

**THE REVITALISATION OF THE  
HEBDEN BRIDGE DISTRICT:  
GREENTRIFIED PENNINE RURALITY**

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**The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that  
appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work  
of others.**

**Plate 1: Aerial View of the Hebden Bridge District**



## Abstract

This thesis provides an integrated theoretical account of gentrification in a context which evokes significant socio-cultural meanings of rurality. With this purpose in mind, three key conceptual standpoints are established to frame the research. First, gentrification is viewed as a dynamic process of change involving distinct and differing phases of transformation. Second, representations of rurality are seen as socio-cultural constructions, which are specific to particular social groups and individuals. Finally, the creation of *both* rural geographies and geographies of gentrification are the product of interactions between structural conditions and the agency of consumers and producers; a reciprocal relationship of maintenance and/or reproduction in a constant flux in time and space.

Following this conceptual framework, the thesis documents the processes of change which *both* the rural and urban environs of the Hebden Bridge district, West Yorkshire, have undergone since the late 1960s. These processes are termed g[re]ntification (rural gentrification) and involve social, cultural, physical and economic parallels with inner city gentrification. More specifically, two stages of g[re]ntification have predominated. The first stage (DIY greentrification) was initiated by in-migrant households, drawn to the moor tops, moor edges and urban location by idyllic representations of Pennine rurality. Undertaking self-renovation activities, redefined landscapes were produced and consumed by the in-migrant households. As the scale of DIY greentrification gained momentum during the early 1970s, commercial actors gained control of the production activities, renovating and developing ready-made “rural” and “rurban” commodities. As these were consumed by “client greentrifiers”, property prices in the Hebden Bridge district escalated in the mid to late 1980s. Subsequently, the local indigenous population have been increasingly marginalised, excluded and displaced from the local housing market. The outcome of the greentrification process has been the production and maintenance of a number of territories associated with a distinct range of greentrifier types, culminating in an internal geography of greentrification within the Hebden Bridge district.

Without doubt, the diversity of the Hebden Bridge district offers different qualities to a range of households searching for differing types of location to fulfil specific cultural and economic criteria. It is the capacity of the Hebden Bridge district (i.e. the geography of greentrification) to meet these cultural and economic needs that is central to the dramatic physical, social, economic and cultural transformations which it has experienced since the late 1960s. The uniqueness of the Hebden Bridge district is tied up with the make-up of its internal geography and its many faces of greentrification.

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## *Chapter 1*

### *Introduction*

*“Hebden Bridge. Yellow stone set in yellow-green moorland, at the edge of woodland.”*

Hughes (1985)

*Hebden Bridge -the Pennine Centre.* I first came across Hebden Bridge in 1989, during an undergraduate field trip which illuminated various regeneration projects in the Calder Valley corridor, West Yorkshire. On the journey, the party travelled by coach, east to west, up the Calder Valley - passing through Brighouse, Elland, Halifax, Sowerby Bridge, Luddendenfoot, Mytholmroyd, Hebden Bridge and ending at Todmorden. Within this assemblage of places, I was struck by the uniqueness of Hebden Bridge. In contrast to the other small towns of the Calder Valley, Hebden Bridge was remarkably different. On first sight there was visibly something very active underway in Hebden Bridge. It was a vibrant and buzzing place, full of back-packers, “alternative looking types” and people in suits scuttling around its compact town centre. It was noticeable that there were no vacant shops and the services in Hebden Bridge were highly distinct; wine bars, restaurants, antique and pine furniture shops, galleries, alternative medicinal centres, art and craft workshops. I left with the impression that in the context of the Calder Valley, Hebden Bridge was a place of difference and distinction. But why was Hebden Bridge so very different? How had it been transformed from a black decaying textile town into an honey-coloured beehive of activity? It was questions such as these which stimulated my interest in the place and enticed me back. In retrospect, I had been struck by the physical, social, cultural and economic manifestations of gentrification - a process of change of which I was unaware at the time.

