rural areas immediately outside London but Towcester was providing evidence that this trend was extending into the market towns and ones much further away from the influence of London and the South East.

Although Lutterworth was not as aesthetically pleasing in terms of possessing an attractive historical core (there were some aesthetically pleasing buildings), there was evidence of the influence of the extensive distribution network centred on Magna Park, one of the largest transport and distribution parks in Europe. In fact, this feature was probably more significant than the landscape of the built environment of Lutterworth as this influenced people moving for employment reasons.

A more extensive development of office businesses from a mixture of industries were present, and as noted, the professional and managerial jobs reflected this difference compared with Towcester and further highlights the need to move beyond analysing market towns through the firstspace. The NS-SEC used in the 2001 GB census had both Lutterworth and Towcester with a similar class composition, Lutterworth with 42% of people allocated to NS-SEC class groups 1 & 2 along with Towcester. However, as the thesis has shown, market towns are very different from each other and the drivers of gentrification vary.

Swaffham had differing aesthetic qualities again and reflected within the statistics in Chapter 4, where the service class share of the population as of 2001 was much lower at 27.5%. As with Lutterworth and Towcester, the statistics can mask significant trends such as the 'geriatrification' of the population. The aesthetic qualities of the town were different, the service provision in Chapters 6 and 7 emphasised that the town was conducive for affluent retirees to buy property at reduced prices compared with popular urban areas elsewhere. The section to follow will reflect upon the aim set out in Chapter 1 of the thesis.

8.3 Move Beyond the Existing Urban/Rural Dualism in the Gentrification Literature.

This aim considered how to move beyond the separate usage of both rural gentrification and urban gentrification. From the evidence contained in Chapter 5, 6 and 7, there was little evidence of the rural gentrifiers who specifically moved to market towns for the

countryside idyll, apart from in Lutterworth, therefore it would appear market towns attract a differing type of gentrifier to that of rural villages, although they maintain the professional and managerial characteristics.

Another point to be made here is that as noted by Phillips (2010), urban gentrification has tended to provide scant linkage to the context of rural gentrification that was identified by Parsons (1979) in the late 1970s. This has begun to change in recent years with rural gentrification featuring more prominently within the academic literature (Guimond and Simard, 2010; Nelson *et al.*, 2010). The professional/managerial and geriatrifiers identified in this thesis indicate that there is, in fact, a close relationship between both the urban and the rural domain and that in part was due to the nature of the English housing market – people move across both urban and rural space at different stages of their life course.

Reflecting on the new policy discourses in the policy literature, city regions have become prominent for integrating market towns into the wider settlement hierarchy, although this work has tended to concentrate of the South East of England where London is so influential (Fielding, 1992). However, this thesis has ascertained that market towns outside of the immediate influence of London have the potential to be middle class enclaves. This appeared to be related to the mobility of the middle class in so far as the sphere of their influence has been aided by the continued dominance of the car and reduced commute times that trains have provided (Headicar, 2004).

If the three case study market towns are considered, however, in the context of their transportation links, none of these towns had a train station. A car was required in order to travel to key locations, with Towcester within an easy commute to Milton Keynes where trains were available to travel into the South East of England and especially London. For Lutterworth, this practice was not possible and the M1 was a more important link for people and in Swaffham transport linkages were much poorer than Lutterworth and Towcester and this was reflected in the lower number of professional and managerial gentrifiers that were present in significant numbers in Swaffham. The lack of motorways through Norfolk coupled with the availability of cheaper properties allowed for a different demographic trajectory for Swaffham to develop, and thus influence the forms of gentrification that could take hold.

Powe *et al* (2007b) also noted that although some market towns possess railway infrastructure, the car was the dominant mode of transport for the commuters living in or around market towns. This last point is pertinent considering that under public policy planning guidance on transport in rural areas, market towns had been targeted as settlements that could demonstrate sustainable use of transport (ODPM, 2001). The next section will consider the future research agenda that has emerged from studying market towns and the identification of gentrification.

8.6 Future Research Agenda for Gentrification in Market Towns

In the next few years, the outputs for the 2011 GB census will become available and for the first time ─ we will be able to compare 2001 data with 2011 and see how market towns

populations have changed. Defining specifically the output level geography of market towns as outlined in Chapter 4 requires the action of interested stakeholders, such as Action for Market Towns, Rural Quangos and Local Authorities to lobby for the census data to be enumerated in such a way as to allow easy comparison across 2001 and 2011 data sets. This would enable easy comparison of census socio-demographic data such as social class, education data and population change statistics.

Further research would consider the thirdspace of market towns in specific detail ─ this would be achieved through a more detailed ethnographic study of a market town in order to understand how the working class and middle class live in market towns. Focusing attention on one market town would enable a detailed study of the lived space of the town to be conducted and the local decision-making bodies within a town could be tracked to examine the policy discourses that affect the everyday lives of residents.

This study has sought to provide a more holistic account of market towns and the extent of gentrification across different types of market towns. These settlements in an English context, deserve more attention by gentrification scholars in terms of examining spatial territories that represent the leading edge of post-recession gentrification in the 21st Century.

Appendix 3.1 Questionnaire survey

020910219

A study of social change in Lutterworth, Leicestershire. University of Leicester, PhD Research Project.

Your views on Lutterworth

1. Could you indicate your gender?

Male [ ](1) Female [ ](2)

2. How would you describe Lutterworth? (Please feel free to use the space provided)

.....

.....

.....

3. Do you think Lutterworth is a rural town? Yes [ ](1) No [ ](2)

If Yes, what makes it rural?.....

If No, what makes it urban?.....

4. How long have you lived in Lutterworth? (Tick one box)

Less than 1 year [ ](1) 1 to 5 years [ ](2) 6 to 10 years [ ](3) 11 to 15 years [ ](4)

16 to 20 years [ ](5) 21 years plus [ ](6)

5. Could you indicate whether you (Please tick what best applies)

a) Own [ ](1)

b) Rent your property [ ](2)

c) Are a partner/spouse [ ](3)

d) A Tenant of the property [ ](4)

f) Other (Such as Social HomeBuy and government schemes) [ ](5)

6. If you own a property, do you share this property with anyone else?

Husband/wife [ ](1) Partner [ ](2) Lodger [ ](3)

Tenant [ ](4) Not applicable [ ](5) Other (Specify)[ ](6)

.....

7. How has Lutterworth changed since you moved here? (If you have moved very recently, how is it different from your previous place of residence)

.....

.....

Please Continue overleaf

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8. What were your reasons for moving to Lutterworth?

.....

.....

.....

9. Which of the following were most important in choosing your current property? (Circle each choice to indicate the level of importance where a score of 1 = Extremely Important, 2 = Quite Important, 3 = Important, 4 = Important but not a priority, 5 = Not Important)

A Rural location	1	2	3	4	5
Proximity to your workplace	1	2	3	4	5
Proximity to Urban Area	1	2	3	4	5
An investment	1	2	3	4	5
Proximity of shop facilities	1	2	3	4	5
As good environment for children	1	2	3	4	5
Local schools	1	2	3	4	5
Proximity of public services (Such as health)	1	2	3	4	5
Closer to family relations	1	2	3	4	5

Other reasons (Please elaborate).....

10. Had you moved from a city or large urban area before moving to Lutterworth? (Give as much detail as you can)

Yes [ ](1) No [ ](2)

If Yes, what motivated you to move into a market town?

.....

.....

If No, did you move from a rural area such as another village or market town? (If possible specify settlement name)

Yes [ ](1) No [ ](2) Other [ ](3) Not applicable [ ](4) (Please explain here).....

.....

11. What do you like about Lutterworth?

.....

.....

.....

Please Continue overleaf 2

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12. Are any of the following a problem in Lutterworth? (Tick those that apply)

Housing development	[ ](1)	Traffic	[ ](2)	Lack of public services	[ ](3)
Loss of green spaces	[ ](4)	Pollution	[ ](5)	Access to the countryside	[ ](6)
Urban Growth	[ ](7)	Poverty	[ ](8)	Public transport provision	[ ](9)

Other problems? [ ](10) Please elaborate……

……..

Improvements to your home

13. What was the condition of your property when you bought it? (Tick box that best applies)

No need for renovation	[ ](1)	Required renovating	[ ](2)	In a state of disrepair	[ ](3)
Other state/condition	[ ](4)	(Specify here)……			

14. Do you own any other property? Yes [ ](1) No [ ](2) (If **no**, go to question **16**)

If Yes, Where is it located and what type of property is it?

……..

15. If you own any other property, what was the main reason for its purchase?

……

……

16. Do you have any future plans to invest in the property market? Yes [ ](1) No [ ](2)

17. Have you undertaken any internal or external improvements to your property? (Please tick)

Internal Improvements

Refitted your Kitchen	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Improved Bathroom	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Added Bedrooms	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Built/rebuilt internal walls	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Changed style of internal décor	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)

Other (Please specify) ……..

External Improvements

New roofing	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Built/rebuilt outside walls	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Extension	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Conservatory	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Loft Conversion	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Landscaped the garden	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)
Patio installation	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)	Not Applicable [ ](3)

Other improvements (Please specify)……..

Please Continue overleaf

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18. What were the main reasons behind any improvements you made to your property? (Tick those that apply)

a) To add value to the property [ ](1) b) Creating more living space [ ](2)
c) Modernising the style/architecture [ ](3) d) Keeping property in character [ ](4)
e) Other reasons (Please indicate below) [ ](5) f) None apply [ ](6)

……

19. Was this work undertaken by yourself or was somebody else employed?

Myself or other household member [ ](1)
Employed somebody [ ](2)
Other arrangement/situation [ ](3)

Please elaborate ……

If you employed someone, what was their name and where were they based?

