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Re-placing displacement in gentrification studies: Temporality and multi-dimensionality in rural gentrification displacement

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores how conceptions of displacement have been challenged and adapted as the study of gentrification has expanded to encompass a series of new contexts, including post-industrial conversions and new-build urban developments within and beyond the Global North. Attention is draw to Peter Marcuse's work on displacement, and how some of his conceptualisations of different forms of displacement have been significant in cross-contextual discussions of gentrification, although other aspects of his work, such as his discussions of the relationship between abandonment and displacement have received less attention. Drawing on work of Marcuse, the earlier work of George and Eustice Grier, and a series of more contemporary studies, the paper argues for the adoption of more multi-dimensional and temporally sensitive conceptualisations of gentrification displacement. It then seeks to illustrate the value of this conceptualisation in the study of a further context of gentrification, namely the study of rural gentrification. The paper highlights recent debates over the significance of displacement, and thereby gentrification, to the study of demographic change in rural areas of the UK. Attention is drawn to studies that have made reference to displacement impacts of rural gentrification, before drawing on research conducted by the authors in nine villages located in six districts of England. The paper highlights evidence of 'disinvestment displacement' occurring prior to the major onset of gentrification in these villages, through 'reinvestment displacement' and 'direct displacement' at the point of gentrification, 'chain displacement' occurring both before and after the point of property gentrification, and 'exclusionary displacement', and material and experiential 'displacement pressures', operating once gentrification had started to take hold in these locations. Displacement is further shown to involve not only housing but also employment conditions, access to services, and the symbolism, practices and affective relations that people have with human and more-than-human constituents of space.

1. Introduction

Displacement has long figured as a definitive constituent of gentrification, frequently featuring alongside the arrival of more asset rich social classes and investments in property transformation within delimitations of a concept that has generated both widespread interest and intense debate since its initial, almost casual use, by Glass (1964). The meaning displacement has itself become a subject of debate and references to it have, notwithstanding its frequent appearance within definitions of gentrification, often been absent from gentrification studies (Slater, 2006; Depraz, 2017; Helbrecht, 2017). This omission has been ascribed to methodological difficulties (Atkinson, 2000a,b; Freeman, 2005; Freeman et al., 2016; Slater, 2006), and to ontological claims about gentrification proceeding without displacement (Hamnett and Whitelegg, 2007; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015). These claims, and criticisms of their validity surfaced alongside contextual changes in gentrification's study, arising initially in connection with post-industrial conversions and new-build developments (Boddy, 2007; Davidson and Lees, 2005, 2010; Slater, 2009), and, more recently, within discussions of the globalisation of gentrification, with Ghertner (2015b: 552), for example, claiming that "gentrification theory fails in 'much of the world'" in large part because of problems surrounding displacement.

Both contextual shifts have sparked considerable debate, ranging from quite punctilious discussions over the appropriateness of particular concepts through into contestations over the value of conceptual perspectives and theory as a whole (Bernt, 2016; Slater, 2006)(). Across

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these debates, cities have figured prominently although there have been occasional references to other contexts within some contributions. Ghertner (2014), for instance, whilst adopting a strong urban focus in his general arguments, makes brief references to rural areas and agricultural scholarship. He argues, for instance, that in India new build and displacement often occurs on periurban and rural land. This might be viewed as illustrative of López-Morales' (2018: 50) call, conducted in line with wider claims about gentrification's conceptual value in understanding change across the world (e.g. Lees et al., 2015b, 2016; López-Morales, 2015), to connect gentrification to "processes of peripheral urbanization, the displacement of rural or indigenous population and the disappearance of fragile ecological economies existing in the fringes of the accelerated urbanization process". Ghertner, however, resists such linkages, arguing change in these areas often lacks the 'hallmarks' of gentrification, whilst displacement operates in distinctly different ways due to the lack of fully privatised forms of landholding/ tenure. In respect to the latter, Ghertner (2015b: 554) suggests that urban research has "much to learn from agrarian studies and (non-urban) political ecology", a claim that contrasts with the prevailing 'urbanormativity' of gentrification studies, whereby urban spaces are presented as the primary place through which to observe its operation (Phillips and Smith, 2018a; 2018b).

This is not to say that there have been no gentrification studies in places 'other than the urban' (Phillips, 2004; Smith, 2007), and studies explicitly discussing displacement and gentrification in rural contexts have recently emerged (e.g. Phillips and Smith, 2018b; Phillips et al., 2020; Zhao, 2019), alongside critical commentaries about the presence and significance of displacement within conceptualisations of rural gentrification (e.g. Collins, 2013; Depraz, 2017; Halfacree, 2018; Stockdale, 2010). These studies and commentaries have, however, been pursued in relative isolation from counterparts in urban studies, and this paper challenges this separation, investigating understandings of displacement across both urban and rural contexts. Phillips and Smith (2018a) highlight how gentrification concepts often emerge 'generatively', through comparisons of singular cases that stimulate recognition of new issues and ideas, and we draw on this argument to consider how conceptualisations of displacement have been transformed through explorations of different contexts and might be developed further through examinations of rural gentrification.

The paper begins by considering how contextual shifts generated debates about gentrification and displacement, with the work of Marcuse featuring prominently in these cross-contextual discussions. Reviewing this work, we argue that temporalities and dimensionalities of displacement warrant further consideration, a claim then pursued through consideration of further urban studies and research on rural gentrification. After discussing references to displacement in existing rural studies, the paper presents an analysis of gentrification displacement in nine English villages undertaken as part of a wider study of rural gentrification.[1] We outline forms of displacement, drawing on our rural research and cross-contextual studies of gentrification, and argue that displacement both varies in form across temporal trajectories of gentrification and operates not only through housing but also through multiple other dimensions of social life, including employment, retail and welfare services, spaces of social interaction and more-than-human environments.

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2. Displacement and gentrification: insights from cross-contextual debates

2.1. (Re)placing displacement in urban contexts

As Slater (2006: 748) remarks, displacement is central to many definitions of gentrification, but from the 1980s, "itself got displaced from the gentrification literature". Slater ascribes this to methodological issues, but we contend it also stems from re-contextualisations of gentrification studies, which moved away from studying what is now referred to as the 'classical' form of gentrification (Lees et al., 2008), namely the rehabilitation and refurbishment of run-down working-class housing within cities of the Global North. From the early 2000s, studies of post-industrial conversions and new-build developments in these cities raised questions about the presence of linked displacement and hence whether the concept of gentrification was of relevance (Lambert and Boddy, 2002; Boddy, 2007; Hamnett and Whitelegg, 2007). These new contexts were of considerable empirical significance but raised challenges for positioning displacement as a definitive constituent of gentrification. Hamnett and Whitelegg (2007: 107, 122), for instance, argued that the conversion of former industrial buildings in London into residential properties did not involve displacement of residents and, hence, constituted "gentrification without displacement". They also noted brown-field redevelopment, viewing these as instances where gentrification "takes place on a clean social slate" (ibid. 106), and, similarly, involved no displacement.

Such arguments stimulated at least three responses. First, was acceptance that gentrification could be applied to situations where displacement was lacking, with a major strand of work arguing gentrification in post-industrial cities was associated with transformations in employment rather than housing displacement. Hamnett (2003), for instance, claimed that gentrification was a product of movement to a post-industrial service economy, which created middle-class employment expansion and industrial working-class employment decline, such that the former class effectively replaced the latter within central areas of cities such as London. Critics contested this claim, questioning the emphasis given to employment restructuring over housing displacement (Davidson and Wyly, 2012, 2013) and the degree of working-class numerical decline (Curran, 2007; Watt, 2008).

A second response rejected the argument that there could be gentrification without displacement, on the grounds that such a conception was untenable. Lambert and Boddy (2002: 23), for example, argued such applications were "stretching the term and what it set out to describe too far". While Davidson and Lees (2005: 1166, 1187) responded by arguing that the concept of gentrification should be "given enough elasticity" to reflect "the mutation of the process itself", Boddy (2007) claimed that elasticity results in concepts lacking meaning and usefulness. These debates continue in discussions of cities beyond the Global North, with, Lui (2017: 480) arguing in relation to new-build developments in Hong Kong, that gentrification had become an empty-signifier lacking any "precise, anchoring empirical reference". Smart and Smart (2017: 519) similarly claim its application to such areas involved a "conceptual stretching" that reduces its explanatory effectiveness and displaces localised "idioms and concepts", although many studies have continued to see value in employing the term gentrification in ways that allow for contextual variability (e.g. Lees et al., 2015b, 2016; Shin and López-Morales, 2018; Shin et al., 2016).

Across studies of cities within and beyond the Global North, a third response to assertions that there could be gentrification without displacement was to question its ontological validity. In part this questioning proceeded empirically, with studies highlighting instances where new-build developments were associated with displacement. Cameron (2003) identified new-build developments of brown-field sites that were previously areas of working-class housing, before their demolition, and highlights how these were viewed by protestors as practices of social cleansing. This claim resonates with research on the

redevelopment of housing estates in cities in the Global North (Gillespie et al., 2018; Lees and Ferreri, 2016; Lees and White, 2020) and informal settlements in the Global South and East (Ghertner, 2015a; Doshi, 2015; Ortega, 2016; Shin, 2016).

Alongside empirical documentation of displacement related to new-build gentrification, more theoretical questionings of the concept of gentrification without displacement emerged, often focused around identifying different forms of displacement and differentiating between gentrification-linked displacement and other processes of urban change, such as abandonment and urban clearance. Within both endeavours, the writing of Marcuse (e.g. Marcuse, 1985, 1986; Marcuse et al., 1989) figured prominently.