It was on my return two weeks later, however, that I really discovered Hebden Bridge - not Hebden Bridge the place that I had previously encountered, but Hebden Bridge the district. Ever curious, I embarked on an adventure through the steep-sided streets of the town centre, marvelling at the double-decker housing that was carved into the Pennine hillsides. I then deviated and explored the sloped belt of woodlands that encircle the town centre. I followed one of the many streams (cloughs) that cut through the woodlands, to its source on the bleak and desolate open moor tops, passing through a number of “weaver’s” hamlets and villages at the moor edges. It was only at this point that I discovered the true diversity and difference that constitutes the district of Hebden Bridge. Somehow the urban qualities of the town centre became absorbed into the wider rural Pennine surroundings - and the densely packed town centre was viewed in a different light; a component of the Pennine countryside within which Hebden Bridge the place is set. This representation was reaffirmed many

times during the research, with such descriptions of Hebden Bridge as “an urban pimple in a sea of rurality”.

It was not until I encountered the gentrification literature as a post-graduate at Leeds, that I became interested in the Hebden Bridge district from an academic point of view. Describing to a relative that I was searching for a place to study gentrification, I experienced a response that I have since become accustomed to - “what is gentrification”? In response to the simplistic definition of gentrification which I offered (i.e. invasion by middle class residents leading to displacement of working class households), it was claimed that Hebden Bridge had become an enclave for middle class professionals, especially from the arts, media and education, and that the local population were being forced out of the area because of escalating property prices. Interestingly, Hebden Bridge was referred to as “the yuppie centre of the North”. This speculation needed investigating and my interest in Hebden Bridge for the purpose of studying gentrification was born. In essence, this thesis is therefore a response to my personal and academic interest in the district of Hebden Bridge.

Gentrification as a topic for research warrants attention because its effects upon contemporary societies and spaces are dramatic. The expressions of gentrification are highly visible within revitalised and redefined landscapes, changing and upwardly-mobile social characteristics and new emerging lifestyles and consumption-production practices. Given this visual prominence, it is not surprising that gentrification has attracted the interest of geographers and occupied a central position within the post-1970s geographical literature on urban and social change. Gentrification is an important element in the understanding of the processes which are shaping the modern landscape(s). Moreover, it has provided a research arena for geographers to examine the ways in which the inter-relationships of structure-agency, production-consumption and supply-demand are manifest over geographical space.

The need to grasp the complexities of gentrification over time and space should be high on the research agenda (not only for geographers). Many places suffering from decay and decline could benefit from the regeneration lessons of gentrification. If these are to be impregnated into regeneration projects, it is vital that the positives of gentrification (i.e. revitalised landscape) do not trigger the negatives of gentrification (i.e. displacement, exclusion and marginalisation) upon the indigenous and less affluent households. There is a need to tailor policies which are sensitive to the area in question and hence, a need to understand gentrification in context.

The geographical literature signifies that past efforts to understand gentrification have targeted the inner city. Indeed, the geographical literature gives the impression that gentrification is confined to the

inner-city. In response to this selective focus, this thesis argues that there is a gap in the geographical literature which needs filling. It is proposed that gentrification is not specific to the inner-city. Rather, it is argued that the tentacles of gentrification extend outwards into the countryside - a movement which researchers have not comprehensively identified and/or explained. It is not being argued here that the search by relatively affluent households for idyllic rural environments and more “natural” lifestyles has not been recognised. On the contrary, this is well documented in the literature. Rather, it is argued the geographical literature has only touched the tip of the iceberg in terms of identifying and explaining the rural aspirations within the context of gentrification (and the gentrification literature). It would appear that authors have under-estimated the counter-urban pulses of gentrification. This search for the rural idyll within the domain of gentrification clearly contrasts with the pro-urban aspirations of the inner-city gentrifiers, with which the bulk of the geographical literature has been preoccupied.

Hence, if the lessons of gentrification are taken on-board for regeneration projects, then it must be recognised that the processes of gentrification influence a diversity of social and spatial contexts. The dynamics of gentrification experienced in one place cannot be simply transposed upon another place. It is vital that researchers stop touching the tip of the iceberg, but rather climb aboard to understand its complex topography.

Taking this viewpoint into account, this thesis will tackle the pro-rural motives which have culminated in the rural gentrification of the Hebden Bridge district, West Yorkshire. By examining the rural characteristics of the Hebden Bridge district (at a concrete and abstract level), this thesis seeks to explain why the Hebden Bridge district is unique in the context of the Calder Valley, in terms of the social, cultural, physical and economic transformations which it has experienced since the late 1960s. To borrow Berry’s (1985) often cited phrase, it is suggested that the Hebden Bridge district is “an island of renewal” in the Calder Valley “seas of decay”. If policies are to be established and implemented to tackle these (and similar other) seas of decay, it is firstly essential to understand how and why the islands of renewal came into being. For this purpose, the research aims of the thesis are structured in the following way.