……

……

20. Do you intend to carry out any further work on the interior or exterior of the property?

Yes [ ](1) No [ ](2)

If Yes, what form would this work take? (For example an extension or new kitchen/bedroom decoration etc) ……

Your lifestyle and occupation

21. Which of the following activities have you taken part in/visited within the last 12 months?

English restaurant	[ ](1)	French restaurant	[ ](2)	Chinese restaurant	[ ](3)
Greek restaurant	[ ](4)	Indian restaurant	[ ](5)	Italian restaurant	[ ](6)
Japanese restaurant	[ ](7)	Spanish restaurant	[ ](8)	Turkish restaurant	[ ](9)
Other eateries (List in below)	[ ](10)	Horse riding	[ ](11)	Socialise with friends	[ ](12)
Use the local pub	[ ](13)	Hunting	[ ](14)	Watched a musical	[ ](15)
Holidays in the countryside	[ ](16)	Visits to art galleries	[ ](17)	Local association	[ ](18)
Visit to the theatre	[ ](19)	Day trip with children	[ ](20)	Book/literature event	[ ](21)
Cultural festival	[ ](22)	Play or drama	[ ](23)	Classical/jazz concert	[ ](24)
Opera	[ ](25)	Other (List)	[ ](26)	……	

……

22. Have you participated in any of the following sports/exercise activities within the last 12 months?

a) Cricket	[ ](1)	c) Rugby	[ ](2)	d) Bowls/skittles	[ ](3)	e) Tennis	[ ](4)
f) Swimming	[ ](5)	g) Gym	[ ](6)	h) Squash	[ ](7)	i) Golf	[ ](8)
j) Walking	[ ](9)	k) Running	[ ](10)	l) Cycling	[ ](11)	m)Yoga	[ ](12)
n) None	[ ](13)	o) Other	[ ](14)	(Please Specify)……			

Are there any of the above, which you used to play/participate in? ……

Please Continue overleaf 4

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23. Which age band do you fall within?

18-21 [ ](1) 22-30 [ ](2) 31-40 [ ](3) 41-50 [ ](4) 51-60 [ ](5) 61-65 [ ](6) 65+ [ ](7)

24. If a general election were to be called, which party would you intend to vote for?

Conservative	[ ](1)	Labour	[ ](2)	Liberal Democrats	[ ](3)
Green Party	[ ](4)	British National Party	[ ](5)	UK Independence Party	[ ](6)
Other	[ ](7)	Do not vote	[ ](8)	Have not decided	[ ](9)

25. What type of secondary school did you attend? (Tick an appropriate box)

Comprehensive	[ ](1)	Grammar	[ ](2)	Secondary Modern	[ ](3)	Public	[ ](4)
Direct Grant	[ ](5)	Other type	[ ](6)	(Please Specify).....			

26. What education qualifications do you possess?

A School Certificate	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)
C.S.E's	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)
GCE's	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)
GCSE's	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)
O-levels	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)
A levels	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)
Degree (B.A./B.Sc)	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)
Higher Degree (e.g. MSc, PhD)	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)
None of the above	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)
Professional/Vocational Qualification	Yes [ ](1)	No [ ](2)

Please specify .....

27. If you have undertaken a degree level qualification, what did you study? (Inc diplomas, etc.)

The Arts/Humanities	[ ](1)	Social Science	[ ](2)
Science, Technology and Engineering	[ ](3)	Business Studies	[ ](4)
Law, Accounts, Finance	[ ](5)	Educational	[ ](6)
Medicine/Health	[ ](7)	None	[ ](8)
Other	[ ](9)	(Specify below)	

.....

28. If you have school age children, do you intend for them to go on to university?

Yes [ ](1) No [ ](2) Don't Know [ ](3) Childs decision [ ](4) No Children [ ](5)

Children already attended University [ ](6) (Please elaborate which university).....

.....

29. What is your Occupational status?

Paid remunerative employment	[ ](1)	Looking after the home	[ ](2)	Full-time employment	[ ](3)
Part-time employment	[ ](4)	Looking for employment	[ ](5)	In full-time education	[ ](6)
Retired	[ ](7)	Other occupational status	[ ](8)		

Please Continue overleaf

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If never in paid/remunerative employment go to question 36, otherwise please continue. Tick all that apply

30. What is the name/title of your current or last job held?.....
(Please list previous employment if looking for work or retired)

31. What does your current job involve? (If not in paid employment, skip. If retired describe last job held).....
.....

32. Are you/were you a) Employed [ ](1) b) Self employed [ ](2) c) Not applicable [ ](3)

33. If self-employed, are you working on your own or with the help of employees?
a) On own/with partner(s) but no employees [ ](1) b) With Employees [ ](2)
c) Not applicable or other [ ](3) (Please elaborate).....

34. In your job, do you have any formal responsibility for the work carried out by employees?
Yes [ ](1) No [ ](2) Not Applicable [ ](3)

35. How many people work at your place of employment in total? 1-24 [ ](1) 25- 499 [ ](2) 500+ [ ](3)

36. Can you describe the occupation of other members of your household?.....
.....

37. How would you describe your ethnic origin? (Please tick the appropriate box)

White	Mixed	Asian or Asian British	Black or Black British	Chinese or other Ethnic Group
British [ ](1)	White & Black Caribbean [ ](6)	Indian [ ](11)	Caribbean [ ](16)	Chinese [ ](20)
Irish [ ](2)	White & Black African [ ](7)	Pakistani [ ](12)	African [ ](17)	Any other [ ](21)
White European [ ](3)	White & Asian [ ](8)	Bangladeshi [ ](13)	Any other Black background [ ](18)	
White Other [ ](4)	Any other Mixed background [ ](9)	Any other Asian background [ ](14)		
Please specify 'Other'(5)	Please specify 'other Mixed background'(10)	Please specify 'other Asian background'(15)	Please specify 'Black background'(19)	Please specify 'Any other'(22) ....

Please Continue overleaf 6

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38. Which of these figures is nearest to your annual gross household income? (Income before tax/ deductions, please note this is anonymous and used to compare differing market towns)

a)	£2,000 to £4,999	[ ](1)	h)	£50,000 to £99,999	[ ](8)
b)	£5,000 to £7,499	[ ](2)	i)	£100,000 to £149,999	[ ](9)
c)	£7,500 to £9,999	[ ](3)	j)	£150,000 to £199,999	[ ](10)
d)	£10,000 to £14,999	[ ](4)	k)	£200,000 to £249,999	[ ](11)
e)	£15,000 to £19,999	[ ](5)	l)	£250,000 or more	[ ](12)
f)	£20,000 to £29,999	[ ](6)	m)	Do not know	[ ](13)
g)	£30,000 to £49,999	[ ](7)	n)	Not prepared to say	[ ](14)
			o)	None	[ ](15)

Consumption

39. Which daily newspapers does your household take during the week/weekend? (Tick which apply)

Daily Mail	[ ](1)	Daily Telegraph	[ ](2)	Financial Times	[ ](3)
Guardian	[ ](4)	Independent	[ ](5)	Times	[ ](6)
The Sun	[ ](7)	The Star	[ ](8)	Other (specify)	[ ](9)

.....

Independent on Sunday	[ ](10)	Mail on Sunday	[ ](11)	News of the World	[ ](12)
Sunday Mirror	[ ](13)	The Sunday Express	[ ](14)	The Sunday Telegraph	[ ](15)
The Sunday Times	[ ](16)	The Observer	[ ](17)	Other	[ ](18)
None	[ ](19)				

40. Do you listen to the radio? Yes [ ](1) No [ ](2)

41. If you answered 'Yes' which stations would you listen to? (Tick, which apply)

Classic FM	[ ](1)	Capital FM	[ ](2)	Kiss	[ ](3)	Jazz FM	[ ](4)
BBC Radio 1	[ ](5)	BBC Radio 2	[ ](6)	BBC Radio 3	[ ](7)	BBC Radio 4	[ ](8)
Five Live	[ ](9)	Virgin Radio	[ ](10)	Other Station	[ ](11)	(Please specify below)	

.....

42. Do you shop at any of the following for daily supplies/provisions?

The local shops [ ](1) Local market (inc. farmers) [ ](2)

Supermarkets [ ](3) (Write down the one you use the most)

.....

43. Do you read any of the following Magazines? (Please tick any that apply)

Countryside/Country Living

Farmer's Weekly	[ ](1)	Countryman Magazine	[ ](2)	Country Living Magazine	[ ](3)
BBC Countryfiles	[ ](4)	The Field	[ ](5)	National Geographic	[ ](6)
Country Kitchen	[ ](7)	The English Garden	[ ](8)	Sporting Shooter	[ ](9)
Heritage	[ ](10)	Field Sports	[ ](11)	Grow it!	[ ](12)
National Trust	[ ](13)	None	[ ](14)	Other (Please specify)	[ ](15)

.....

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Home & Gardening

Kitchen Garden	[ ](16) Period Living	[ ](17) Move or Improve	[ ](18)
Home Build & Ren	[ ](19) Self Build Update	[ ](20) Organic Gardening	[ ](21)
None	[ ](22) Other (Please specify below)	[ ](23)	

.....