2.2. Marcuse and cross-contextual, multi-dimensional and temporal displacement theory

Marcuse's writings focused on spatial areas and built forms later identified as constituents of classical gentrification, although he established a series of distinctions that have acted as "a beacon guiding research on gentrification-induced displacement" (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020: 493) in the contexts of post-industrial conversions and new builds, and later, in cities beyond the Global North. One distinction was between displacement and abandonment, Marcuse suggesting the latter reflected situations where property owners lost economic interest in ownership, whilst in the former, properties had heightened economic value, albeit not necessarily with current uses or users. Having said this, Marcuse (1985: 195, 200) also highlighted connections between abandonment and gentrification, noting they could appear "at the same time and virtually side by side" and be seen as "reflections of a single long-term process". For Marcuse, this process was economic polarisation rooted in movement from manufacturing to services, and associated reductions in manual labour and increased employment of professional, managerial and technical workers, which together created polarisation in housing markets through simultaneously reducing the ability of working-class residents to pay rents and increasing the number of high-income residents seeking properties within central urban locations.

These arguments resonate with later studies, such as Hamnett (2003), which emphasised post-industrial employment restructuring as a driver of gentrification, although, in Marcuse's case, not conjoined with assertions about the insignificance of displacement. Marcuse emphasised connections between employment restructuring, housing abandonment, gentrification and displacement. Drawing on these arguments, we contend that displacement processes operate within and across housing and labour markets, plus extend into other aspects of social life. Other studies can be seen to hint at such a position: Lees et al. (2015a: 448) argue gentrification should be conceptualised as involving "the displacement of existing users, be they inhabitants or workers", while Paton (2014) claims gentrification and displacement are multidimensional, reflecting wider processes of restructuring, including industrial-production decline and changes in employment conditions, land use, consumption practices and governmental policies.

Whilst Marcuse's work on abandonment, displacement and restructuring has on-going relevance, his most widespread influence has been in differentiating forms of displacement. Arguably his most recognised is the identification, initially in Marcuse (1985), of direct last-resident displacement, direct chain displacement, exclusionary displacement and displacement pressure. Marcuse established other differentiations (Table 1), although as Marcuse et al. (1989: 1353) note, these are sometimes misinterpreted, with "off-site displacement … sometimes inaccurately called indirect … displacement", and also inter-cut each other in complex ways, such that forms such as 'direct off-site' or 'direct on-site' might be identified. More often Marcuse's distinctions are collapsed, with exclusionary displacement and displacement pressure described as indirect displacement, set in contrast to direct displacement encompassing both last-resident and chain displacement.

These collapsed distinctions appear in debates over new-build gentrification. Davidson and Lees (2005: 1170) argued that while there may not be direct displacement from new-build developments, these were "bound to cause displacement", albeit most likely through the "indirect" form of exclusionary displacement "where lower income groups are unable to access property because of the gentrification of the neighbourhood" (see also Davidson and Lees, 2010; Liu et al., 2017). Davidson and Lees might have employed Marcuse et al.'s on- and off-site distinction, as they, in effect, claim that on-site there is little displacement, beyond indirect exclusionary blocking of lower-income groups seeking access to the new-build properties, but in neighbouring areas off-site there is displacement through indirect 'price shadowing', whereby properties increase in value due to new-build development altering the "image, cultural value and desirability" (Lambert and Boddy, 2002: 21) of the wider area. Such cultural impacts also contribute to what Davidson (2008, 2009), drawing on Marcuse's notion of displacement pressure, identifies as community and neighbourhood resource forms of indirect displacement. The former includes loss of influence over the image or feel of a place, whilst the latter relates to changes in retail and other services provided within a location. In both cases, existing residents may feel 'out of place', even if they physically stay put in a location (Atkinson, 2015; Linz 2017, Valli, 2015). Both these displacement forms, and exclusionary displacement, can be viewed as off-site displacement, which operates around post-industrial conversions as well as new build.

Alongside stimulating identification of multiple dimensions through

Table 1
Forms of displacement identified by Marcuse.

Form of displacement	Description
Physical displacement	"occurs when a building is demolished, or gutted by fire, or when a landlord through extreme undermaintenance or forcible harassment makes it impossible or dangerous for an occupant to remain" (Marcuse et al., 1989: 1357).
Economic displacement	"occurs when … the costs of continued occupancy rise beyond an occupant's ability to pay" (Marcuse et al., 1989: 1357).
Social displacement	"occurs when a … a resident is so insecure or threatened or is so deprived of neighborhood facilities, services, or support networks that he or she comes to feel so isolated or alienated that he or she can no longer remain" (Marcuse et al., 1989: 1357).
Direct last-resident displacement	"Displacement of a household from the [dwelling] unit it currently occupies" (Marcuse, 1985: 205), after which the dwelling undergoes gentrification and becomes occupied by a gentrifier.
Direct chain displacement	Direct displacement that occurs prior to the final instance of displacement and gentrification, as other households may have occupied a dwelling and also been "forced to move at an earlier stage" (Marcuse, 1985: 206).
Exclusionary displacement	Occurs when a household vacates a dwelling which is then gentrified and as a consequence "another similar household is prevented from moving in" (Marcuse, 1985: 206).
Displacement pressure	Movements induced by gentrification making areas become "less and less liveable" (Marcuse, 1985: 206).
Blocked displacement	Situations where householders experience conditions that would generally lead them to move but there is no alternative location "that does not have even more negative consequences than staying" (Marcuse et al., 1989: 1357).
Anticipatory displacement	People move because of an "anticipated action and its reasonably expected consequences" (Marcuse et al., 1989: 1357), such as the announcement of a future rent rise which the tenants consider to be unaffordable to them, and hence they leave the property.
On-site displacement	"the result of an action targeted at the changed use of a particular unit or site … is usually physical and direct" (Marcuse et al., 1989: 1357).
Off-site displacement	"occurs when changes produced by a particular development affect the neighbourhood surrounding it" (Marcuse et al., 1989: 1357).

Source: derived from Marcuse (1985, 1986) and Marcuse et al. (1989).

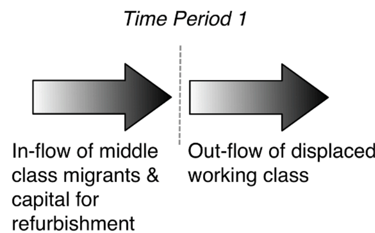
which displacement connects with gentrification, Marcuse also argued, in a manner resonant with later claims by Ghertner (2014, 2015b), that displacement often has causes other than gentrification. Marcuse (2015: 1264) considered the implications of this argument on the delimitation of gentrification, suggesting the term be applied to situations where there was "some combination" of economic, physical and social upgrading, alongside displacement, and "for clarity", it was useful "to limit 'gentrification' to such situations of displacement". Application of this delimitation was more problematic, with Marcuse's own work documenting how gentrification could be associated, at least at certain points of time, with deterioration rather than upgrading of properties. Furthermore, abandonment can disguise the presence of gentrification, with Newman and Wyly (2006: 26) arguing that displacement cannot necessarily be seen as a "litmus test for gentrification" because in areas where there has been considerable disinvestment and housing abandonment there might be "gentrification for decades without extensive displacement".

Newman and Wyly's arguments point both to empirical difficulties in identifying displacement and to a less-recognised issue, namely the "temporalities … embedded in the processes of gentrification-induced displacement" (Zhang and He, 2018: 143; see also Bernt and Holm, 2009; Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020; Kern, 2016; Krijnen, 2018; Sakızlıoğlu, 2014). Gentrification and displacement are often implicitly reduced to singular points in time, rather than considered as potentially effected through temporally extended processes as described in the analysis of Newman and Wyly. This temporal reduction, illustrated in Fig. 1a, can be traced back to Glass's (1964: xviii) initial description of gentrification, which presents an 'invasion' of middle-class residents, upgrading of properties and initiation of displacement seemingly occurring at the same point of time and proceeding "rapidly".

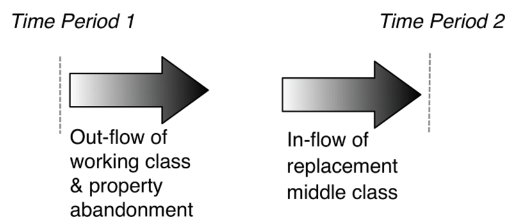
As gentrification studies developed, different temporalities have emerged, albeit rarely recognised. Debates over replacement versus displacement, for instance, revolve around the timings of out- and in-migration, with replacement referring to situations where out-movement occurs before an in-flow of middle-class residents (Fig. 1b), whilst if it occurs at the point or after their arrival, then various forms of displacement come to operate.

So-called 'production-side' accounts also imply extended temporalities via claims that gentrification relates to the emergence of 'rent gaps' associated with disinvestment in the built environment (Fig. 1c). In accounts such as Smith (1996), periods of disinvestment or devaluation were accompanied, in areas such as the Lower East Side in New York,

a) Classic gentrification (e.g Glass 1964)



b) Replacement gentrification (e.g Hamnett 2003)



c) Production-side gentrification (e.g Smith 1996) & diverse forms of displacment

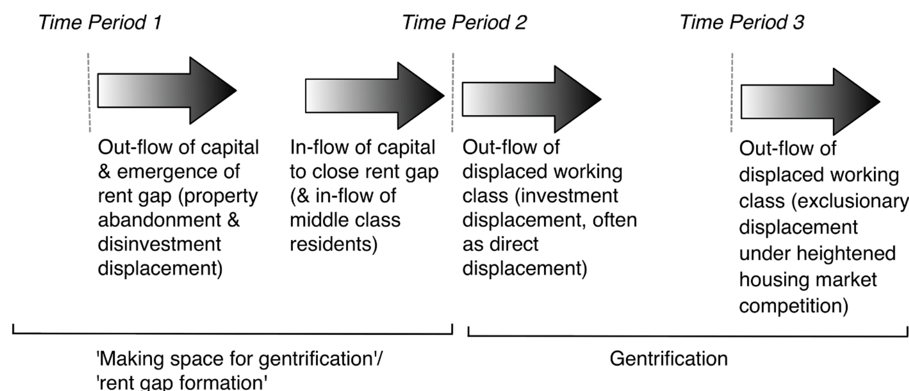


Fig. 1. Temporalities of Gentrification and Displacement.

with housing abandonment, which declined after the onset of capital investment at the 'gentrification turning point', and associated in-flows of gentrifiers and out-flows of displaced residents. Phillips (2004: 7) argued that periods of disinvestment might be described as times where places become "made ready for gentrification", which could be followed by a series of gentrification phases (Phillips, 2005). This argument has parallels with Krijnen's (2018) call to differentiate rent gap creation/formation from gentrification processes. Advanced to address Ghertner's (2014; 2015b) criticisms of global gentrification, Krijnen suggests that displacements lacking hallmarks of gentrification, such as social-class recomposition and shifts to higher-value usage, often emerge during rent-gap formation. However, whilst lacking the hallmarks of gentrification at this moment, these cases are not disconnected from later gentrification, although Krijnen notes there sometimes may be no rent gap closure through gentrification.