Chapters 2 and 3 begin by establishing the conceptual and theoretical boundaries for the study of gentrification in a rural context. In Chapter 2 the urban gentrification literature is reviewed and a conceptual re-assessment of the inner-city gentrification *process* and the gentrifiers is provided. As a starting point gentrification is unpacked as a term and the gentry class connotations of the process are put aside. A working definition of gentrification is then provided. This is based on a re-evaluation of Warde’s (1991) four-tier definition of gentrification. Following this, a theoretical middle-ground

between the Structural Marxists and the Liberal Humanists is established to explain the relationships between structure-agency and production-consumption in the gentrification process. Chapter 2 proceeds to argue that the effects of time and space should be prominent within studies of gentrification, taking account of the micro-diversity of the gentrified place. For this purpose, a stage theory of gentrification is put forward and two distinct major stages of gentrification (and gentrifier) are proposed; *DIY* gentrification (DIY gentrifier) and *institutional* gentrification (client gentrifier). It is argued, therefore, that portrayals of prototypical gentrifiers are a misnomer and that a range of gentrifier types must be recognised. Finally, Chapter 2 addresses the need for a new gentrification “frontier” and contends that the gentrification focus should be expanded outwards, from the urban fabric of the inner-city to the rural countryside.

Chapter 3 provides a review of the rural literature which focuses upon definitions and representations of rurality and rural change. It begins by outlining the general characteristics which are assumed to be the trademarks of rural places. From this discussion, it is argued that a universal definition of rurality is not feasible, since the rural concept is associated with an array of abstract and concrete rural contexts. Rather, it is appropriate to view the rural as a subjective, flexible term, which encompasses imagined and concrete rural geographies. Focusing upon imagined socio-cultural representations of rurality, attention is given to the notion of the rural idyll. Such “idyll-ised” representations of rurality are being increasingly inscribed upon material rural space with the production and consumption of “chocolate-box” landscapes. A discussion of the role of producers and consumers within the production and reproduction of the rural chocolate-box landscape(s) is then provided.

From the review of the rural literature, Chapter 3 turns to the research setting. The Hebden Bridge district is introduced and it is suggested that the case study be set within a regional focus. To meet this objective, Chapter 3 provides a discussion of the “South Pennine” region, highlighting the geographical differences which exist within the highly diverse mosaic of the rural and urban landscape(s) of the South Pennines.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion of the methodological approach adopted for the thesis. It is documented that *both* qualitative and quantitative methods were employed for the collection of different sources of data. Methods were selected on grounds of applicability to the research question being addressed at a particular phase of the research. The qualitative component of the research was highly exploratory and used as a means of investigation to gather rich data from the local population and the local media about the processes of change in the Hebden Bridge district. Chapter 4 then describes the quantitative component of research, undertaken to assess the empirical validity of

conceptual inferences drawn from the qualitative methods and provide a synthesis of the conceptual strands. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were necessary to achieve the overall aim of the thesis, to provide an integrated theoretical account of the transformation of the Hebden Bridge district based upon the reciprocal inter-relationships between structure and agency.

In Chapter 5 a chronological portrait of the Hebden Bridge district from the early-1960s to the mid-1970s is provided. This chapter commences with a summary of the social, economic and physical decline of the Calder Valley, contextualising the Hebden Bridge district and uncovering geographic differentiation within the Calder Valley. Shifting from a regional perspective, the response of local and regional government institutions in the Hebden Bridge district to the social and economic decline is then examined. In the early to mid 1960s the practices of local and regional government institutions in the Hebden Bridge district mirrored the national ideology of aiming to “replace the past with the new”. The inadequacies of this solution in the context of the Hebden Bridge district are shown and the origins of an alternative manifesto which sought to save and rehabilitate the past are introduced. This movement grew from the local agency of the Calder Civic Trust (CCT). The discussion focuses particularly upon the pivotal agent of change, David Fletcher (Chairman of the CCT), who eventually penetrated the Hebden Royd Urban Council to institutionalise the values and beliefs of the CCT movement.