Amateur Gardening	[ ](24) Country Homes & Interiors	[ ](25) Homes and Gardens	[ ](26)
Livingetc	[ ](27) Beautiful Kitchens	[ ](28) Period Ideas	[ ](29)
Gardeners World	[ ](30) BBC Good Food	[ ](31) Ideal Home	[ ](32)
The English Garden	[ ](33) The English Home	[ ](34) Decanter Magazine	[ ](35)
None	[ ](36) Other (Please specify)	[ ](37)	

.....

Urban Living

Smart Life	[ ](38) BBC Good Homes	[ ](39) Grand Designs (Channel 4)	[ ](40)
Urban Life Magazine	[ ](41) Good Homes Magazines	[ ](42) None	[ ](43)
Other (Please Specify)	[ ](44)		

.....

The End!

Many thanks for completing the questionnaire your time is much appreciated

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Returning the Questionnaire

- I have included a **pre-paid** envelope with my address on the front and this can be posted.
- I can come and collect the questionnaire during my fieldwork programme. See contact details above and leave a message during my fieldwork period (check covering letter). I am in Lutterworth from Wednesday 29th October for about a month (end of November).

Please Continue overleaf

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Appendix 3.2 Working class market towns (Chapter 4)

NAME	Average WC	Average_IC	Average_SC
ABRAM	48.21	31.41	20.32
ACKWORTH MOOR TOP	31.61	32.43	35.83
ADLINGTON	30.34	32.76	37.00
ADWICK LE STREET	49.78	31.48	18.88
ALFORD	39.17	37.00	23.75
ALFRETON	42.52	31.91	25.56
ALNWICK	34.86	33.14	32.10
AMBLE	39.17	34.91	26.04
AMESBURY	28.42	34.36	37.15
ANNFIELD PLAIN	45.41	31.22	23.41
ANSTEY	33.35	33.30	33.25
ANSTON/DINNINGTON	35.00	33.16	31.84
APPLEBY	39.10	36.50	24.30
ARMTHORPE	42.72	33.67	23.65
ASHBOURNE	40.05	29.19	30.71
ASHINGTON (WANSBECK)	44.38	32.01	23.59
ASHTON-IN-MAKERFIELD	35.39	33.77	30.92
ASKAM IN FURNESS	36.45	37.18	26.18
ASKERN	53.78	29.11	16.94
ATHERSTONE	40.67	31.76	27.52
ATHERTON	39.44	35.23	25.29
ATTLEBOROUGH	36.74	32.37	30.94
AUDENSHAW	34.43	37.53	28.12
AUDLEY	36.50	33.55	29.85
AUGHTON	38.17	33.65	28.17
AVELEY	36.96	36.33	26.67
AWSWORTH	33.73	35.73	30.64
AXMINSTER	40.40	36.00	23.65
BACKWORTH	39.00	33.80	26.80
BACUP	43.23	30.42	26.38
BADDESLEY ENSOR	39.55	33.91	26.45
BARLBY	35.62	36.23	28.15
BARNARD CASTLE	27.75	37.33	34.88
BARNOLDSWICK	39.83	32.73	27.63
BARROWBY	29.17	33.17	37.50
BARTON-UPON-HUMBER	42.52	31.82	25.64
BEAN	31.33	36.33	32.17
BECCLES	36.92	34.08	28.94
BEDALE	30.47	35.27	34.13
BEDLINGTON	40.39	33.02	26.53

BEIGHTON	33.05	35.13	31.87
BELPER	29.93	32.16	37.88
BELTON (NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE)	30.63	33.88	35.75
BERKELEY	29.40	34.60	36.10
BERWICK-UPON-TWEED	44.63	31.72	23.67
BIDDULPH	38.24	33.84	28.05
BIDEFORD	40.49	33.75	25.90
BIGGLESWADE	29.44	34.06	36.52
BIRCHWOOD	36.32	33.02	30.66
BIRDWELL	37.17	36.17	26.58
BISHOP AUCKLAND	43.97	31.30	24.76
BISHOP'S CASTLE	36.50	36.50	26.83
BLABY	31.86	35.38	32.62
BLACKHALL COLLIERY	44.50	35.10	20.30
BLACKWELL	42.85	30.85	26.15
BLANDFORD FORUM	33.49	33.00	33.49
BLAYDON	41.98	32.85	25.00
BODMIN	40.23	34.47	25.49
BOLSOVER	39.98	35.00	24.86
BORROWASH	29.53	33.79	36.89
BOSTON SPA	22.36	28.68	49.00
BOUGHTON/OLLERTON	52.45	29.76	17.70
BOURNE	33.45	34.10	32.55
BOURTON-ON-THE-WATER	29.27	36.67	34.13
BOWERHILL	28.38	34.23	37.54
BRADING	37.29	34.57	27.86
BRAMFORD	30.14	35.43	34.57
BRAMPTON (CARLISLE)	34.80	31.60	33.80
BRANDON (FOREST HEATH)	40.45	33.55	26.03
BRAUNTON	31.06	38.47	30.59
BREDBURY AND ROMILEY	29.10	36.30	34.61
BRIDPORT	32.38	38.19	29.42
BRIERFIELD	35.88	32.51	31.53
BRIGG	36.96	33.30	29.83
BRIGHTLINGSEA	29.96	37.07	32.93
BRINNINGTON	55.96	27.19	16.73
BRIXHAM	33.88	36.21	29.85
BROADSTAIRS	29.00	35.14	35.88
BROMPTON NR NORTHALLERTON	28.57	35.00	36.14
BROMYARD	35.10	34.75	30.00
BROWNHILLS	39.48	32.92	27.55
BROWNHILLS WEST	42.80	32.40	24.90
BUCKTON VALE	32.73	34.64	32.82

BUDE/STRATTON	38.12	36.64	25.28
BULKINGTON	31.00	35.83	33.25
BUNGAY	37.21	33.89	28.79
BURNHAM-ON-SEA/HIGHBRIDGE	35.19	35.26	29.56
BURNTWOOD	32.56	35.14	32.33
BURSCOUGH BRIDGE	30.47	34.10	35.43
BURTON	30.00	33.50	36.50
BURTON LATIMER	33.04	35.43	31.61
BUXTON	34.87	32.99	32.23
CALNE	32.81	31.34	35.89
CALVERTON	30.87	35.52	33.57
CAMELFORD	34.00	41.33	25.33
CAMPSALL	39.13	31.38	29.63
CARNFORTH	32.37	35.63	31.89
CASTLE CARY	31.36	36.79	31.93
CASTLESIDE	44.56	32.13	23.31
CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH	34.19	32.76	33.19
CHAPELTOWN	34.84	35.03	30.13
CHARD	42.57	33.91	23.50
CHATTERIS	37.47	33.34	29.09
CHEADLE	38.16	34.41	27.45
CHERRY WILLINGHAM/REEPHAM	28.38	35.00	36.50
CHILTON (SEDGEFIELD)	52.14	30.36	17.50
CHURCH	48.52	30.26	21.35
CINDERFORD	41.16	35.24	23.63
CIRENCESTER	31.09	32.28	36.74
CLAY CROSS/NORTH WINGFIELD	43.18	32.60	24.17
CLAYDON	30.64	32.64	36.57
CLAYTON-LE-MOORS	36.85	33.52	29.56
CLEATOR MOOR	41.96	33.64	24.61
CLECKHEATON AND LIVERSEDGE	35.29	33.81	30.91
CLIFTON	49.66	31.32	18.97
CLITHEROE	31.31	33.37	35.23
CLOWNE	37.67	33.48	28.85
COATES/EASTREA	30.67	38.78	30.67
COLBURN	47.20	31.70	21.10
COLEFORD (FOREST OF DEAN)	35.33	36.19	28.46
COLNE	41.19	31.68	27.10
CONINGSBY	36.69	33.00	30.38
CONISBROUGH	47.26	31.26	21.55
CONSETT	37.00	31.21	31.73
COPPULL	39.46	34.35	26.19
COSTESSEY	31.89	34.44	34.11

COUNDON	52.08	30.08	17.85
COWES/NORTHWOOD	30.81	34.92	34.22
CRAMLINGTON	34.18	34.90	30.96
CREDITON	30.89	37.04	32.07
CREWKERNE	36.79	33.97	29.34
CROFT (BLABY)	30.83	35.17	34.17
CROMER	36.38	36.14	27.41
CROOK	45.19	31.71	23.16
CUDWORTH	48.45	32.76	18.89
CULLOMPTON	35.00	35.59	29.33
DALTON-IN-FURNESS	38.36	34.89	26.75
DARFIELD	45.17	31.93	22.97
DARTMOUTH	30.38	38.38	31.24
DARTON	37.55	30.98	31.42
DAVENTRY	39.72	31.01	29.25
DAWLISH	31.29	37.56	31.22
DEAL	32.28	35.04	32.79
DEANSHANGER	28.30	35.00	36.90
DEARHAM	40.29	36.57	23.00
DEARNE	48.27	33.73	18.16
DENTON (TAMESIDE)	37.73	36.95	25.36
DESBOROUGH	34.63	32.56	32.70
DEVIZES	32.06	33.85	34.13
DISS	35.00	31.26	33.71
DITCHINGHAM	34.50	34.88	30.75
DODWORTH	39.55	30.50	30.05
DONISTHORPE	35.87	31.61	32.43
DORDON/POLESWORTH	38.09	32.91	28.88
DOWNHAM MARKET	37.55	33.10	29.34
DROYLSDEN	37.83	37.35	24.83
DUKINFIELD	39.71	35.17	25.11
DURSLEY	34.12	31.53	34.29
EARBY	35.71	34.29	30.14
EASINGTON	44.44	31.96	23.63
EASINGWOLD	30.07	33.40	36.53
EAST DEREHAM	37.50	34.19	28.22
EAST GOSCOTE	30.40	36.90	32.90
EAST RETFORD	38.87	32.68	28.53
EASTFIELD	46.40	33.09	20.60
EASTON/WESTON	36.53	36.53	27.10
EASTWOOD	37.14	34.40	28.44
ECKINGTON	34.81	33.09	32.19
ELLAND	36.59	32.91	30.41