Krijnen's arguments parallel earlier ones advanced by Grier and Grier (1978), whose work influenced the early writings of Marcuse (e.g. Marcuse, 1985, 1986; Marcuse et al., 1989). The Griers, like Marcuse, sought to identify distinct forms of displacement, although their differentiation was between 'disinvestment displacement', 'reinvestment displacement' and 'displacement under heightened housing market competition'. Although Marcuse never picked up on these distinctions, the Griers' made explicit connections between processes of abandonment/displacement and cycles of disinvestment/investment. Grier and Grier (1978: 1) claimed, for instance, that "much or even most of displacement occurs well in advance of the time when a neighbourhood first becomes discernibly 'gentrified'", although their concept of reinvestment displacement also clearly recognised that there could be displacement associated with the onset of gentrification, as was the clear focus of Marcuse's notion of last-resident direct displacement. The Grier's conception of displacement under heightened housing market competition also has parallels with Marcuse's conception of exclusionary displacement, with both emphasising price exclusions created once gentrification starts to progress within an area. As Bernt and Holm (2009: 314) note, the Marcuse's forms of displacement have a temporality, with last-resident displacement being "directed at a particular moment in time", whilst exclusionary displacement, and indeed displacement pressures, require time to come into effect, as well as also emerging after gentrification's onset (see Fig. 1c).

Other studies have highlighted temporal aspects of displacement pressure. Kern (2016) and Elliott-Cooper et al. (2020), for instance, have emphasised the role of incremental and accretive change in the formation of displacement pressures, drawing on Nixon's (2011) notion of slow violence. Linz (2017) advances similar arguments, although employs ideas of assemblage and Berlant's (2011) account of affect to suggest that while the past and future of gentrifying areas are coded narratively into representations, everyday engagements with changing places in the present are affective encounters with a series of variously familiar and unexpected people, things and situations, which only later become assembled into representational forms, either serving to reproduce or reconfigure these. For Linz (2017: 217) the onset of gentrification creates often microscale change in everyday spaces that "estranges the familiar" and produce situations where affect rather than thought shape responses, and which accumulate to produce more macroscale senses of change and displacement. As such, feelings of displacement may be seen to build from the onset of gentrification induced change, although Linz (2017: 138) makes passing reference to 'affects of abandonment', and hence it might be appropriate to identify displacement or abandonment pressures present prior to the onset of gentrification.

This section has explored Marcuse's writings on displacement and their significance not only within the classical gentrification context where they originated, but within debates over urban post-industrial conversions and new-build gentrification in the Global North and new-build developments in the Global South and East. It has been argued that greater attention should be paid to the multi-dimensionality and temporalities of displacement within all these contexts, and potentially in other contexts as well. In the next section, we consider one other context, the countryside, exploring the significance of multi-dimensionality and temporality in the study of rural gentrification and displacement.

2.3. Displacement and gentrification in rural contexts

The study of gentrification has not only received less attention in rural contexts than urban, but also triggered less theoretical debate (Phillips, 2005; Phillips et al., 2020), including with respect to displacement. Having said this, similar positions about displacement's significance can be identified in rural studies as observed in urban gentrification debates. For example, many studies employing the term rural gentrification either make no reference to displacement or argue that it is not required for application of the concept. Hurley (2007: 1539), for example, argues that in contrast to its urban counterpart, rural gentrification does not necessarily involve the displacement of people, with many existing populations retaining a presence in gentrified countrysides. Guimond and Simard (2010) further argue that the arrival of gentrifiers into rural areas, whilst often signalling increasing land and house prices, does not "systematically lead" to displacement, with some long-term residents deriving benefits from their arrival (see also Grabbatin et al., 2011; Kan, 2020; Qian et al., 2013; Zhao, 2019).

A second set of studies highlight similar issues, although seek to question or restrict application of gentrification within locations where there is no evidence of displacement. Collins (2013), for instance, includes lack of displacement amongst the reasons for rejecting gentrification as a concept to understand rural coastal residential development in Aoterroa/New Zealand, drawing directly on Boddy's (2007) arguments about the dangers of 'elastic' definitions of gentrification. Stockdale (2010: 39) similarly argues that employing the concept of gentrification in rural studies without any reference to displacement risks conflation with other processes, although also remarks that it should not be seen as the only defining feature of gentrification, being potentially "more important as a defining characteristic at earlier phases of gentrification, or perhaps more accurately as a pre-requisite for, rather than solely a consequence of, certain stages of gentrification". There are parallels here with the arguments of Grier and Grier (1978), Phillips (2004) and Krijnen (2018) discussed in the last section, not least because Stockdale also remarks on the significance of recognising processes of population replacement as well as displacement.

Stockdale (2010) restricts herself to raising questions about the value of applying gentrification to situations with no apparent population displacement, and a similar approach is adopted by Depraz (2017: 13) who claims that the concept of rural gentrification needs to be used "with caution and precision". Depraz explicitly sees gentrification as having "critical value" related to its recognition of displacement, but suggests restricting its usage to instances where such processes are in evidence. Halfacree (2018: 27) similarly expresses support for "explicitly badged critical rural gentrification scholarship" as outlined in Phillips and Smith (2018a), although also argues that lack of displacement evidence significantly limits gentrification's conceptual value within rural studies. Halfacree claims, in a manner reminiscent of some employment-focused interpretations of urban gentrification, as well as the rural work of Stockdale (2010), that replacement rather than displacement might be a warranted descriptor of rising middle-class presence in rural Britain. Halfacree (2018: 27) does not present any empirical analysis of his own to support these arguments but relies on the general timing of rural depopulation and counterurban middle-class migration in the UK, plus a reading of Pahl's (1965) research on social change in rural Hertfordshire, which, although often cited as a study demonstrative of the onset of rural gentrification in Britain (e.g. Ghose, 2004; Paris, 2009), does not, Halfacree (2018: 27) claims, "present any clear suggestion of gentrification occurring in terms of the explicit class-based displacement of 'working class quarters … invaded by the middle classes'".

Phillips et al. (2020) have, however, argued that Pahl's research does contain indicators of displacement, including comments on the presence of 'masked depopulation' where in-migration of middle-class residents "conceals the emigration of young manual workers" (Pahl, 1966: 1147) and an account, albeit in unpublished material, of a householder required to leave a run-down property that becomes a place of residence for someone "described using the term gentry" (Phillips et al., 2020: 7). Phillips et al.'s study can be seen as an instance of a third strand of research focused on detailing connections between rural gentrification and displacement. Phillips (2004; 2005), for example, connected rural gentrification to agricultural tied-housing decline, arguing the latter stemmed from substitution of labour by capital, leading to reduced demand for agricultural paid labour and increased demand for financial capital, which could both be realised through sales of tied-rental accommodation and buildings that had become "unsuited to housing increasingly large-scale agricultural machinery" (Phillips, 2004: 24). The emergence of barn-conversions and the renovation and amalgamation of former tied-cottages into larger houses, hence, reflected devalorisations of agricultural properties and their revalorisations as residential properties for an incoming middle class. Such processes of de- and re-valorisation extended into land, as landowners and farmers could raise capital through release of land parcels for new-build development. Such transformations, it was argued, were reflective and constitutive of broader transition to more post-productivist countrysides (see Phillips, 2002; Nelson and Hines, 2018; Sutherland, 2012, 2019).

Processes of devalorisation and revalorization impacted non-agricultural properties as well, with the withdrawal of welfare-state and retail capital from many rural areas releasing properties for residential conversion and redevelopment (Phillips, 2002, 2004, 2005). There has also been devalorisations/revalorisations of industrial properties and land in some rural areas: Smith and Phillips (2001), for instance, examined gentrification of former industrial villages and surrounding countryside in Calderdale in England, whilst studies in North America highlight gentrification in areas of resource extraction, including mining and timber logging (Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Darling, 2005; Hines, 2010, 2012).

An important element of many of these studies has been the inclusion of land within discussions of gentrification and displacement, with attention drawn to the significance of land-ownership structures, relations and regulations in the release of land for gentrification (Abrams and Gosnell, 2012; Phillips, 2004, 2005; Darling, 2005; Mamonova and Sutherland, 2015), changes in land use created by gentifiers (Abrams and Bliss, 2013; Sutherland, 2012, 2019), and the environmental, cultural and economic impacts such land-use changes might bring about (Abrams et al., 2012; Grabbatin et al., 2011; Hurley et al., 2008; Walker and Fortmann, 2003). Such studies have highlighted how transformations of land use associated with processes of valorisation and devalorisation drive both gentrification and land-use displacement, and how gentrification can itself act to displace existing land uses and users, although Grabbatin et al. (2011) and Zhao (2019) stress that existing land-use practices and property relations can adapt to counteract some displacement effects.