Importantly, Chapter 5 describes parallel processes of change which were underway in the rural and urban areas of the Hebden Bridge district, during the late 1960s to early 1970s. These processes of change are termed DIY greentrification. Evidence is presented which illustrates that significant waves of households (labelled DIY greentrifiers) entered the rural and urban areas, in search of a “green” location and the opportunity to undertake a “good-life” counter-cultural lifestyle. Crucially, the self-renovation of dilapidated property by the DIY greentrifiers gradually revitalised the rural and urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district.

Chapter 5 then documents how and why the CCT and DIY greentrifiers joined forces to remake and redefine the urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district. Through the process of “washing, burning and greening” the urban landscape; a “*rurban*” package was manufactured, fusing together sanitised urban artefacts and instilling the revitalised rural surroundings. From this it is shown that Hebden Bridge was then marketed and sold as the “Pennine Centre” to commuters and tourists.

In Chapter 6 the reformulation of the role of commercial institutional actors within the greentrification process is examined. The first section of the chapter sets the scene, reaffirming that commercial

institutional actors initially played a secondary role to the key agents of change (the DIY greentriever households) during DIY greentrification in the late 1960s to early 1970s. As DIY greentrification became in-grained in the Hebden Bridge district, commercial institutional actors became aware of the potential for profit and institutionalised the processes of change from the mid 1970s. These institutional-led phases of greentrification are termed “institutional *rural* greentrification” and “institutional *rurban* greentrification” respectively. Greentrifiers associated with the institutional stage of greentrification are labelled “*client greentrifiers*”; given they are pure consumers of packages which are produced and supplied by commercial institutional actors.

Chapter 6 then pays considerable attention to the role of estate agents within the Hebden Bridge district. It is shown that estate agents have manipulated the supply and tapped the demand for country and urban property, in turn excluding greentrifiers from participating in self-renovation and production activities. As a result, it is argued that the estate agents have created and maintained a geography of greentrification within the Hebden Bridge district. At the same time, it is shown that this geography of greentrification has been “naturalised” into the local planning framework by the Calderdale District Council. Finally, Chapter 6 asserts that the consumption of property in the Hebden Bridge district has become an exclusive practice, limited to the relatively affluent client greentrifiers. Consequently, the less affluent indigenous households have been displaced and/or marginalised to the less desirable parts of the Hebden Bridge district. This outcome is a product of the profit-motivated strategies of the commercial institutional actors designed to instigate an escalation of country and urban property prices.

Chapter 7 investigates further the inferences drawn from Chapters 5 and 6, adding verification of the social, cultural, economic and physical transformations witnessed in the Hebden Bridge district. To assess the extent to which changes in the Hebden Bridge district represent gentrification, the socio-economic and demographic differences that exist between different types of in-migrants and the indigenous population are identified from a comparative analysis of secondary data from the 1981 and 1991 Census. The key finding is the presence of a geography of greentrifiers within the Hebden Bridge district. This is backed-up by residential profiles extracted from the 1991 GB Profiling System.

Chapter 8 draws upon the findings from a survey of 150 sampled households (undertaken in 1996), illuminating four major aspects of the greentrification process in the Hebden Bridge district. First, further evidence is presented which indicates the presence of a geography of greentrifiers. Second, the attractions of the Hebden Bridge district for the greentrifiers are identified. Third, a spatial dimension is revealed which highlights that specific aspects of the location are being consumed by particular types of greentrifier. This expresses the selective search for particular types of Pennine dwellings and



landscapes. Finally, the temporal aspects of the greentrification process are examined, confirming speculations made in Chapters 5 and 6 that different greentrifier types (and institutional actors) became involved at distinct stages and time-spaces of the greentrification process.

In Chapter 9 the cultural motives which underpin the colonisation of particular locations, within the Hebden Bridge district, by distinct types of client greentrifiers (remote, village and rurban) are revealed. Evidence is presented which confirms that specific types of client greentrifier consume selective mythical rural or rurban Pennine packages, to satisfy cultural appetite. Accordingly, it is argued that cultural differentiation is an integral component of the internal geography of greentrification identified in Chapters 7 and 8. It is shown that the movement of particular types of greentrifiers into the Hebden Bridge district expresses a search for differing representations of Pennine rurality.

Finally, Chapter 10 presents the major contributions of the research. These are considered in terms of the original research aims outlined in Chapter 1. Importantly, the contributions are set within the wider context of the urban and rural literature and signposts are established for the direction of future research.