ELLESMERE	35.60	34.20	30.07
ELLISTOWN	39.25	35.13	25.88
EMNETH	35.91	37.36	26.73
EVESHAM	34.05	33.20	32.74
EXHALL	28.86	39.57	31.86
EYE (MID SUFFOLK)	37.40	29.90	32.60
FAILSWORTH	37.24	36.65	26.08
FAKENHAM	41.00	32.77	26.23
FALMOUTH	33.28	35.73	31.10
FARNDON NR NEWARK-ON-TRENT	31.33	32.22	36.44
FARNWORTH	44.40	33.09	22.51
FAVERSHAM	34.71	31.58	33.73
FAWLEY	31.60	38.02	30.44
FAZELEY	34.04	33.21	32.79
FEATHERSTONE	46.85	31.06	21.94
FELIXSTOWE	32.95	33.97	33.10
FERRYHILL	49.97	30.33	19.67
FILEY	37.62	38.38	24.04
FINEDON	37.87	32.00	30.13
FISHBURN	39.63	31.88	28.50
FITZWILLIAM	56.29	27.43	16.14
FLEETWOOD	38.95	37.46	23.63
FLEXBURY	31.23	38.62	30.31
FORTUNESWELL	39.42	35.42	25.37
FRESHWATER/TOTLAND	33.86	39.04	27.18
FRINTON AND WALTON	28.81	36.24	34.99
FROME	34.56	33.77	31.71
GAINSBOROUGH	47.15	32.22	20.67
GILLINGHAM NR SHAFTSBURY	33.27	36.79	30.03
GLASTONBURY	34.27	34.37	31.27
GOLBORNE	32.84	32.99	34.20
GOOLE	48.25	31.61	20.14
GRASSMOOR	47.85	31.46	20.77
GREAT AND LITTLE WAKERING	26.00	38.71	35.24
GREAT DRIFFIELD	37.61	31.66	30.78
GREAT HARWOOD	36.97	35.54	27.33
GREAT HOUGHTON (BARNSLEY)	45.50	33.00	21.75
GREAT LUMLEY	31.23	32.00	36.92
GREAT PRESTON/KIPPAX	36.07	35.88	28.02
GREAT TORRINGTON	43.74	33.47	22.79
GREAT WYRLEY	34.46	36.21	29.25
GRIMETHORPE	48.25	28.75	23.38
GUIDE POST	39.09	34.35	26.62

GUISBOROUGH	30.07	32.97	37.07
HADLEIGH	31.69	33.77	34.65
HADLEY	40.32	30.58	29.25
HAILSHAM	32.08	36.55	31.45
HALESWORTH	38.00	35.30	26.74
HALSTEAD (BRAINTREE)	31.54	35.61	32.90
HALTWHISTLE	42.69	38.69	18.85
HARLESTON	38.33	34.83	27.22
HARTSHILL	46.64	29.78	23.53
HARWICH	38.13	35.21	26.61
HARWORTH/BIRCOTES	49.37	31.78	18.70
HASLINGDEN	31.87	32.53	35.51
HATFIELD	31.97	33.93	34.09
HAVERHILL	39.44	33.38	27.19
HAYDOCK	41.71	31.69	26.69
HAYLE	38.31	37.13	24.59
HEACHAM	37.39	37.00	25.67
HEAGE	32.18	34.36	33.55
HEANOR	42.30	32.93	24.70
HEBBURN	42.41	34.90	22.73
HECKMONDWIKE	41.91	32.43	25.81
HEDON	29.96	38.67	31.30
HELSTON	32.81	37.14	29.97
HEMSWORTH	51.42	29.45	19.03
HETHERSETT	24.53	36.82	38.71
HETTON-LE-HOLE	46.93	33.57	19.52
HEYWOOD	41.84	33.40	24.69
HIGHAM FERRERS	34.83	32.74	32.48
HIGHER FOLDS	56.00	28.89	15.33
HIGHWORTH	29.25	33.64	37.25
HINDLEY	41.59	33.17	25.24
HOLBEACH	41.97	33.81	24.16
HOLSWORTHY	40.75	37.88	21.50
HONITON	35.88	34.66	29.51
HOO	34.82	38.18	27.00
HOPTON-ON-SEA	33.63	33.88	32.38
HORBURY	30.14	33.21	36.67
HORNCASTLE	34.92	36.88	28.21
HORWICH	29.91	33.19	37.06
HOWDEN	34.00	30.93	35.07
HOYLAND NETHER	44.34	32.29	23.32
HUCKNALL	38.95	35.06	26.02
HULLBRIDGE	25.05	41.64	33.41

HUMBERSTON	31.58	37.27	31.21
HUNSTANTON	33.15	36.35	30.60
HUNTINGDON	32.84	28.90	38.22
ILFRACOMBE	39.67	38.69	21.61
ILMINSTER	39.63	34.63	25.68
INCE-IN-MAKERFIELD	52.75	28.67	18.65
INGOLDMELLS	48.07	34.07	17.93
IRCHESTER	36.40	34.00	29.60
IRLAM	39.34	35.33	25.34
IRTHLINGBOROUGH	39.76	31.00	29.43
ISLE OF WALNEY	39.21	34.76	26.05
JACKSDALE	42.68	32.26	25.00
JARROW	45.66	32.76	21.65
JAYWICK	42.22	35.48	22.00
KEARSLEY	37.11	35.32	27.68
KEMPSTON	32.98	34.80	32.26
KEMSLEY	36.86	34.43	28.86
KENDAL	33.75	33.31	32.96
KERESLEY	41.40	32.80	25.60
KESWICK	31.45	39.10	29.55
KIDSGROVE	39.65	33.51	26.84
KILLAMARSH	38.55	33.52	27.97
KINGSBRIDGE	33.23	39.14	27.77
KINGSTEIGNTON	32.31	35.62	32.15
KINGTON	34.18	40.45	25.09
KIRK SANDALL	32.11	35.07	32.78
KIRKBY IN ASHFIELD	44.81	31.47	23.75
KIRKBY STEPHEN	35.50	39.38	24.88
KNOTTINGLEY	52.00	30.60	17.43
LANGPORT	29.77	34.00	36.23
LAUNCESTON	40.00	36.96	23.15
LEADGATE	46.81	30.69	22.63
LEDBURY	33.06	30.65	36.32
LEEK	38.66	32.84	28.54
LEEMING	24.88	36.50	39.00
LEISTON	42.60	35.15	22.30
LEOMINSTER	39.54	34.85	25.56
LEYBURN	35.00	37.86	27.29
LISKEARD	33.64	37.15	29.21
LITHERLAND	39.53	36.89	23.65
LITTLE LEVER	34.40	35.85	29.75
LODDON	29.67	35.92	34.25
LOFTHOUSE/STANLEY	30.17	35.99	33.89

LONG ITCHINGTON	24.86	31.57	43.14
LONG LAWFORD	32.00	33.90	34.20
LONG SUTTON (SOUTH HOLLAND)	45.83	30.33	23.94
LONGDENDALE	41.71	31.06	27.37
LONGRIDGE	28.07	37.89	34.04
LOOE	32.12	41.00	26.92
LOUTH	37.51	31.72	30.82
LUDDENDEN FOOT	29.80	32.90	37.40
LUDLOW	36.72	36.33	26.92
LYDNEY	41.20	32.20	26.53
MABLETHORPE/SUTTON ON SEA	44.32	37.57	18.09
MADELEY	45.58	29.15	25.15
MALTBY	42.49	32.18	25.26
MALTON	34.65	34.50	30.85
MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE	40.80	33.80	25.41
MARCH	38.08	35.02	26.88
MARKET DRAYTON	35.85	31.79	32.51
MARKET RASEN	38.36	32.93	28.50
MARKET WEIGHTON	31.67	34.39	34.06
MARYPORT	51.59	30.34	18.13
MATLOCK	30.31	33.05	36.69
MEDEN VALE	51.63	31.50	16.75
MELKSHAM	38.84	32.65	28.49
MELTON MOWBRAY	38.68	31.44	29.87
MERRIOTT	31.00	39.29	29.86
MEXBOROUGH	46.19	31.61	22.19
MILDENHALL	33.03	36.08	30.80
MILLOM	42.52	36.33	21.24
MILNROW	31.31	34.08	34.69
MINEHEAD	34.36	37.74	27.88
MINSTER/MANSTON	27.08	35.46	37.62
MIRFIELD	29.40	33.97	36.65
MOSBOROUGH/HIGHLANE	32.47	34.67	32.77
MURTON	50.57	30.57	18.74
MYTHOLMROYD	29.69	31.50	38.69
NEEDHAM MARKET	31.56	33.39	34.89
NELSON	47.54	31.69	20.73
NEW ADDINGTON	38.97	36.86	24.18
NEW MARSKE	32.58	34.00	33.42
NEW MILLS	33.09	33.53	33.29
NEW ROSSINGTON	46.79	31.29	22.00
NEW WALTHAM	29.28	37.06	33.56
NEWHAVEN	34.64	37.31	28.17