The attention paid to land in processes of rural gentrification stands in some contrast with urban studies, where there is a very strong building focus but relatively little consideration of what existed on sites prior to their development. Indeed, as previously mentioned, new-build developments are often presented as constructed on empty 'brown-field' sites, as in Hamnett and Whitelegg's (2007) previously mentioned reference to such sites as 'clean social slates'. Similar perspectives are evident in rural studies, despite the attention given in many rural gentrification accounts to land. Collins (2013) and Ghertner (2014), for instance, both argue that gentrification is an inappropriate concept to apply to new-build developments on rural land because they these do not involve reinvestment in a built environment that has experienced earlier investment. However, this characterisation of rural areas can be questioned, even in the contexts through which these claims were articulated. Collins, for instance, develops his arguments within a study of coastal development in Northland, Aoterroa/New Zealand, an area that was both subject to coal, mineral, timber and agricultural production and, as outlined by Scott et al. (2000), significantly impacted in the 1980s and 1990s by neoliberal restructuring of agricultural policies and resource-sustainability concerns that both promoted land release for residential development. Likewise, while Ghertner argues that many new-build developments around Dehli were constructed on rural and protected land that had not been subject to capital investment, Srivastava's (2015: 136) account of such developments around Gurgaon, near Delhi, stressed that these were fabricated in far from socially empty space, being both previously areas of agricultural production and locations which continued to operate within "a wider geography of rural life", not least because people from surrounding villages worked in the newly constructed "gated enclaves and …. commercial ventures". Furthermore, as Cowan (2018) documented, agriculture in the region had long been embroiled in uneven circulations of capital investment and associated processes of land acquisition, and hence were not uninvested spaces as described by Ghertner.

There is, hence, a need to consider prior uses and constructions of space even when examining 'new-build' gentrification, a focus that conforms to arguments about the general value of considering the temporalities of gentrification as well as more specific ones concerning the importance of encompassing abandonment, devalorisation and disinvestment within the ambit of gentrification. The movement of land and buildings out of agriculture, retailing, industry and welfare-state provision can all be viewed as devaluations of space involving disinvestment and abandonment, and thereby as generative of 'disinvestment displacement', not least through the loss of employment and housing.

A further set of rural studies have focused on issues of housing accessibility. In Britain these emerged principally from the 1980s (e.g. Dunn et al., 1981; Shucksmith, 1981), with some making connections to the concept of rural gentrification and notions of out-migration and displacement. Shucksmith (2000: 8), for instance, claimed gentrification had "been evident in many areas of rural Britain, in so far as affluent people have migrated into the countryside and displaced less affluent groups …, primarily through competition for scarce housing", while Milbourne and Kitchin (2014: 328) argue middle-class in-migration has played "a part in the gentrification of rural settlements", pricing low- and middle-income groups "out of local property markets and leading to movements of people from rural to urban places in search of more affordable housing opportunities". Cloke et al. (2001: 445) also discuss rural gentrification, suggesting it creates significant problems, including homelessness, because property prices in many rural areas have "escalated to such an extent that it is not only residents on low incomes who cannot afford to purchase local houses, but also those on average earnings". They add that people are not only excluded from home purchases but also from renting, both via rent increases and increased landlord selectivity about potential tenants. With the exception of this reference to landlord selectivity, these accounts focus on price-led displacements after the onset of gentrification, an emphasis also evident in studies of rural gentrification beyond Britain (e.g. Freeman and Cheyne, 2008; Ghose, 2004; Golding, 2016; Solana-Solana, 2010), with Mamonova and Sutherland (2015) making explicit reference to the concept of exclusionary displacement.

In addition to detailing instances of occupational, land use/user and price-induced housing displacement, studies of rural gentrification have also described changes that equate to Marcuse's concept of displacement pressure. Studies, for instance, have documented how loss of public transport services and closure or changes in retail, educational and welfare services have both been triggered by gentrification and stimulated out-migration of residents who find accessing the resources of everyday living increasingly challenging (e.g. Ghose, 2004; Housing Assistance Council, 2005; Hillyard and Bagley, 2014; Mendez and Nelson, 2016; Smith and Higley, 2012). These could be viewed as instances of 'neighbourhood resource' displacement pressures as

identified by Davidson (2008, 2009), although this terminology has not been employed within rural studies. Similarly, although Davidson's notion of 'community displacement pressure' has also not figured in rural studies, researchers have remarked on gentrification induced place transformations making pre-existing residents feel out of place, even if they physically remain in the location. For Davidson (2009: 226) this involves a move to recognise phenomenological aspects of place within conceptualisations of displacement, although in rural studies such issues have frequently been described as cultural or socio-cultural forms of displacement.

Grabbatin et al. (2011), for instance, argue that in the USA, rural gentrification studies often highlight how land-use change leads to loss or spatial displacement of culturally significant practices, and hence produces 'cultural displacement'. Zhao (2019), in a study of rural gentrification in south-west China, argues for the extension of displacement to encompass 'sociocultural transformations', claiming that changes in the visual appearance of buildings, perceptions of land values, livelihood and living practices, and the meanings given to rural homes can all be viewed as instances of socio-cultural displacement. Rural gentrification studies conducted in the UK have likewise often focused on changes in the visual appearance of buildings and landscapes, and the different meanings given to these by gentrifier and non-gentrifier populations, with many studies constructing these via reference to the concept of a rural idyll or idylls (e.g. Little, 1987; Ghose, 2004; Halfacree, 2011; Kondo et al., 2012; Phillips et al., 2020). This concept grew in prominence as part of rural geography's cultural and postmodern 'turns' in the late 1990s (Cloke, 1997, 2003; Phillips, 1998), but has connections into earlier studies of rural communities and social change, including Pahl's research on rural Hertfordshire. This claimed that there was a divide between the "village-in-the-mind" (Pahl, 1966: 304) of incoming and mobile middle-class residents and the interpretations and attitudes of village residents in manual occupations.

Whilst notions of idyllic representations of rurality have exerted a long-standing influence on rural gentrification studies, there have been a series of criticisms and questions raised about them, including whether differences in their construction mean that there are a range of different idylls; the extent to which idylls connect or cross-cut relations of class; the degree to which they transfer across geographical contexts; and the extent to which they are drawn into how people interpret, experience and act within specific rural spaces (see Cloke, 2003, 2013; Cloke et al., 1995; Gkartzios and Remoundou, 2018; Phillips, 2001; Solana-Solana, 2010). Furthermore, even when studies demonstrate the presence of social differences in rural representations and associated tensions between rural residents, there has been little discussion as how these connect to processes of displacement, beyond claims that representations favoured by middle-class gentrifiers often become enrolled within planning policies that condition the amount and form of development permitted within rural areas, often at the expense of the desires of working-class residents (e.g. Abrams et al., 2013; Cloke and Little, 1990; Cloke et al., 1991, 1998; Gallent and Robinson, 2011).

A lack of discussion of displacement is evident across many rural gentrification studies, although as has been shown, there are studies detailing its presence, as well as some expressing scepticism about its significance or applicability within, at least some, rural contexts. The majority of rural studies detailing the presence of displacement can be seen to have focused on disinvestment and reinvestment displacement linked to processes of devalorisation and revalorisation, exclusionary displacement related to housing price/rental increases and on socio-cultural dimensions of displacement pressures. However, these connections are rarely made explicitly, and the temporalities and multi-dimensionalities of displacement remains essentially unexplored.

3. Investigating Gentrification and Displacement in Rural England

3.1. The context and methods of investigation

Six local authority districts in England were selected to reflect social-class groups associated with gentrification (Fig. 2 and Table 2). Except for South Kesteven, rural areas in these districts contained a significant presence of professional and managerial middle-class workers, widely viewed as key constituents of gentrifying populations across both urban and rural areas (e.g. Ley, 1996; Phillips, 2007, 2011). Creative and technical middle-class groups have attracted interest in urban gentrification studies (e.g. Ley, 1996, 2003; Hracs, 2007), and were significantly present in rural areas in South Cambridgeshire, North Hertfordshire and Calderdale, although in this last district 'welfare professionals', working in health and education, were also notably present. Such professionals have figured in the gentrification accounts of Butler and Robson (2001, 2003), and Smith and Phillips (2001) comment on teaching professionals' presence amongst 'village gentrifiers' in Calderdale. Other research (Hoggart, 1997; Phillips, 2007, 2011) has highlighted a rural self-employed middle class, with a non-agricultural self-employed figuring within some accounts of rural gentrification (Phillips, 1993) and outnumbering the agricultural petit-bourgeoisie in all districts.

Drawing on the social composition analysis of these districts, plus evidence of house-price increases and planning data related to house construction, conversions and extensions, individual parishes and settlements were selected for detailed research. In four districts, a single village within a parish was selected for study, but in South Kesteven three settlements within one parish and in East Hertfordshire a village within two separate parishes were chosen (see Phillips et al., 2020). Overall, therefore, nine villages were studied, across six districts, with the principal means of investigation being a personally administered 'mixed-method' (McGuirk and O'Neill, 2016) questionnaire that used open and probing, as well as closed, questions, plus visual stimuli like landscape-painting reproductions and photographs of landscapes, buildings and house interiors. The questionnaire interviews, which on average lasted around an hour, included questions on perceptions of the village and its residents, migrational and employment histories and, if relevant, reasons for movement into the village, changes made to properties, use of retail and welfare services, engagement in local organisations and events, leisure activities, and attitudes to countryside change. All properties within the village boundaries were approached to be included in the survey, with a total of 575 questionnaire interviews completed, representing between 10.2 and 19.8 percent of study parish populations.[2] Interviews were generally audio-recorded and transcribed, as well as notes written on the questionnaire.

The transcribed open-question responses were analysed through NVivo using a combination of emic and etic coding (see Miles and Huberman, 1994; Crang, 2005; Crang and Cook, 2007). Whilst the former sought to remain close to the language and thereby the practices of meaning construction employed by respondents, the latter sought to make connections to academic concepts, including those emerging from cross-contextual discussions of gentrification displacement. The distinction in coding was gradational rather than dualistic: as Holstein and Gubrium (1995) note, processes of coding are integral to the interview process, with conceptual understandings informing the questions asked and the answers presented by respondents, although new themes also emerged in subsequent coding of interview transcripts. In the transcript coding there was repeated iteration between etic and emic coding, with, for instance, themes related to employment change and

[2] The response rate was actually higher than these figures suggest because parishes actually extend beyond the village settlements that were the focus of the social surveys.