## *Chapter 2*

### *Gentrification: An Urban Phenomenon?*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will provide a review of the urban gentrification literature, providing a conceptual re-assessment of the inner-city gentrification *process* and the gentrifiers. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section will unpack the term gentrification, casting aside the gentry class connotations of the process. The second section will provide a working definition of gentrification for the thesis, taking apart and re-evaluating Warde's (1991) four-tier definition of gentrification. In addition, in response to the theoretical debate which has plagued the gentrification literature, a theoretical foundation will be established which provides a middle-ground between the Structural Marxists and the Liberal Humanists. It will be argued that this will enable the thesis to explicate the relationships between structure-agency and production-consumption in the gentrification process.

The third section will reconceptualise the gentrification process, calling for the gentrification focus to be re-adjusted to take account of the micro-diversity of the gentrified place and the effects of time and space. For this purpose, a stage theory of gentrification will be re-emphasised and two main distinct stages of gentrification and gentrifier will be proposed; *DIY* gentrification (DIY gentrifier) and *institutional* gentrification (client gentrifier). The distinction made between gentrifier types is based on households who self-renovate (i.e. DIY) and households who are dependent on builders and developers to produce the gentrified product (i.e. client). Hence, the latter label (client gentrifier) subsumes both households who purchase ready-made property and/or unrenovated property which is subsequently renovated by hired architects and/or builders. It is appreciated that the distinction is clearly an idealisation of a very complex process and there will be overlap between the gentrifier types. For instance, the early stages of gentrification are likely to involve self-renovation by gentrifiers and renovation by hired architects and/or builders.

The fourth section will focus upon the characteristics of the gentrifiers. It will be argued that portrayals of prototypical gentrifiers are a misnomer and that a range of gentrifier types must be recognised. Finally, the chapter will move away from an urban focus and assess the need for a new gentrification "frontier". From this it will be argued that the gentrification focus must be expanded outwards, from the urban fabric of the inner-city to the countryside.

## 2.1 Gentrification: "Unpacking the Term"

Prior to any understanding of the concepts of gentrification and gentrifier, it is first essential to unpack gentrification as a term. The immediate result from a deconstruction of the term is the word "gentry" (Redfern, 1994). This is not surprising since the term was coined by Glass (1963) to identify a process of change; conventionally understood in the literature to have involved the (re)invasion of a new urban gentry into properties initially developed for an earlier urban gentry. As a result, a resident working class population was being displaced from the area (Butler, 1991). It was from this specific singular research account of inner London that the term gentrification was born.

Ironically, Hamnett (1995b) notes that Glass never literally viewed the (re)invading households as a gentry. Hence, it can be argued that the gentry connotations are a mythical product of the gentrification literature. Indeed, very few accounts of gentrification concur with Glass' spatial and temporal process of (re)invasion (see Rose, 1984). As Redfern (1994) strongly asserts, gentrification does not involve the "original gentry", which he defines as the English non-aristocratic rural land-owning class. Therefore, representations of gentrification must not be governed by the "gentry" class connotations which the term implies (Ley, 1996). Rather, this thesis shares the view that gentrification signifies a process of social, cultural, physical and economic change which involves a diversity of sub-groups.

The following section will provide a working definition of urban gentrification. This is an essential starting point, since as Phillips (1993 p.138) asserts, "there is much to be gained if rural researchers (of gentrification) recognise and explore the variety of interpretations circulating within urban studies."

## 2.2 The Ambiguities of Gentrification

It is clear from the academic literature that the concept of gentrification means different things to different authors. This diversity is borne out in the multiplicity of descriptive labels which dominates much of the early empiricist mainstream research (Smith and Williams, 1986). For example, Hamnett (1984) writes of authors disguising gentrification by adopting labels, ranging from "residential revitalisation" (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981) to "urban re-invasion" (London et al, 1980). Although the ad hoc usage of labels has declined in recent work, the conceptual ambiguity of gentrification still remains (Butler, 1991). This must be transcended, since the empirical results of research into gentrification will be influenced by the researcher's interpretation of the meaning of gentrification.

Due to the differing meanings of gentrification, the academic literature does not provide a good coherent source for a definition (Beauregard, 1986). As both Bourne (1993b) and Phillips (1993) point out, the debate on the meaning of gentrification remains because no fixed parameters have been established as to when and where the term should be applied. As a preliminary to outlining a working definition of gentrification, it is useful to contextualise the different interpretations of gentrification and thus provide a brief discussion of the theoretical debate which has "raged" in the literature:

"... between the liberal humanists who stress the key role of choice, culture, consumption and consumer demand, and the Structural Marxists who stress the role of capital, class, class production and supply" (Hamnett, 1991 p.174).