NEWMARKET	32.98	34.19	32.95
NEWQUAY	35.44	37.93	26.61
NEWTON ABBOT	34.42	34.27	31.33
NEWTON AYCLIFFE	40.64	32.12	27.34
NEWTON-LE-WILLOWS	37.95	32.29	29.83
NORMANTON NORTH	30.81	36.62	32.48
NORMANTON SOUTH	43.85	33.12	23.19
NORTH WALSHAM	36.82	35.25	27.91
NORTHALLERTON	32.57	33.57	33.95
NORTHAM	32.79	36.69	30.55
NORTHFLEET	39.42	34.47	26.06
NORTHPORT	33.36	36.64	29.91
NORTON	44.13	33.00	22.83
NORTON (DONCASTER)	36.11	35.00	29.11
NORTON CANES	39.50	34.91	25.50
NORTON-RADSTOCK	35.65	34.33	30.03
OKEHAMPTON	39.68	34.73	25.68
OSSETT	33.68	34.36	32.00
OSWALDWISTLE	39.92	34.35	25.80
OSWESTRY	38.11	32.19	29.69
OTTERY ST.MARY	28.31	39.06	32.56
PADIHAM	39.98	33.42	26.56
PARTINGTON	38.28	33.79	27.83
PAULTON	35.79	34.58	29.74
PEACEHAVEN	27.98	40.76	31.26
PEASEDOWN ST JOHN	28.81	32.76	38.43
PEGSWOOD	37.64	35.18	27.09
PELSALL	35.24	33.39	31.32
PELTON	41.09	32.05	26.91
PENISTONE	31.58	30.53	37.82
PENRITH	39.92	33.92	26.23
PENRYN	36.32	34.55	29.00
PENZANCE	36.62	36.28	27.06
PERSHORE	35.24	32.72	32.24
PETERLEE	47.16	30.86	22.07
PEWSEY	30.50	33.42	36.25
PICKERING	35.84	36.68	27.64
PILSLEY	40.54	33.85	25.54
PINCHBECK	35.38	34.88	29.94
POCKLINGTON	33.07	31.19	35.85
PONTEFRACT	39.98	31.79	28.20
PORTSLADE	29.01	38.61	32.32
PRESTON	32.42	33.76	33.81

PRUDHOE	33.98	32.76	33.26
QUEENSBURY	29.06	35.45	35.45
RATBY	30.77	37.15	32.08
RAUNDS	33.93	33.38	32.66
RAWMARSH	49.08	30.02	20.89
RAWTENSTALL	34.68	32.20	33.15
RIPLEY	40.83	31.72	27.42
RIPON	29.83	34.90	35.18
RISHTON	35.25	33.75	30.88
ROCKWELL GREEN	37.27	31.73	30.91
ROSS-ON-WYE	35.18	30.92	33.82
ROTHBURY	31.31	33.77	34.92
ROTHWELL (KETTERING)	35.70	32.35	32.00
ROTHWELL (LEEDS)	31.68	34.88	33.41
ROYSTON	32.47	32.62	34.90
ROYTON	32.23	34.73	33.05
RUGELEY	40.46	32.88	26.68
RUSHALL	40.52	33.04	26.39
RUSHDEN	37.19	33.45	29.46
RYDE	34.25	35.12	30.71
RYE	30.47	38.88	30.53
RYTON	30.74	33.97	35.38
SACRISTON	39.82	32.88	27.47
SALTASH	30.72	33.68	35.58
SANDFORD	29.25	33.88	36.50
SANDOWN/SHANKLIN	36.49	38.12	25.45
SANDY	29.58	33.53	36.95
SAWSTON	29.20	32.80	38.00
SAXMUNDHAM	36.91	33.45	29.55
SEAHAM	45.76	32.47	21.67
SEAMER	29.33	38.11	32.67
SEATON	33.20	37.88	28.90
SEGHILL	35.50	33.40	30.80
SELBY	43.05	31.90	25.08
SELSTON/UNDERWOOD/BRIMSLEY	36.23	33.54	30.21
SETTLE	29.50	35.57	34.86
SHAFTESBURY	31.04	36.39	32.54
SHAW	32.76	34.50	32.69
SHELFIELD	37.52	34.26	28.22
SHEPSHED	33.88	34.57	31.60
SHEPTON MALLET	37.74	33.10	29.16
SHERBORNE	32.28	31.81	35.81
SHERBURN IN ELMET	36.00	33.16	30.63

SHERBURN NR DURHAM	38.27	31.91	29.64
SHERINGHAM	31.37	37.93	30.73
SHEVINGTON	28.44	33.89	37.56
SHIFNAL	28.65	32.70	38.61
SHILDON	50.36	31.33	18.39
SHIPLEY	32.18	32.41	35.46
SHIPSTON ON STOUR	29.88	33.50	36.56
SHIREMOOR	41.86	33.73	24.36
SHIRLAND	40.20	32.87	26.93
SHOREHAM	25.31	37.54	37.03
SILLOTH	43.09	36.36	20.73
SKELTON (REDCAR AND CLEVELAND)	42.48	32.90	24.71
SKIPTON	31.91	33.06	35.09
SLEAFORD	35.71	31.50	32.87
SNODLAND	35.10	36.71	28.16
SOHAM	34.90	35.33	29.63
SOUTH HETTON	45.83	32.00	22.25
SOUTH KIRKBY/SOUTH ELMSALL	52.44	28.89	18.75
SOUTH NORMANTON/PINXTON	43.58	30.79	25.62
SOUTH OCKENDON	37.51	35.59	26.85
SOUTH OXHEY	29.46	36.19	34.46
SOUTHOWRAM	34.33	34.00	31.67
SOUTHWICK	28.87	37.83	33.26
SPALDING	38.70	33.52	27.89
SPENNYMOOR	45.10	29.63	25.29
SPILSBY	42.80	33.00	24.40
SPRINGWELL	30.71	35.86	33.43
ST AUSTELL	35.60	37.48	26.86
ST BLAZEY/PAR	36.44	39.03	24.49
ST IVES	33.14	39.84	26.92
ST.NEOTS	34.86	32.53	32.63
STAINFORTH	54.82	30.27	14.77
STALHAM	40.25	33.38	26.38
STALYBRIDGE	35.02	34.39	30.61
STANLEY	47.41	30.84	21.84
STAPENHILL/WINSHILL	39.59	30.72	29.68
STAVELEY	43.15	32.90	23.94
STOCKSBRIDGE	34.39	35.37	30.15
STOKE SUB HAMDON	29.50	35.50	35.00
STONEHOUSE	38.08	32.69	29.27
STOURPORT-ON-SEVERN	35.78	33.00	31.27
STOWMARKET	36.02	32.09	31.97

STOWUPLAND	35.17	35.83	29.00
STREET	36.88	33.10	29.98
STUDLEY	29.77	32.32	38.14
STURMINSTER NEWTON	35.30	36.10	28.40
SUDBURY	37.59	35.01	27.46
SWAFFHAM	40.56	32.48	26.92
SWANLEY/HEXTABLE	29.50	37.60	32.90
SWANSCOMBE	32.89	36.25	30.87
SWINTON	40.20	33.44	26.26
TADCASTER	35.85	33.04	31.15
TATWORTH	31.60	41.50	26.70
TEIGNMOUTH	28.96	37.78	33.29
TEWKESBURY	31.93	32.81	35.19
THETFORD	43.14	32.46	24.38
THIRSK	35.76	33.73	30.55
THORNABY	48.44	30.06	21.54
THORPE WILLOUGHBY	29.55	35.55	35.18
THREE LEGGED CROSS	24.50	37.13	38.25
THURCROFT	47.72	30.89	21.39
THURNSCOE	50.29	31.12	18.74
TILBURY	46.58	34.60	18.70
TIPTREE	29.04	36.00	35.11
TIVERTON	39.74	35.00	25.16
TODMORDEN	33.84	33.41	32.64
TORPOINT	32.75	35.82	31.50
TOTNES	29.24	33.33	37.39
TOTTON	30.64	36.10	33.23
TREETON	39.63	30.13	30.00
TRURO	31.47	32.50	36.06
ULVERSTON	31.58	32.35	36.15
UPPER TEAN	31.92	35.62	32.46
UPTON	46.00	29.75	24.35
UTTOXETER	39.58	31.28	29.10
WADEBRIDGE	33.68	38.13	28.32
WALTHAM ABBEY	29.91	37.46	32.63
WARDLE	36.33	32.57	31.23
WAREHAM	29.75	36.25	34.42
WARMINSTER	30.63	33.73	35.55
WARSOP	48.81	31.53	19.58
WATH UPON DEARNE	42.24	32.89	24.90
WATTON	39.16	35.10	25.77
WEAVERHAM	34.91	32.55	32.64
WELLINGTON	32.96	32.50	34.59