Fig. 2. Case Study Districts.

Table 2
Middle Classes in Case Study Districts.

Country/District	Middle Class (% of classified population)						
	Industrial employers/ managers	Professional	Technical	Creative	Welfare professionals	Petit Bourgeoisie	
						Agricultural	Non-agricultural
Cambridgeshire							
South Cambridgeshire	13.4	6.6	8.4	2.7	10.9	0.8	10.8
Hertfordshire							
East Hertfordshire	17.2	6.4	4.9	2.9	8.3	1.2	14.8
North Hertfordshire	17.5	7.9	6.2	3.3	9.2	1.6	13.6
Lincolnshire			2.2				
East Lindsey	12.7	2.8	3.9	1.6	8.8	2.6	14.2
South Kesteven	16.2	5.4		2.2	9.0	2.1	12.9
Yorkshire							
Calderdale	14.3	6.5	4.6	3.8	13.5	0.8	12.8
All Case Study Areas	13.4	5.5	5.2	2.5	10.9	1.5	12.8

the temporalities of displacement emerging in emic coding and then followed up through an investigation of conceptualisations of these issues within existing literature, which in turn became themes for etic coding, as well as the focus of theoretical reflection discussed in the preceding sections. Whilst the following analysis draws extensively on this etic coding, and hence may appear to be structured solely through concepts derived from the literature, such a reading does not fully reflect the genesis of the interpretation. The analysis also makes extensive use of quotations, in line with the desire to remain close to the language and meaning construction practices employed by interviewees, even when these are being assembled within an analysis that may be seen as largely etically driven.

3.2. Disinvestment, reinvestment and direct displacement

As discussed earlier, in proposing the concept of disinvestment displacement, the Griers made quite explicit reference to the temporalities of gentrification and displacement, as well as proposing a concept that aligns well with studies of property abandonment and rent-gap focused interpretations of gentrification that have been significant in rural as well as urban studies. As noted previously, within rural studies, Phillips (2004, 2005) has argued that agricultural property and land devaluation/abandonment, along with associated reductions in employment, acted to make spaces 'ready for gentrification'. Such transformations in property, land and employment were clearly evident

in accounts given by long-term residents across the case study villages, with many detailing declines in agricultural and non-agricultural employment; the sale of properties to former tenants, incoming residents and property developers; and buildings becoming objects of disrepair, dereliction and destruction.

> "There would probably have been about 80–90 properties … mostly occupied by people that worked on the estate in some way, not all farmworkers … Then men weren't needed in agriculture … a number of the estate cottages were sold off, and some of them were sold off very cheaply to sitting tenants, … who had then probably left the farm and got a job in a factory or something like that" (male, over 65, life-long resident, small employer, East Hertfordshire);[3]
> "farmers couldn't afford to maintain these empty cottages, so they just knocked them down" (female, over 65, resident 14 years, lower-managerial/administrative employee, East Lindsey);
> "[E]state cottages for the farm … were gradually sold off to some not exactly professional property developers. They bought this house, got planning permission to extend it and then ran into finance problems, and we bought it as a two-up, two-down house with planning permission for an extension" (male, 61–65, resident 27 years, higher-professional employee, East Hertfordshire);
> "When we first came to the village there were lots of derelict or semi-derelict buildings and people were moving away … I remember a farmer stopping us and saying what are you coming to live in a place like this for? … We were students in Manchester and I was doing architecture, [my partner] … surface pattern design … and … there were nine or ten empty properties … We rented a cottage … in 1972, for a pound a week, where we stored all our furniture and lived while we organised the renovation of [this farm]" (male, over 65, resident 45 years, higher-professional employer, Calderdale).

Whilst debates over gentrification and displacement are often framed through a series of dualisms - abandonment versus displacement, replacement versus displacement, displacement versus employment restructuring - these quotes point to the presence of all these elements, at one time or another, in these locations. Furthermore, whilst the work of Marcuse and the Griers suggest grounds for a temporal ordering of forms of displacement (see Fig. 1a), in practice there may be a series of instances of displacement associated with processes such as disinvestment and reinvestment, as clearly illustrated by these comments about the redevelopment of a property:

> "it used to be on a plot of an old cottage, and they started rebuilding at the end of the 1970s, and they basically just built the concrete foundation, that was it, and then from 1979 right up to about 3 years ago, it just had brambles about 20 foot high on it. And then the person who originally owned it died, left it to one of his daughters, who lived down in London. And they came up, and started clearing the site, and basically, they were going to put a house on it … But the plan of that house … bears no relation to the plan that they were supposed to build … and it wasn't sold for over a year" (male, 41–50, resident 12 years, own-account worker, East Lindsey)

This account suggests that a former cottage had been demolished, probably as part of a phase of agricultural disinvestment that had seen widespread demolition of unoccupied cottages in this village, and the plot left bare until an investment to build the foundations of a new property. However, this investment ceased and the plot was again left abandoned for a period of over 35 years, until there was a new round of investment, although even after a new property was built, it was over a year before the property came to be occupied by a gentrifier household.

Research examining gentrification and displacement often neglects consideration of such extended histories and focuses on displacement occurring as gentrification sets in. Such displacement equates to Griers' notion of 'reinvestment related displacement' and potentially to Marcuse's (1985) concept of 'direct last resident displacement', which highlighted property owners coercing existing residents to leave buildings so that they could be let or sold to new residents. Whilst urban studies have extensively detailed such instances of displacement (e.g. Smith, 1996; He, 2010; Cummings, 2015; Wu, 2016), there have, hitherto, been few uses of such arguments within rural gentrification studies, although Phillips and Smith (2018b) do suggest that research on the end of tied housing and the outbidding of 'local people' in rural housing markets can be connected to the concept of direct last resident displacement. However, care is needed when interpreting these as necessarily instances of this form of displacement, not least because the sale, neglect or demolition of tied housing were, as just shown, also features of disinvestment displacement. Practices associated with direct displacement may, hence, have a contingent relation with - or as Sims (2016) expresses it, be 'ontologically delinked' from - the arrival of gentrifiers/gentrification, with displacement and in-movement in some instance being quite separated in time.

Having said this, evidence of displacement quite directly associated with processes of gentrification was also evident. For example, in North Hertfordshire, a resident exclaimed:

> "The village has changed a lot …. and not for the good, I'm afraid. A lot of bad things have happened, a lot of my neighbours have basically gone, because they have been 'rack rented'. You might have heard of the term Rachmanism, and I'm not far off this really. The trouble is that London is creeping out, rents are getting higher and higher" (male, no age or occupation details given).

This resident complained that a local property owner was increasing rents to the extent that many residents felt unable to afford to remain in properties and moved out of the village, whereupon dwellings were rented out to more affluent households, seemingly from London.

Another instance of apparent direct-displacement occurred in the Cambridgeshire village, where a mobile-home park appeared to be undergoing gentrification, with existing caravans replaced by ones marketed as 'luxury homes', at a price of £180,000-£200,000 for the caravan and leasehold rights to locate it on the site. Whilst mobile homes have been widely viewed as marginalised housing (Salamon and MacTavish, 2017; MacTavish, 2007), there is evidence of changes in the construction and character of this housing (Burkhart, 2010). In this case, changes appeared to be promoted through quite direct pressurising of existing residents:

> "There has been a lot of pressure put on people, in that … I haven't got one of the homes that was put on by this site owner, … I've been offered money … to sell the property and he was implying that there was something wrong with my property, which I don't think there is" (female, 51–60, resident 7 years, currently unable to work due to ill-health).

These cases indicate that direct displacement is in operation within the contemporary English countryside and is associated with practices of investment in redeveloping properties, rather than being a feature just associated with periods of disinvestment from agricultural property and labour occurring in earlier decades.

3.3. Exclusionary displacement

While there is evidence of direct displacement related to processes of both disinvestment and investment, as noted earlier, many rural-gentrification accounts have effectively highlighted what Marcuse refers to as 'exclusionary displacement', which as implied by the Griers'

[3] Respondents were given the opportunity to indicate gender as male, female or otherwise aligned, age and length of residence generally given in years, while social class positions have been derived using the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification, based on self-identified principal rather than current employment position.

notion of 'displacement under heightened housing market competition', occurs after gentrification's onset, when transformations in properties prevent non-gentrifier household replacement by other non-gentrifier households due to increased price or rental levels. Perceptions of such displacement was evident across the study areas, with young people being widely identified as particularly impacted:

> "house prices are extremely high and that is attracting or deterring people. It is attracting people with money that are prepared to either retire here or to commute to somewhere. And it's deterring particularly younger people from trying to stay in the village or moving here" (male, over 65, resident over 40 years, higher-professional employee, South Cambridgeshire);
> "it's almost a self-fulfilling prophecy that it's older people who are purchasing the houses at the moment, or staying in them and not moving … [Y]ou cannot rent a property in this village. There just simply isn't one to rent" (male, 31–40, resident 1 year, higher managerial/administrative employee, East Hertfordshire);
> "these houses now are ridiculously expensive considering what they are. I mean, this is what, £250,000 or £260,000 or something like that, and it's just a little weaver's cottage … You've now got some very expensive people in a nice normal little village" (female, over 65, lower-managerial/administrative employee, Calderdale);
> "It is expensive housing here … and most young people would not be able to afford to live in certainly two of the three parishes, if not all three" (male, over 65, resident 6 years, small-employer, South Kesteven);
> "Lack of affordable housing is probably pushing the house prices up. A prime example is next door, they're just a young couple and … they'd never afford it [a house], because he works on a farm and she works at the vet and they could only afford it when they inherited some money" (male, 51–60, resident 14 years, higher-managerial/administrative employee, East Lindsey).