### **2.2.1 "Bringing The Elephant of Gentrification into View"**

The well documented production-consumption debate is a battlefield of altercation between radically different theories and explanations. It is for this reason that the debate has been so "heated" (Hamnett 1991; Smith 1996). Indeed, Redfern (1994) claims that the participants in the gentrification debate are gambling to endorse or overturn the tenets of Marx or Weber respectively. The outcome is an unavoidable research division of labour which overlooks complementarity (Clark, 1992).

It is impractical in this context to provide a lengthy account of the features of the polarities of the debate; see Hamnett (1991; 1992), Van Weesep (1994) and Lees (1995) for a fuller discussion. Suffice to say, on one side of the debate there are those who privilege agency over structure. This Liberal Humanist school of thought, characterised by the work of David Ley, focuses on the production of gentrifiers and their associated cultural, consumption and reproductive orientations (Hamnett, 1991). On the other side are the Structural Marxists, exemplified by Neil Smith, who privilege structure over agency. This school of thought gives primacy to the production and supply of urban space, the dynamics of the housing and land market, the role of capital and collective social actors such as developers and mortgage finance institutions (Hamnett, 1991). More recently, Redfern (1994), citing Rose (1984), has added a further dimension to the debate, claiming a "left" version of the post-industrial thesis has evolved. Focusing upon the production of gentrifiers, Redfern claims that this approach concentrates upon the social class origins of gentrifiers rather than the consumption behaviour of gentrifiers.

Having reviewed the debate, Hamnett argues that the polarities are complementary rather than competing since both are crucial components of the totality of gentrification. Consequently, he asserts:

"The gradual emergence of an integrated theory of gentrification has arisen from the realisation that production and consumption are both crucial to a comprehensive explanation" (Hamnett, 1991 p.175).

Hamnett resorts to the tactics of imagery to further his claims, labelling the participants of the debate “blind men” (sic), who sporadically feel the parts of the gentrification animal (the elephant). Hamnett's (1991; 1992) solution is to propose class restructuring as the centrepiece of any theory of gentrification. This replacement of the consumption and production “centrepieces” with a proposed new “class centrepiece”, gives rise to Clark’s (1992) charge that Hamnett has also been “blinded by the elephant”. Bearing in mind Hamnett’s pronounced emphasis for integration, this charge appears slightly off the mark. Nevertheless, Clark provides a renewed vigour to the call for integration and reinforces his earlier attestation that “we should stop asking the one-dimensional question: Which theory of gentrification is true” (1988 p.247). Similarly, Lees (1994 p.148) advocates the need “to consider the complementarity between both sets of ideas in more depth.”

The need to recognise the interdependency of structure-agency, supply-demand and production-consumption is extremely well illustrated by Hamnett (1991; 1992) and Clark (1992), in their critical reviews of Smith's (1979) rent gap thesis. Although Smith has since made amendments to this thesis (Smith, 1986; 1987; 1992; 1996), in its original form the rent gap thesis argued that:

“..gentrification is a *structural product* of the land and housing markets. Capital flows where the rate of return is highest, and the movement of capital to the suburbs along with the continual depreciation of inner city capital, eventually produces the rent gap. When this gap grows sufficiently large, rehabilitation (or for that matter, renewal) can begin to challenge the rates of return available elsewhere and capital flows back” (Smith, 1979 p.546 emphases added).

Both Hamnett and Clark refute Smith’s handling of the rent-gap in the realm of production and are critical of his oversight to incorporate the operatives of demand. As Hamnett states:

“.. given that the gap between potential and actual ground rents is predicated on the existence of potential ground rents, Smith says very little about the processes by which such potential ground rents come into existence” (Hamnett, 1991 p.181).

Clark (1992, p.360 emphases added) also reiterates this point when emphasising that the rent gap involves elements of *both* supply and demand; asserting that the “rent gap hinges on the active expression of *demand* for higher and better uses of the site”. He concludes by supporting Hamnett’s call for an integrated theoretical account of gentrification:

“The view that demand is excluded from the conception of rent gap is one which we will have to leave behind us if we are to move in the direction of integration espoused by Hamnett” (Clark, 1992 p.360).