WELLS	31.23	31.65	37.15
WEM	35.50	34.68	29.77
WESTBURY	32.70	37.47	29.91
WESTHOUGHTON	29.35	34.54	36.20
WHEATLEY HILL	48.73	34.82	16.45
WHITBURN	32.00	34.80	33.05
WHITBY	41.68	36.32	22.12
WHITCHURCH (NORTH SHROPSHIRE)	38.72	32.66	28.56
WHITEFIELD	28.94	35.24	35.83
WHITEHAVEN	39.31	33.85	26.80
WHITFIELD	34.53	34.82	30.71
WHITTLESEY	36.36	35.00	28.64
WIGTON	42.74	34.84	22.53
WILLINGTON (WEAR VALLEY)	47.25	29.60	23.20
WINCANTON	34.94	36.67	28.50
WINDERMERE	28.03	38.86	33.14
WINSFORD	42.78	30.50	26.73
WISBECH	44.79	31.47	23.72
WITHERNSEA	44.65	32.61	22.70
WOMBWELL	46.65	32.77	20.63
WOOD STREET	24.90	34.30	40.60
WORKINGTON	46.73	32.03	21.28
WORSBROUGH	46.59	31.46	21.89
WYMONDHAM	31.70	35.16	33.23
YAXLEY	31.42	35.04	33.67
YEW TREE	37.32	32.64	29.80

Appendix 3.3 Service class market towns (Chapter 4)

NAME_	Average_WC	Average_IC	Average_SC
ABRIDGE	21.63	37.25	41.25
ADDLESTONE	22.07	34.95	42.98
ALCESTER	28.32	33.39	38.29
ALMONDSBURY	15.25	30.00	54.88
ALSAGER	23.69	30.27	46.02
ALTON	26.15	31.74	42.16
ALVESTON	21.36	33.91	44.45
AMERSHAM	15.71	26.74	57.52
AMPTHILL	17.46	31.21	51.50
APPLEY BRIDGE	21.74	33.05	45.16
ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH	27.26	28.64	44.08
ASHHURST/NETLEY MARSH	19.93	36.07	43.93
ASPULL	33.75	32.90	33.50
ASTWOOD BANK	18.62	34.31	47.31
AXBRIDGE	24.50	30.88	44.63
BACKWELL	17.87	31.60	50.60
BAGSHOT	17.89	29.95	52.16
BAILDON	23.92	34.48	41.55
BAKEWELL	26.20	34.13	39.47
BALDOCK	24.82	31.76	43.34
BALSALL	11.96	29.52	58.48
BARLBOROUGH	23.20	31.10	45.90
BARNT GREEN	10.52	26.76	62.86
BARROW UPON SOAR	28.33	33.24	38.52
BARROWFORD	24.17	35.00	40.74
BASING	16.08	33.92	50.08
BATTLE	22.62	37.29	40.00
BAWTREE	27.75	34.50	37.69
BAYSTON HILL	27.00	34.82	38.53
BEACONSFIELD	14.36	26.52	59.05
BEMBRIDGE	26.00	36.07	37.87
BENSON	17.94	30.31	51.75
BERKHAMSTED	16.63	26.06	57.18
BESSACARR	27.90	31.87	40.17
BEVERLEY	27.96	29.89	42.12
BEWDLEY	26.75	31.22	42.13
BIGGIN HILL	17.19	37.90	44.98
BINGHAM	23.17	30.07	46.63
BINGLEY	24.15	32.24	43.65
BISHOP’S CLEEVE	23.45	33.11	43.53
BISHOPS WALTHAM	22.43	31.57	46.00
BISHOPSTEIGNTON	16.38	39.88	43.50
BISHOPTHORPE	24.17	32.00	43.83
BLACKROD	28.94	34.65	36.35

BLEAN	18.00	29.67	52.56
BOLDON	32.46	32.30	35.34
BOLLINGTON	21.63	31.59	46.63
BOLTON-LE-SANDS	19.65	38.96	41.35
BOROUGH GREEN	20.39	34.00	45.61
BOTLEY	21.45	32.36	46.45
BOURNE END/FLACKWELL HEATH	16.81	30.48	52.60
BOWDON	8.04	24.00	68.09
BRACEBRIDGE HEATH	28.24	34.65	37.06
BRACKLEY	25.56	31.00	43.37
BRADFORD-ON-AVON	22.36	29.82	47.85
BRAMHOPE	10.08	29.54	60.31
BRAMPTON (HUNTINGDONSHIRE)	18.94	29.56	51.63
BRANTHAM	25.33	36.44	38.22
BRANTON	22.38	32.88	44.88
BRAYTON	28.44	31.78	39.89
BREASTON	27.00	34.24	38.88
BRIDGNORTH	28.45	31.68	40.09
BROCKHAM	14.42	35.58	50.17
BROMHAM	18.62	30.81	50.43
BROMLEY CROSS/BRADSHAW	21.38	33.29	45.31
BROMSGROVE	29.38	31.30	39.39
BROOKMANS PARK	11.88	33.53	54.53
BROUGHTON ASTLEY	25.38	33.81	40.85
BROWNS WOOD	18.31	28.19	53.75
BUCKINGHAM	23.38	30.18	46.38
BUDBROOKE	16.75	33.00	50.25
BUNTINGFORD	22.06	36.12	41.76
BURGESS HILL	22.52	34.17	43.37
BURGHFIELD COMMON	18.26	30.47	51.32
BURLEY IN WARFEDALE	17.41	27.68	54.95
BURNHAM-ON-CROUCH	21.81	36.59	41.66
BURNISTON	23.10	40.10	36.40
BURSLEDON	26.91	34.96	38.13
BURTON JOYCE	16.80	34.40	48.80
BUSHEY	15.95	33.11	50.93
CARTERTON	27.14	35.58	37.28
CASTLE DONINGTON	26.24	34.29	39.52
CATSHILL	26.47	31.89	41.69
CATTERALL	24.75	40.13	35.13
CHALFONT ST.GILES	14.50	30.18	55.41
CHALFONT ST.PETER/GERRARDS CROSS	12.46	28.02	59.39
CHARFIELD	23.78	32.22	44.11
CHARLTON KINGS	17.17	30.55	52.15
CHARVIL	13.70	27.60	58.70
CHEDDAR	25.06	36.22	38.56
CHERTSEY	23.62	34.05	42.41
CHERTSEY SOUTH	15.08	30.83	54.17

CHESHAM	23.58	31.57	44.65
CHESWICK GREEN	16.67	36.00	47.33
CHICHESTER	25.44	31.34	43.24
CHIGWELL	18.73	37.56	43.75
CHILWORTH	16.50	32.30	51.20
CHINLEY	23.90	32.30	43.80
CHIPPING CAMPDEN	18.00	40.50	41.38
CHOBHAM	16.00	34.62	49.46
CHOLSEY	20.73	31.45	47.91
CHORLEYWOOD	11.21	28.30	60.51
CHURCH STRETTON	24.05	33.42	42.68
CLAPHAM (BEDFORD)	28.50	34.93	36.64
CLEADON	13.78	32.72	53.50
CLEVEDON	26.07	33.60	40.38
COCKERMOUTH	28.31	30.21	41.38
CODSALL	26.21	33.71	40.02
COLD ASH	15.00	29.18	55.73
COLLINGHAM	16.74	31.43	51.78
COLNBROOK	23.27	37.54	39.27
COMPTON/OTTERBOURNE	12.09	25.73	62.45
CONGLETON	28.98	32.11	38.94
CONGRESBURY	18.45	34.82	46.55
COOKHAM	14.17	29.70	56.04
COOKLEY	28.44	31.67	40.22
CORBRIDGE	20.82	31.55	47.64
CORNHOLME	33.50	32.75	33.63
CORSHAM	27.45	31.43	41.17
COSBY	26.00	35.09	39.00
COTTENHAM	19.05	29.74	51.37
CRANBROOK	28.06	33.94	38.00
CRANFIELD	22.56	34.44	42.94
CRANLEIGH	22.12	31.91	46.09
CRAWLEY DOWN	17.06	36.31	46.81
CRINGLEFORD	12.33	28.22	59.22
CROFT (WARRINGTON)	18.83	32.83	48.50
CROSTON	25.33	35.11	39.56
CROWBOROUGH	19.18	34.35	46.54
CROWTHORNE	13.96	27.52	58.47
CUCKFIELD	13.64	31.14	55.57
CUFFLEY	13.06	34.89	52.06
CULCHETH	19.88	27.96	52.25
DATCHET	16.00	29.56	54.63
DELPH	21.25	30.25	48.75
DENBY DALE	24.55	30.73	44.73
DENMEAD	17.55	33.95	48.45
DESFORD	23.20	33.20	43.50
DICKENS HEATH	11.43	30.14	58.29
DIDCOT	27.10	31.83	41.16