The operation of exclusionary displacement, however, was bound into differential housing-market dynamics. House-prices were noticeably a less widespread concern in the villages within the Lincolnshire districts, reflective of lower house prices (Fig. 3). However, in the district with the lowest average house prices, Calderdale, there were many expressions of disquiet, with one resident making explicit connections to gentrification:

> "I moved here because it was more affordable than North Leeds … It's kind of all changed. I think the village has got a lot more expensive and like I say, a bit more gentrified" (male, 61–5, resident 28 years, large-employer).

This quote also contrasts housing prices within the village to other locations, which is significant because, as Marcuse (1985: 207) observed, exclusionary displacement relates to situations where housing conditions within an area differ "significantly and in a spatially concentrated fashion from changes in the housing market as a whole". Comments about relational price differentials appeared prominently across all the study villages, albeit with contrasting emphases. In the villages in Calderdale, East Lindsey and South Kesteven, gentrification appeared, in many instances, to be stimulated by the relatively low-cost housing in these districts (see Fig. 3), even when these villages were more expensive than other locations in the vicinity. However, many South Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire householders had moved into villages as a consequence of having insufficient capital to exercise agency within other nearby high-cost locations:

> "I wanted to live in or near Cambridge and … we couldn't afford to buy a decent house in Cambridge" (male, over 65, higher-professional employee, South Cambridgeshire);
> "one of the estate agents … suggested, 'Have you considered … the smaller villages, because the prices will be cheaper'" (female,

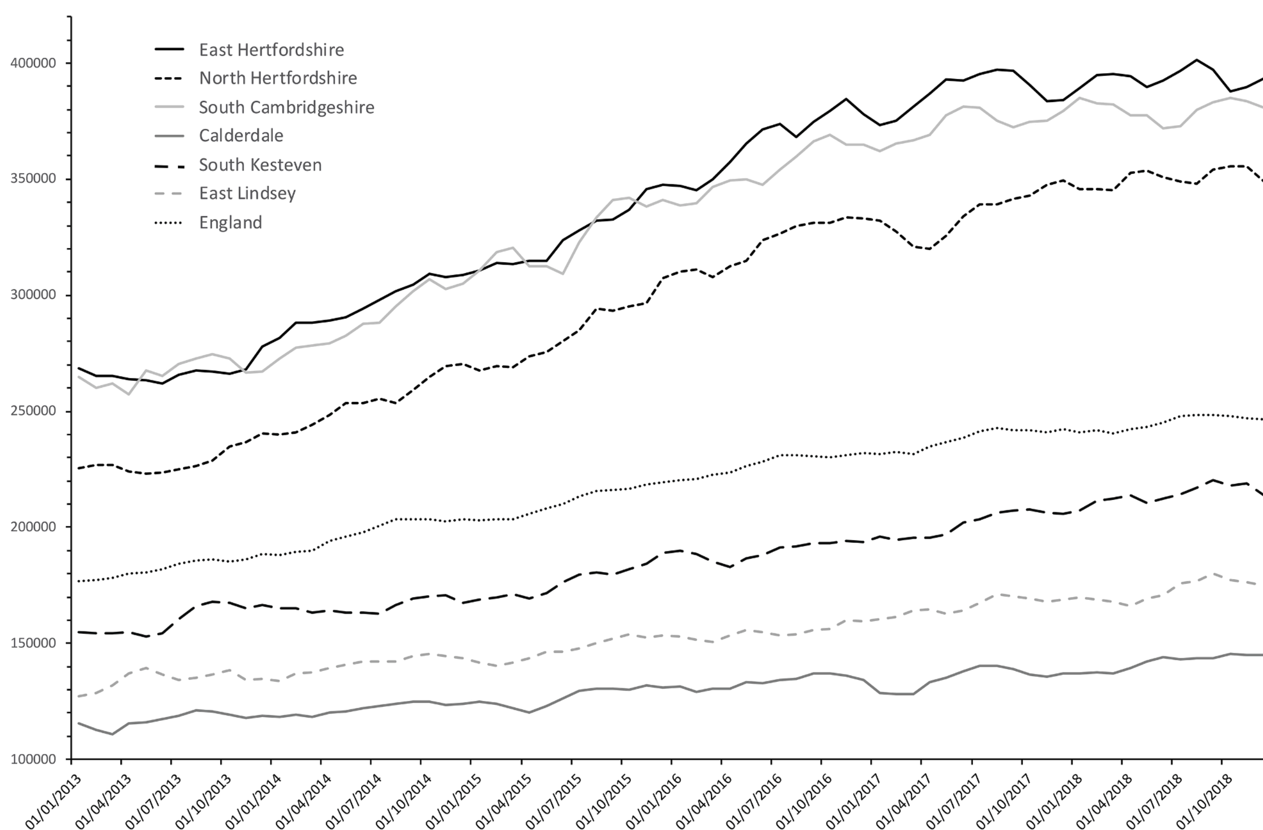


Fig. 3. Average house prices in England and case study Districts, 2013–2018.

resident 15 years, lower-managerial/ administrative employee, East Hertfordshire);
"I looked all over, but the houses were so expensive … I found it by accident … It was the cheapest house I looked at … and it needed a lot to do to it yet. The kitchen is atrocious … I mean there was no fireplace, there was nothing" (female, resident 1 year, lower-managerial/administrative employee, East Hertfordshire).

Such comments may illustrate Stockdale's (2010: 37) contention that rural gentrification can be driven by escalating urban property markets, including ones undergoing gentrification, such that rural gentrifiers might be householders "displaced by urban gentrification processes". However, in these cases displacement was virtual, in that residents were excluded from moving into urban areas via exclusionary displacement, rather than physically moving from these urban areas.

There was also recognition within the higher-cost districts of rising house prices impacting access into the villages for a range of social groups, including elements of the middle class:

"you could get … teachers and legal executives … [and people with their] own business, but nowadays you have to have something else behind you. You have to work for either a financial company … or have your own business of some kind that's been behind you for a long while. I mean, we've always had what we might call minor celebrities and even some major celebrities, or their relatives around, and of course you still get those" (female, 51–60, resident over 40 years, lower-managerial/administrative employee, East Hertfordshire).

This quote related to a village identified elsewhere (Phillips et al., 2020; Smith et al., 2019a) as experiencing so-called 'super-gentrification' (Butler and Lees, 2006), whereby people with very high incomes were moving into, and refurbishing or re-building, already gentrified properties. Residents frequently commented on the scale of rebuilding, one resident remarking, "just about everybody is doubling the size of their house as we speak", whilst another stated the area had become a "developers paradise". There were also claims about potential purchasers directly approaching people about selling their properties:

"this is probably the most expensive road in the village … Some people … put a notice through the door, 'Do you want to sell us your house', and … their offer was taken up by a couple … who wanted to move to Wales … [P]aid well over the odds for that house, they were so desperate to get here" (female, 51–60, resident 8 years, small employer, East Hertfordshire).

Exclusionary displacement not only operates through marketized exchange values but also through the use and cultural value of properties. It was, for instance, evident that the form properties acquired could exert an exclusionary impact, with respondents arguing that gentrified properties' size, often created to produce larger living space as households had children and/or more leisure demands, excluded other people from acquiring them, particular the young or single-income households:

"younger people have not been able to come in because they can't afford the house prices. One of the reasons for that is … a lot of what were the small houses in the village have been knocked into larger houses and two houses have become one" (female, over 65, resident over 40 years, lower-managerial/administrative employee, South Cambridgeshire);
"[P]eople don't move on. Instead of selling up their nice modestly priced houses to let someone else young have it, [they]… go and buy a bigger place, they just extend it and turn it into an expensive place – which is probably what we'll have to do to sell this place" (male, over 65, resident 20 years, lower-managerial/administrative employee, East Lindsey).

A further feature of exclusionary displacement is that it does not necessarily involve people's physical movement away from a location as it relates principally to the inability of certain groups to gain access to gentrified properties. This feature was central to the term's adoption within studies of post-industrial conversion and new-build development, enabling reference to be made to displacement even where there appeared to be no-pre-existing residents being physically displaced, either because residents had abandoned properties before gentrification's onset or the area had never been occupied. These issues are clearly also of significance in rural areas, it having been argued that disinvestment displacement has been significant across the villages being studied, involving both the release of properties for conversion to residential use and land for new-build developments. Once gentrification has become established, it appears exclusionary displacements becomes highly significant and impacts not only lower income groups but also, in some instances, existing and potential gentrifiers. Exclusionary displacement also appears in some contexts to actually drive rural gentrification, with people turning to certain locations, and practices such as property conversions and extensions, as a 'channel of entry' (Phillips, 1998) into rural living.

3.4. Chain displacement

As outlined in Table 1, Marcuse coined the concept of 'direct-chain displacement' to refer to people forced to leave a property prior to the departure of the last resident before the point of gentrification. The concept has a very clear temporal dimension, extending displacement back in time before the point of gentrification, and is explicitly connected to the notion of direct displacement. However, whilst Marcuse (1985) identifies 'direct-chain displacement' as one of four forms of displacement, across his writings he more frequently employs the shortened phrase, 'chain displacement', as have many subsequent studies that have discussed his work (e.g. Atkinson, 2000a,b; Bernt and Holm, 2009; Sims, 2016, 2019; Shin, 2018). This slippage in phraseology has been unexplored but raises a question about whether displacements prior to gentrification of a property necessarily involve a series of direct displacements or might potentially encompass other forms of displacements as well.