Clearly, the writings of Hamnett and Clark have had a major impact upon Smith’s conception of

gentrification. In his recent book "The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and The Revanchist City" (1996), Smith's structuralist doctrine is undoubtedly compromised. Indeed, he implicitly supports the views of Hamnett and Clark, "admitting":

"The attempt to integrate consumption-side and production-side arguments - not in some mechanical resort to the notion that one cross-cuts the other but rather in the notion that production and consumption are mutually implicated - should be at the top of our agenda" (Smith, 1996 p.108).

### 2.2.2 The Structuration of Gentrification

In accordance with the integrated approach advocated by Hamnett, Clark and Smith, this thesis will be grounded in the principles of structuration theory. This approach will provide a theoretical middle-ground between the polarities of the gentrification debate and transcend the dual errors of "conditions doing the acting" and "actors acting independently" respectively (Sayer, 1983). This section will provide a very brief overview of the key tenets of structuration theory; for a fuller discussion see Giddens (1979; 1981; 1984) Thrift (1983; 1993), Pred (1984), Sarre et al (1989), Cloke et al (1991).

Giddens (1979) developed the theory of structuration from a critique of over-determinism and over-voluntarism. It is based on the notion that agency and structure presuppose one another in time and space. In essence, dialectical synthesis overcomes the theoretical isolation of individual (human agency) and society (social structures). Following on from this, Giddens (1984) insists that structures exert an equal determining influence on agency and vice versa. As a result, neither structure or agency are given "ontological priority" (Tudor, 1995) and their relationship is based on the premise that dualism has to be reconceptualised as duality. Accordingly, Cloke et al, in their review of Giddens, express the notion of duality of structure and agency:

"Structural properties of social systems as formulated in rules/resources are both a **medium** of social properties and an **end result** of social practices" (Cloke et al, 1991a p.102).

An understanding of the engagements between structure and agency which underpin gentrification will enable the conditions governing the continuity or transformations of structures and therefore the reproduction of social systems to be established (Giddens, 1984).

For this reason, the thesis will focus upon the role played by household and institutional agency in reproducing and/or transforming the structural and contingent conditions of gentrification. Hence, the thesis will adhere to Pred's theory of place:

“.. as historically contingent that emphasises institutional and individual practices as well as the structural features within which those practices are interwoven” (Pred, 1984 p.280).

In conclusion, this thesis supports the view that gentrification *must* be explained within an integrated theoretical framework. For this purpose, the working definition of gentrification provided in the following section will incorporate the dependent relations of structure-agency, production-consumption and supply-demand as a duality, rather than independent dualisms working in isolation.

### 2.2.3 A Definition of Gentrification

This section will highlight the common “end-results” of gentrification that are documented in literature and construct a working definition of gentrification. As a framework for this discussion, Warde's (1991) four-tier definition will be introduced and reconceptualised. This definition is favoured since it “takes apart” the concept rather than “lumping together” the various elements of the concept. For the aid of discussion, each of the four tiers will be evaluated in relation to the preceding text:

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

It is clear that gentrification does involve resettlement, social concentration and new patterns of socio-spatial segregation, but this does not necessarily involve the displacement (or replacement) of a singular social group of residents. As Phillips (1993) argues, the process is much more complex than a simple replacement and/or displacement of working class residents by middle class inhabitants. A variety of social groups may be displaced and/or replaced by a variety of invading social groups. This is a view supported by Bridge (1994 p.32), who asserts that “not all the displaced are working class”. Indeed, Ley (1995) emphasises that gentrification is not only evident in former working class areas, but can also be found in former lower middle-class areas.

It is important to add that low income groups are not always displaced and/or replaced as a result of an escalation in house prices. Depending on the scale of gentrification and the availability and type of housing stock, the low income groups can remain in constrained and restricted positions within the housing market. As Filion (1991 p.561) states “one effect of gentrification is to further restrict lower income households already limited range of residential options”. Clearly, issues of marginalisation and

exclusion are just as important as displacement in explaining the gentrification of a place.