DISLEY	16.77	30.15	53.00
DOBCROSS/UPPERMILL	18.18	31.21	50.64
DORCHESTER	28.75	32.71	38.56
DORKING	18.70	32.18	49.12
DRAYTON	24.29	33.14	42.14
DROITWICH	30.51	30.96	38.46
DRONFIELD	24.13	34.18	41.58
DUCKLINGTON	22.40	32.20	45.20
DUFFIELD	16.44	27.00	56.56
DUNCHURCH	22.63	27.38	49.88
EAGLESCLIFFE	23.64	30.23	46.07
EAST GRINSTEAD	19.20	33.21	47.67
EASTON-IN-GORDANO	27.09	33.68	39.41
EATON SOCON	28.07	32.32	39.76
ECCLESTON	23.22	35.89	40.83
EDENFIELD	21.44	31.78	46.89
EGHAM	18.97	31.65	49.44
ELSTREE	19.33	35.50	45.33
ELY	26.44	30.98	42.67
EMBSAY	21.80	34.80	43.60
EMSWORTH/SOUTHBOURNE	22.87	32.15	44.90
ENDERBY	25.19	34.35	40.58
EPPING	17.45	34.18	48.37
EPWORTH	28.00	34.46	37.92
ETON WICK	23.40	33.60	43.00
EUXTON	24.56	33.78	41.59
EXNING	28.14	31.86	39.86
EYNSHAM	24.13	34.73	41.07
FAIRFORD	25.09	33.55	41.45
FARINGDON	26.55	29.14	44.41
FARNHAM ROYAL	18.54	30.68	50.82
FENCE	17.33	35.00	47.83
FERNDOWN	26.15	36.04	37.83
FLITWICK	24.71	33.50	41.79
FORDHAM	26.44	35.33	37.78
FORDINGBRIDGE	23.96	37.38	38.62
FORMBY	17.87	31.95	50.27
FRAMPTON COTTERELL/WINTERBOURNE	23.04	35.02	41.96
FRODSHAM	22.45	29.61	47.97
FROGMORE	22.42	34.42	43.10
GARSTANG	28.80	34.32	37.12
GIRTON	16.73	26.00	57.36
GLINTON	27.40	32.80	39.80
GODALMING	19.87	29.49	50.63
GODMANCHESTER	23.80	29.35	46.75
GOSFORTH	19.09	26.48	54.41
GRASSCROFT	12.00	33.09	54.73
GREAT DUNMOW	22.38	33.33	44.46

GREAT GONERBY	29.73	31.65	38.73
GREAT HORKESLEY	21.57	35.71	42.71
GREAT KINGSHILL	14.25	32.83	52.83
GREAT MISSENDEN/PRESTWOOD	15.04	31.78	53.30
GREAT SHELFORD	17.43	28.25	54.43
GREENFIELD/FLITTON	15.00	32.20	52.60
GRIMES HILL	15.55	38.64	45.64
GROBY	26.14	33.59	40.36
GUILDEN SUTTON	11.40	25.60	62.80
HAGLEY	12.88	28.54	58.50
HALE	12.41	27.52	60.09
HALLING	24.75	35.75	39.63
HAMBLE	21.69	32.25	46.06
HARDEN	17.75	32.13	50.25
HARMER GREEN/TEWIN	10.27	28.53	61.20
HARPENDEN	12.29	24.54	63.18
HARTHILL	29.57	33.14	37.14
HARWELL	23.57	27.29	49.43
HASLEMERE	17.39	28.86	53.84
HASLINGTON	24.06	35.78	40.06
HATHERN	23.14	34.29	42.57
HAWKINGE	26.22	36.67	37.11
HAXBY	27.09	34.84	38.05
HAYLING ISLAND	26.08	33.92	40.08
HAYWARDS HEATH	18.16	31.10	50.74
HAZLEMERE/TYLERS GREEN	16.68	32.82	50.58
HEADLEY (EAST HAMPSHIRE)	21.72	32.56	45.72
HEATHFIELD	22.28	36.36	41.31
HEBDEN BRIDGE	22.37	26.37	51.26
HEDGE END	22.25	34.51	43.26
HEIGHINGTON/WASHINGBOROUGH	25.39	34.30	40.26
HELSBY	21.95	31.90	46.20
HEMINGFORD GREY	16.58	27.42	56.00
HENLEY-IN-ARDEN	20.46	32.31	47.23
HENLEY-ON-THAMES	16.21	28.79	55.00
HENLOW/SHEFFORD	21.75	33.40	44.94
HERONGATE/INGRAVE	13.29	35.00	51.86
HERTFORD	19.01	30.31	50.70
HESWALL	19.26	31.18	49.56
HEXHAM	25.32	30.41	44.29
HIGH LANE	16.50	35.67	47.83
HIGHER WINCHAM	21.38	34.00	44.38
HINDHEAD	16.62	29.93	53.38
HISTON	20.60	30.12	49.32
HOCKLEY	19.31	39.12	41.55
HOLMES CHAPEL	16.05	30.45	53.65
HOLMFIRTH/HONLEY	23.31	31.60	45.04
HOLTON LE CLAY	30.17	36.25	33.75

HOLYWELL GREEN	25.73	31.64	42.55
HORLEY	21.97	37.73	40.35
HORNDON ON THE HILL	20.80	37.20	42.00
HORSFORTH	21.00	31.22	47.77
HORTON HEATH	16.09	37.82	46.27
HOYLAKE/WEST KIRBY	17.57	28.96	53.46
HUGHENDEN VALLEY	10.50	31.50	57.88
HUNGERFORD	25.26	34.32	40.47
HURSTPIERPOINT/KEYMER	18.63	32.09	49.26
HYTHE	25.02	34.38	40.70
IGHTHAM	9.67	26.17	64.00
ILKLEY	16.69	26.53	56.75
INGATESTONE	16.61	31.56	51.83
INGLEBY	20.59	33.78	45.70
INNSWORTH/CHURCHDOWN	24.02	33.67	42.30
ISTEAD RISE	21.00	39.00	40.27
IVER/IVER HEATH	17.91	37.56	44.59
IVYBRIDGE	26.14	33.59	40.30
KENILWORTH	16.25	28.65	55.04
KENNINGTON	22.75	33.31	44.00
KEYNSHAM	28.52	33.02	38.56
KEYWORTH	22.00	32.16	45.80
KIBWORTH HARCOURT	19.00	34.13	46.94
KIDLINGTON	27.15	33.83	39.04
KIMBERLEY	29.70	33.20	37.20
KINGS LANGLEY	17.76	33.14	49.10
KINGS WORTHY	18.93	30.27	50.53
KINGSDOWN	17.29	29.57	53.14
KINGSKERSWELL	26.00	36.50	37.61
KINVER	19.33	34.17	46.56
KIRKBURTON	25.60	30.73	43.60
KNEBWORTH	17.38	28.81	53.69
KNOWLE/BENTLEY HEATH	12.85	28.38	58.72
KNUTSFORD	20.42	27.98	51.56
LANGFORD	19.10	34.90	45.80
LEASINGHAM	26.00	32.50	41.17
LEE-ON-THE-SOLENT	21.86	32.93	45.29
LEWES	22.19	30.97	46.86
LIGHTWATER	12.78	31.83	55.43
LIPHOOK	20.68	31.86	47.36
LITTLE AMWELL	22.71	32.57	44.71
LITTLE EATON	21.71	30.00	48.43
LITTLE PAXTON	26.08	34.42	39.33
LONG ASHTON	20.13	29.67	50.27
LONGFIELD/NEW ASH GREEN	19.41	35.75	44.95
LONGTON	20.30	38.96	40.80
LUTTERWORTH	28.93	30.83	40.21
LYMINGTON	25.88	33.61	40.60

LYMM	15.86	27.17	57.09
MAGHULL/LYDIATE	23.53	37.43	39.05
MALMESBURY	25.65	28.65	45.78
MANNINGTREE	27.96	34.74	37.61
MAPLE CROSS	24.25	37.88	38.00
MARCHAM	25.60	32.20	42.00
MARKET DEEPING	25.49	33.65	40.95
MARKET HARBOROUGH	27.51	31.66	40.87
MARKFIELD	26.36	34.27	39.59
MARKS TEY	20.59	36.41	42.88
MARLBOROUGH	29.00	28.96	42.00
MARLDON	25.00	37.71	37.14
MARLOW	16.46	29.03	54.56
MARPLE	18.73	31.86	49.45
MARTLESHAM HEATH	20.50	30.71	48.71
MAULDEN	25.14	30.14	44.71
MELBOURN	23.88	34.00	42.25
MELDRETH	22.60	32.40	45.60
MENSTON	14.76	29.90	55.38
MEPPERSHALL	17.40	33.40	49.40
MESSINGHAM	26.33	37.58	36.25
MIDDLEWICH	27.87	33.44	38.80
MILFORD/WITLEY	21.46	32.88	45.75
MORPETH	21.31	30.53	48.17
MORTIMER	19.85	30.15	49.85
MOULTON (VALE ROYAL)	22.45	30.00	47.75
MOUNTSORREL	23.48	32.07	44.59
NAILSEA	22.77	32.88	44.38
NANTWICH	29.29	30.23	40.63
NARBOROUGH	25.22	35.84	38.97
NESTON	24.83	31.33	43.81
NETHERTON	27.11	33.78	38.89
NETLEY	26.05	36.09	37.82
NETTLEHAM	18.25	32.33	49.33
NEW FARNLEY	23.80	37.40	38.80
NEW MILTON/BARTON-ON-SEA	26.79	36.29	36.86
NEWPORT (TELFORD AND WREKIN)	29.19	31.77	39.09
NEWPORT PAGNELL	23.68	34.66	41.56
NEWTON LONGVILLE	20.83	37.50	41.67
NEWTON WITH SCALES	21.20	33.40	45.40
NORTH BADDESLEY	26.71	33.42	39.88
NORTH FERRIBY/SWANLAND	14.48	32.00	53.72
NORTHORPE	22.71	32.71	44.71
NORTHOWRAM	19.06	36.31	44.69
OAKHAM	30.32	31.44	38.32
OAKLEY	19.71	32.81	47.33
OAKLEY (BEDFORD)	18.57	33.71	48.00
OCKBROOK	19.71	30.14	50.43