In a rural context, we have previously claimed (Phillips and Smith, 2018a) that the concept of chain displacement might connect to youth and young adult out-migration from rural areas, practices long recognised in the UK (e.g. Jones, 1992; Jamieson, 2000). Whilst research has highlighted a range of reasons for young people's out-migration from rural locations (e.g. Farrugia, 2016), studies have identified rural housing costs and lack of employment as significant factors (e.g. Stockdale, 2002; McKee et al., 2017). Such influences were also remarked upon within interviews within our study, it being claimed that children of working-class residents found it difficult to remain in, or return to, the village where they had been bought up:

"I would love to see my daughter come back to the village … There needs to be an assortment, not just big all posh houses…. [I]f the family that have the estate don't really want you to build on your bit of land, they have ways of making sure you don't … get planning permission" (female, over 65, life-long resident, semi-routine employee, East Hertfordshire).
"they're going to tend to build more expensive houses again. But I know my daughter, and she lives in the village and she'd love to buy a house and she can't, and my son's the same really. They'd like to live in the village but he can't" (female, age undisclosed, resident 16 years, intermediate-service employee, Calderdale).

These comments can be interpreted as indicative of chain displacement in the sense that although working class households have retained a presence in the village, their offspring have been unable to remain or return to the village, despite a desire to do so. Whilst the first quote contains hints of direct displacement through the creation of limitations

on the use of particular plots of land, the second points more to the significance of exclusionary processes of displacement linked to escalating house prices. Rather than see chain displacement as solely tied to direct displacement and conceptualising it as distinct from the other types of displacement, we think it is useful to consider it as a potential variant of all types of displacement, occurring when there is displacement of residents from properties prior to the displacement that is followed by arrival of gentrifiers. In the cases illustrated here, a series of offspring are displaced whilst parents remain, but the widespread occurrence of this does threaten the long-term reproduction of the working-class population in the village, particularly given evidence of the gentrification of rural social housing (Chaney and Sherwood, 2000; Phillips et al., 2020).

Linking migration of offspring to chain displacement implies that this concept not only potentially extends displacement back in time to periods before gentrification of a property was realised, but also suggests that displacements may continue well beyond the point when gentrification appears in a locality. This point is poignantly highlighted by a resident in one of the East Hertfordshire villages, who remarked that it was "about 30 years ago" when they realised that their "children didn't stand a chance really of getting a place" in the village but would have to move away, at least to a nearby town. These comments resonate with work connecting gentrification to the 'slow violence' concept (e.g. Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020; Kern, 2016), as well as arguments by Shin (2018: 140) about the need to recognise not only the succession of occupants of dwellings denoted by the chain displacement concept but also the temporalities of displacement "embodied in an individual". As Kern (2016) has observed, it is important to recognise that gentrification often does not signal total displacement of non-gentrifiers from an area, but rather that many people who remain have to live with realisations of some very personal displacement affects, in this instance, for several decades.

3.5. Displacement pressure

Whilst promoting the study of temporality and the slow violence concept, Kern's account also connects with the final conception of displacement we wish to discuss, namely displacement pressure. This form of displacement, defined by Marcuse (1985: 206) as occurring when gentrification makes places "less and less liveable" for existing residents, can be seen to emerge following the onset of gentrification, although we have earlier suggested it might be supplemented by the notion of abandonment pressure to reflect how areas experiencing disinvestment and property disuse may also become less liveable.

Disruptions in liveability can be material in form, involving loss of local employment and/or transportation services that allow rural residents to access work, retail and welfare services, in what Davidson (2008) characterises as 'neighbourhood resource displacement':

> "If you haven't got transport … there was nothing you could do, unless you fancied doing somebody's housework for them or working in the village shop, if they've got a vacancy" (female, over 65, life-long resident, semi-routine employee, East Hertfordshire);
> "this location will be the preserve of the wealthy who can afford private transport. Because if you depend on a bus to get you to the GP which is four miles away, it's not funny really … My daughter used to go on it [the bus] to school … but they axed it" (female, 51–60, resident 22 years, higher-professional employee, East Hertfordshire);
> "We had a village bus … it used to go to Cambridge, it used to take the workers to Papworth Industries … every morning. So quite a lot of people from the village, mainly the women, used to work at Papworth Industries … But that's all closed down (male, over 65, resident most of life, lower-supervisory/technical employee, South Cambridgeshire).

Displacement pressures, however, often work through more experiential and affective registers, whereby people come to feel they do not belong to a place or places are changing in ways that do not reflect their values and ways of living. An illustration of this is given below, although it was evident across all the villages studied:

> "this is where my dislike for the yuppies and such like comes from. I really don't like them moving up here and trying to alter what has been established for generations. Such as, they wanted to knock down our village hall and build a new one … They now want to knock down the school to build a new one. I believe in these village things, it's our heritage. It's part of what makes … [this] a nice place to live, but they want to change it all" (female, over 65, life-long resident, semi-routine employee, East Hertfordshire).

Kern (2016: 422) argued that "shared spaces of neighbourhood life" are significant locations for investigating displacement pressures, and there were many expressions of concern about the changing character of such spaces. Village halls, for example, were often a focus of critical commentary concerning their transformation by incoming residents:

> "On the same site … was the wooden hut and that was so well-attended … It was dusty and dirty, but it was always packed … since the new hall has been built … newcomers to the village don't attend a great deal … Wealthy people. Wealthy and reclusive I would say" (male, over 65, resident 9 years, lower-managerial/administrative, South Kesteven);
> "newcomers to the village decided that our village hall was old-fashioned and not good enough for them, obviously, so decided that it should be knocked-down and a new one built … and we called for a referendum to ask everybody in the village what they would like, whether it was true that these yuppies felt that everybody wanted a new village hall. Well, we had this referendum and sure enough, they were wrong. Most of the people in the village were like me and thought our village hall was an asset. So, we won the day" (female, over 65, life-long resident, semi-routine employee, East Hertfordshire).

Loss of informal spaces of social interaction was also highlighted, as in these comments concerning changes to the caravan site in the Cambridgeshire village by the woman who was also experiencing quite direct displacement pressures:

> "There are more homes going on, we have completely lost our utility area, where we used to go blackberrying, we used to go and sit out there, put a marquee out there in the summer, it has removed the social opportunity … we have nowhere to go now".

The area described here was clearly important as a space of sociability, but also afforded valued opportunities to engage with more-than-human inhabitants as well. Attention has frequently been paid to the migrational pull of 'green space' and 'actants taken to be natural' to incoming gentrifiers (e.g. Bryson and Wyckoff, 2010; Phillips, 2008, 2010, 2014; Richard et al., 2014; Smith and Phillips, 2001), and to the significance of these environments within what are often characterised as NIMBY attempts to limit further rural in-migration (e.g. Cloke and Little, 1990; Cloke and Thrift, 1990; Schnaiberg, 1986; Smith, 2013). However, little attention has been paid to how environmental transformations connect to displacement, despite recognition that gentrification often involves environmental changes as "building work destroys or damages existing vegetation and habitats" (Phillips et al., 2008: 55), which are then either restored, or more often, transformed as gentrifiers and their agents create new gardens and landscapes. These changes, whilst potentially creating more biodiverse habitats (Phillips et al., 2008), can create socially affective displacement pressure, as they disrupt established embodied connections with more-than-human constituents of space (see Phillips, 2014, 2018):

"It's kind of spoiling the feel of the village because you've got this newness; whereas previously it was all very kind of, you know, quite a mature place … It feels a little bit commuter belt-ish" (female, age unrecorded, resident 21 years, higher professional, East Hertfordshire);
"I can't leave because of my history here. But some days he says, 'Let's just sell up and go' because he gets fed up with the wrangle about people …. There's always somebody wanting to build something … The guy at the back here is constantly doing different things" (couple, both 51–60; female, life-long resident, lower managerial/ administrative employee; male, resident 20 years, intermediate employee, South Kesteven)
"We have a gated community … [on the site] of a large older house which my wife knew well. The new stuff is becoming gentrified … and it's losing its country-ness. Now it doesn't have to be bucolic, but there are certain aspects of design which I think are not right in a village of this sort, if you're going to maintain at least the illusion … that you're in a country village" (male, over 65, resident over 40 years, small employer, East Hertfordshire).

A sense of gentrification creating affective pressures appeared across commentaries made about shared spaces of interaction such as village halls, social events like fêtes and festivals, spaces of nature in the village and the type of buildings being created, transformed and demolished. As Anderson (2014: 106) has remarked, affect can be both imbricated in the performance of social life and exert "palpable pressures", including, we would argue, ones quite directly connect to gentrification. A vivid illustration of this was presented by one resident in Calderdale:

"You've got a really bad, well shocking, problem with young men not really being able to find their place … [W]e've got the remnants of the working class, that's the best way of putting it, who can't find a place and the suicide rate around here is abysmal … [This village] has changed to such a degree that …[they] neither feel in touch socially or in employment, they can't find a handle on how to live … I think six of my son's friends have committed suicide and that's in the early 20s … These kids don't want to work in art and crafts and social work. They're not, they need sort of jobs in other areas really. They need jobs that allow them to feed a family, buy a house and do, and they just cannot" (male, 51–60, resident 22 years, lower managerial professional employee).

This account highlights the presence of young men 'displaced' from access to housing or employment, and the resources necessary to sustain a family, but also from accessing activities connected to their senses of identity, value and belonging. Consequently, it was argued, these men have lost a sense of having any social place or future.

4. Conclusion

This paper has examined the impact of changing contexts on debates over gentrification and displacement, highlighting how movement into new contexts, such as post-industrial conversions and new-build developments in cities within and then beyond the Global North, raised questions about the significance of displacement. Many issues raised in one context surfaced in discussions in others, and some arguments and concepts effectively travelled across contexts. In particular, the writings of Marcuse, which emerged in a classical gentrification context, have figured prominently in discussions of displacement within other urban contexts. Whilst Elliot-Cooper et al. (2018) have argued that gentrification studies needs to "move beyond" Marcuse's conceptualisations to better appreciate displacement in contemporary contexts, we have explored the extent to which they are of continuing relevance, at least in understanding processes of displacement in rural England, albeit extended through greater consideration of the multi-dimensionality and temporalities of gentrification and displacement.