ODIHAM	18.36	31.18	50.55
OLD STRATFORD	20.80	32.20	47.20
OLD WINDSOR	16.14	34.52	49.31
ORMSKIRK	21.90	31.81	46.31
OTLEY	26.39	32.33	41.30
OTTERSHAW	16.69	32.00	51.46
OUGHTIBRIDGE	22.86	35.14	42.07
OUNDLE	22.65	25.59	51.71
OUSTON	25.76	38.29	35.90
OVERCOMBE/PRESTON	19.86	35.76	44.14
OXTED	18.28	29.67	52.04
PADDOCK WOOD	25.30	35.15	39.52
PAINSHAWFIELD	17.50	32.92	49.75
PANGBOURNE/WHITCHURCH	16.27	28.00	55.60
PANNAL	12.43	28.71	59.14
PENKRIDGE	27.70	34.93	37.22
PETERSFIELD	23.11	30.21	46.70
PONTELAND	14.17	29.50	56.42
POPPLETON	16.43	29.29	54.43
PORINGLAND	24.65	36.41	38.59
PORTISHEAD	22.11	32.47	45.44
POTTON	23.87	32.07	44.20
POULTON-LE-FYLDE	20.76	38.08	41.21
POYNTON	16.96	31.37	51.63
PRESTBURY	10.31	27.54	62.15
PRINCES RISBOROUGH	23.50	31.12	45.38
PUCKLECHURCH	26.00	35.20	38.70
QUENIBOROUGH	24.50	38.38	37.13
QUORNDON	16.83	29.44	53.78
RADCLIFFE ON TRENT	20.33	30.22	49.59
RADLETT	12.96	29.25	57.79
RADLEY	22.17	29.83	47.50
RAINFORD	20.74	33.30	45.87
RAMSBOTTOM	21.02	31.79	47.23
RAVENSTONE	27.83	33.33	38.83
RAYNE	20.38	35.75	44.00
READ	16.83	34.42	48.58
RICHINGS PARK	10.57	37.29	52.14
RICHMOND	27.57	34.07	38.43
RICKMANSWORTH	17.90	30.52	51.54
RINGMER	21.82	33.82	44.36
RINGWOOD	26.15	34.68	39.21
RIPPONDEN	22.13	32.73	45.33
RISLEY	29.21	31.32	39.47
RODE HEATH	24.25	36.13	39.88
ROLLESTON	25.20	33.70	41.00
ROMSEY	24.10	30.92	44.98
ROTTINGDEAN/SALTDEAN	21.39	37.35	41.29

ROWLANDS GILL	33.86	30.91	35.18
RUDDINGTON	27.17	33.29	39.54
SAFFRON WALDEN	24.22	31.29	44.37
SALFORDS	21.94	36.18	41.76
SALTBURN-BY-THE-SEA	25.73	33.05	41.41
SALTFORD	17.00	33.46	49.46
SALTNEY	25.71	32.00	41.71
SANDBACH	24.97	31.13	43.95
SANDHURST	19.18	32.22	48.71
SANDWICH	26.00	31.53	42.47
SCHOLES	22.22	37.67	40.11
SCOTBY	22.20	33.00	44.60
SEAFORD	25.51	34.85	39.63
SEATON DELAVAL	33.29	36.29	30.54
SEDGEFIELD	21.50	30.38	48.00
SEER GREEN	10.73	26.82	62.82
SEND/WEST CLANDON	16.03	32.77	51.27
SHALDON	18.63	41.63	39.63
SHELLY GREEN	14.76	30.24	55.05
SHENLEY	15.62	30.00	54.31
SHEPLEY/SHELLEY	19.47	30.47	49.84
SHEPPERTON	17.24	36.24	46.46
SHURDINGTON	22.89	39.78	37.22
SILSDEN	27.44	33.78	38.70
SKELMANTHORPE/CLAYTON WEST	27.73	32.12	40.21
SMALLFIELD	18.47	36.73	44.87
SOUTH NUTFIELD	15.70	33.60	50.60
SOUTH WOODHAM FERRERS	21.00	34.71	44.27
SOUTHAM	29.33	31.29	39.24
SOUTHWELL	20.41	30.14	49.45
ST MARGARETS	22.69	35.00	42.38
ST.IVES	27.07	31.65	41.29
ST.LEONARDS	16.13	36.96	46.83
STAMFORD	30.35	30.64	39.01
STANDISH	26.26	31.90	41.94
STANSTED MOUNTFITCHET	20.20	33.25	46.70
STANWICK	28.00	32.71	39.14
STEETON	26.50	33.71	39.64
STEYNING/UPPER BEEDING	19.86	32.80	47.31
STOCKTON HEATH/THELWALL	18.49	30.16	51.41
STOKE GIFFORD	17.71	32.65	49.71
STOKE POGES	15.25	34.90	50.00
STOKESLEY	22.53	26.73	50.60
STONE (AYLESBURY VALE)	18.86	30.14	50.71
STONE (STAFFORD)	28.68	29.07	42.25
STORRINGTON	20.60	32.83	46.47
STOTFOLD	23.52	36.43	39.95
STRATFORD-UPON-AVON	23.17	32.24	44.57

STRATTON	20.22	34.67	45.22
STUBBINGTON	19.96	33.60	46.43
SUNBURY	21.12	36.58	42.28
SUNNINGDALE/ASCOT	12.70	28.54	58.86
SWANMORE	16.64	30.91	52.55
TADLEY	19.53	34.26	46.19
TARLETON	25.03	37.00	38.07
TARPORLEY	21.10	28.90	50.30
TAVERHAM	23.73	36.27	40.02
TAVISTOCK	26.76	34.78	38.41
TENTERDEN	24.17	34.93	40.83
TETBURY	25.25	34.30	40.55
THAME	21.46	30.70	47.92
THATCHAM	26.25	34.17	39.68
THEALE	26.20	33.20	40.60
THEYDON BOIS	14.07	35.36	50.64
THORNBURY	23.98	31.73	44.43
THORPE HESLEY	25.89	36.28	38.06
TODWICK	15.00	32.80	51.80
TOPSHAM	17.63	33.50	48.88
TOTTINGTON	22.25	36.00	41.75
TOWCESTER	26.32	33.36	40.50
TRING	20.03	31.32	48.73
TWYFORD (WOKINGHAM)	13.54	27.00	59.46
TYNEMOUTH	21.59	33.05	45.32
UCKFIELD	22.81	35.89	41.38
UPPER CLATFORD/ABBOTTS ANN	18.23	32.38	49.46
UPPINGHAM	27.50	32.42	39.83
VERWOOD	20.24	35.55	44.26
VIRGINIA WATER	12.16	27.29	60.82
WALBERTON	16.13	34.13	49.50
WALLINGFORD	20.31	29.97	49.69
WALNUT TREE	19.83	29.98	50.23
WALTHAM CHASE	19.60	33.70	46.80
WANTAGE/GROVE	26.58	31.19	42.27
WARE	21.03	33.69	45.31
WARGRAVE	11.00	28.08	60.92
WARTON	27.18	37.27	35.27
WARWICK	26.83	29.25	43.91
WATER ORTON	24.54	37.31	38.08
WATLINGTON (SOUTH OXFORDSHIRE)	18.00	27.71	54.14
WELWYN/CODICOTE	15.11	31.26	53.63
WENDOVER	17.31	31.08	51.58
WEST BERGHOLT	22.73	31.55	45.82
WEST CHILTINGTON COMMON	13.16	33.05	53.95
WEST END	14.50	31.38	54.06
WEST HALLAM	25.50	34.68	39.91
WEST MALLING	23.33	28.78	47.89

WESTCOTT NR DORKING	15.29	33.57	51.14
WESTERGATE/BARNHAM/YAPTON	26.62	35.85	37.34
WESTHAM	20.75	41.50	37.88
WESTON TURVILLE	15.88	32.88	51.13
WESTONING	21.17	34.50	44.50
WETHERBY	23.55	30.45	45.98
WHEATHAMPSTEAD	18.67	28.60	52.73
WHEATLEY	22.09	32.86	44.95
WHETSTONE	27.55	35.55	37.00
WHICKHAM	26.28	34.26	39.41
WHITCHURCH	24.06	32.12	43.94
WHITELEY	12.22	29.89	58.11
WILSDEN	19.14	35.57	45.29
WILTON	29.21	34.64	36.21
WIMBORNE MINSTER	23.81	33.33	42.68
WINCHCOMBE	25.20	36.20	38.47
WINDLESHAM	9.82	27.82	62.35
WINGERWORTH	22.86	32.29	45.10
WINKFIELD ROW	10.43	29.14	60.29
WINSCOMBE	20.69	32.50	46.75
WITNEY	28.56	31.87	39.55
WOBURN SANDS	16.35	30.40	53.35
WOLDINGHAM	10.45	31.64	57.82
WOMBOURNE	27.75	32.84	39.45
WOODBOROUGH	11.17	29.83	58.83
WOODBRIDGE	23.35	31.44	45.23
WOODSETTS	24.00	38.00	38.13
WOODSTOCK	21.91	29.82	48.27
WOOTTON (BEDFORD)	23.56	35.44	41.13
WOOTTON BASSETT	27.87	32.62	39.69
WOOTTON/HARDINGSTONE	20.25	30.07	49.89
WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE	28.11	29.42	42.47
WRITTLE	22.50	33.17	44.22
WROUGHTON	26.66	33.31	39.88
WYLAM	12.71	25.00	62.00
YARNTON	22.25	34.13	43.75
YATELEY	18.47	33.82	47.75

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