This extension in Marcuse's analysis is undertaken through connecting some of his conceptual differentiations to those made by Grier and Grier (1978) and within the recent studies of Linz (2017) and Krijnen (2018), before exploring their value within an investigation of displacement processes in nine English villages. The conceptual distinctions are summarised in Fig. 4, which illustrates how the Griers' differentiation of disinvestment displacement, reinvestment displacement and displacement under heightened market competition can be constructed as a temporal sequence, with Marcuse's differentiation of direct displacement, exclusionary displacement and displacement pressure potentially operating to different extents within each period or phase of gentrification. The notion of phases of gentrification has been the subject of debate within gentrification studies (e.g. Beauregard, 1986; Hackworth, 2019; Pattaroni et al., 2012; Phillips, 2005; Van Criekingen and Decroly, 2003), and we are not seeking to present a developmentalist model as to how displacement should be expected to operate in all, or even most, instances. Rather we view this more as a diagram of a possibility space (de Landa, 2006), produced through a reading of existing studies. Only some of the possibilities sketched out in Fig. 4 may be actualised in any given context, and there are likely to be many other possibilities that remain unrepresented, are configured differently, or are potentially obscured by this diagram. It is also likely that many of the possibilities are realised in any one context multiple times, given the extended periods over which gentrification has been operating in some locales. However, placing these significant caveats aside for a moment, our investigation of displacement suggests that across nine villages in England, the forms of displacement outlined in Fig. 4 have all been actualised.

Whilst the forms of displacement represented in Fig. 4 are broadly in line with the conceptualisations of Marcuse (1985, 1986), some reworking has been undertaken. First, drawing on Linz (2017), a differentiation has been introduced between displacement pressure and abandonment pressures, with the former presented as emerging as gentrification takes hold in an area, whilst the latter operates in conditions of disinvestment and property abandonment. This is a simplification, as Linz identifies how visual signs of abandonment linger into, and have affective outcomes within, periods of intensive gentrification. However, we think it important to recognise that material and affective pressures on everyday life potentially operate rather differently when places undergo disinvestment rather than influxes of investment and new residents.

A second subject of re-working has been the concept of chain displacement, with the linkage to direct displacement being loosened to enable recognition that exclusionary displacement and displacement pressures can displace residents prior to the displacement of the last resident before gentrification. Chain displacement may hence be conceptualised as a variant of the other forms of displacement listed in Fig. 4, although we have presented it in separation to highlight how it can operate across phases of gentrification. In our study of gentrification within nine English villages, we have focused on how children of working-class households have left these settlements even though their parents have, so far, remained. Given that the chains of displacement have in some cases been running for half a century or more, it appears likely that many may be broken in coming years, potentially spelling the end of the reproduction of a working-class population within these villages and a further round of gentrification through exclusionary displacement.

As well as seeking to extend conceptualisations of displacement, this paper has sought to demonstrate the significance of displacement within a rural context, where just as in urban contexts, its presence and significance has been questioned. We have argued against setting up dualisms between displacement and processes such as abandonment, population replacement and employment restructuring, arguing that these are best considered as facets of multi-dimensional processes of gentrification displacement that extend beyond issues of access to housing, not only into changes in employment conditions but also into access to services and the symbolism, practices and affective relations

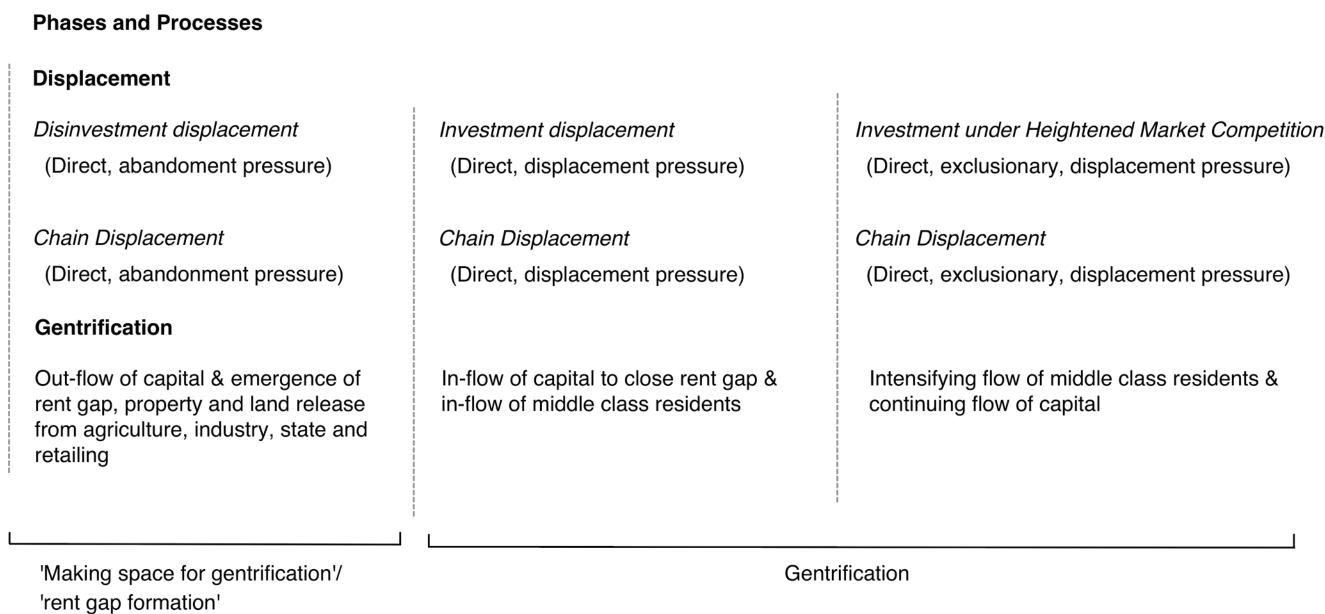


Fig. 4. Possible Phases and Processes of Displacement.

that people have with human and more-than-human constituents of the spaces in which they reside and interact. Some of the displacement that has enabled gentrification, occurred decades ago, with declining employment opportunities in and around these villages displacing many rural residents and releasing properties for subsequent gentrification. Such displacement often took direct forms, with employment loss being accompanied by loss of tenurial rights as well as inability to pay rents. It has, however, also been shown that direct displacement is not just a feature of the past but is still a contemporary occurrence.

One of the instances of direct displacement identified in this paper relates to a mobile home, which also highlights how gentrification can extend across a wide range of property forms, particularly in areas where there is limited availability of properties or land for gentrification (see Phillips, 2005; Smith, 2007). This suggests that displacement forms can often work cumulatively: in this case, residents facing direct or exclusionary displacement were able to gain access to housing through the purchase of new, well-appointed mobile homes, although at least some of these were sited through the direct displacement of existing mobile-home residents. In the same village, it also appeared that the gentrification of more mainstream housing forms occurred, in part, because of exclusionary displacement from the urban centre of Cambridge, whilst in the villages in Calderdale, South Kesteven and East Lindsey regional price variations acted to attract gentrifiers into the rural locations, despite housing in these settlements being higher than in surrounding locations.

Many studies of rural gentrification have highlighted the displacement impacts of house prices, and whilst our study has reiterated their significance, we have also sought to widen the discussion of displacement to encompass not only recognition of the operation of practices of direct displacement but also how transformations in the physical and symbolic form of buildings exclude some prospective purchasers, while transformations in retail and welfare services, public spaces of social interaction and more-than-human environments can dislocate people from rural spaces, inducing feelings of being out of place even when people remain physically in place. These transformations are denoted in Fig. 4, as well as more widely, using Marcuse's concept of displacement pressure, although as discussed, a range of other terms have also been employed to describe them, including indirect, community, neighbourhood resource, cultural and affective displacement. In our study of displacement within gentrified villages within England, we opted to employ a distinction between material and affective/experiential displacement. We have illustrated how employment and service restructurings have made life in villages less materially liveable for people on low incomes or lacking good access to private transport, and also how gentrification induced changes to the human and more-than-human constituents of the spaces of everyday life have exerted palpable affective pressures on people. Detailing these pressures is a complex task that gentrification studies have, as Linz (2017) observes, only recently begun to address, and in this paper, we have only sketched out instances focused around public spaces of social interaction and green space.

The range of possible forms that displacement can take poses challenges for advocates of the gentrification without displacement position and we advocate displacement being viewed as a constituent of meaningful, and critical, conceptions of gentrification. Our study of nine villages has demonstrated that displacement has been actualised in all the forms identified in Fig. 4. Exclusionary displacement and affective pressures were the most widespread identifiable forms, which may well reflect the extended temporalities through which they operate: reference has, for instance, been made to the accretive dimensions of displacement pressures, while in countries such as the UK house prices have exhibited a persistent upward trajectory over time, notwithstanding periods of short-term crisis. Our study has also illustrated how these forms of displacement can operate across the social spectrum, with both middle-class and working-class residents making reference to experiences of price exclusion and feeling out of place due to changes associated with gentrification. Instances of direct displacement, on the other hand, were much less evident, which again may reflect the eventful temporality of this form of displacement, which may hinder its recognition beyond those directly involved, as well as its tendency, at least in the context of rural England, to be enacted at the scale of individual properties. There are important contextual differences to take into account when considering the forms of displacement likely to be actualised in particular instances of gentrification, even when the conceptualisations of displacement employed have been generated through cross-contextual comparisons. Whilst we hope that the analysis of displacement presented here will 'speak back' to studies of gentrification within many urban contexts, it is clear, for instance, that in many of these sites there are more discernible displacement events than evident within the rural locations selected for examination here. This does not mean, however, that displacement is absent or that these rural localities cannot provide valuable sites for exploring some of the less visible and immediate forms

of gentrification displacement.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Martin Phillips: Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Investigation, Data curation, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing, Visualization, Supervision, Project administration, Funding acquisition. **Darren Smith:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Writing - original draft, Supervision, Project administration, Funding acquisition. **Hannah Brooking:** Investigation, Data curation. **Mara Duer:** Investigation, Data curation.

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