The variety of "displacers", "replacers" or "restrictors" cannot be categorised as a uniform social grouping, for example, new middle class space invaders (Williams, 1986). The residential decision making process of the indigenous population and the DIY gentrifiers also stimulates house prices to escalate. This is a result of the indigenous and DIY gentrifier households selling property (making a profit) and "trading up" in the housing market (Zukin, 1988). As Bridge (1995a p.243) states, the "capital appreciation in a booming housing market also applies to the working class home-owners in that neighbourhood." Moreover, it is important not to view the indigenous working class and DIY gentrifier households as static socio-economic categories. Over time, fractions of indigenous and DIY gentrifier households may experience socio-economic transformations equivalent to the more affluent client gentrifiers. Therefore, Warde's view that gentrification involves a substantial gap between those displaced and those moving in must be questioned. For example, in-coming DIY gentrifier households may have lower or equivalent incomes than the relatively affluent sectors of the indigenous population.

It is important to stress that Warde is not alone in holding this view that gentrification involves the influx of households with higher socio-economic status. Hamnett (1991 p.172) also stresses that "gentrification involves the invasion by middle class or higher income groups of previously working class". Similarly, Ley (1993 p.228) writes of "the movement of wealthier households into districts formerly occupied by less affluent residents." Although this may be true in the later stages of the process (when property prices have risen dramatically), this represents an over-generalisation. These authors do not differentiate and include the effects of different household types at differing stages of gentrification. Hamnett (1984) hints at such differentiation in an earlier text, when he states that "gentrification *commonly* involves the invasion by the middle class or higher income groups." However, he neglects to develop this.

Although gentrification undoubtedly does involve displacement (Bridge, 1994), Warde does not recognise that the indigenous population may also be "replaced". This does not mean that displacement should be erased from a definition of gentrification. The displacement criterion of gentrification cannot be simply relaxed or ignored, since it is an integral component of gentrification. Rather, "replacement" should be added to the definition and "displacement" should be viewed in a different manner. The latter point will be dealt with first.

In order to refine the concept of displacement, it is important to consider indirect and direct effects. For example, the in-migration of the DIY gentrifier households does not result in the direct displacement of



the indigenous population. On the contrary, the *continued* presence of a tolerant indigenous population may be a significant factor in attracting the DIY gentrifier households to the location (e.g. Vancouver, see Ley, 1996). The indigenous population (and possibly the DIY gentrifier households) are only directly displaced by the client gentrifier households. It is the willingness and ability of the client gentrifiers to purchase property at higher prices which results in property price rising beyond the financial means of the indigenous and DIY gentrifier households (Van Weesep, 1994) .

By viewing displacement as an indirect or direct effect, it is thus possible to set it within the past, present or future time-space contexts of gentrification. The important point to stress is that the "seeds" of displacement are evident at all times of the process, although they are only actualised at specific points within the process.

The assumption that house price escalations force the displacement of the local indigenous households must be also questioned. This displacement primarily relates to the owner occupiers amongst the indigenous population and not those who are living in rented accommodation. An assumption of a displacement of the indigenous population presumes that the decision to vacate the location is forced. This view appears flawed since significant proportions of the indigenous population may own their property and are not forced to release their property for sale on the housing market. Rather, the decision to sell is voluntary and under these conditions, it is argued that rather than displacing the indigenous population the in-migrants are actually replacing them.

However, it would be naive to believe that decisions are totally voluntary. There are also forces which may "encourage" the indigenous population to leave the location. For example, the infiltration of "outsiders" may lead to a change in service provision (e.g. wine bar replaces public house). Marcuse terms these forces the "pressures of displacement", since:

"Displacement affects many more than those actually displaced at any given moment. When a family sees its neighbourhood changing dramatically, when all their friends are leaving, when stores are going out of business and new stores for other clientele are taking their place, when changes in public facilities, transportation patterns, support services, are all clearly making the area less and less liveable, then the pressure for displacement is already severe, and its actuality only a matter of time" (Marcuse, 1986 p.157).

Under these conditions, the incoming in-migrants would be, simultaneously, replacing and displacing the indigenous population. The decision to leave the location would thus be a "bounded choice". Any definition of gentrification must appreciate that changing social compositions involve both the replacement and displacement of the indigenous population (Hamnett, 1984). The indigenous

population are never totally displaced (unless they live in “rented accommodation” and/or are first time buyers).

Since some members of the indigenous population have the opportunity to “contest” the process and remain in situ, it is not surprising that rates of transformation vary between contexts. Going one stage further, Van Weese (1994) stresses that the rates even vary within a singular context. Thus, Beauregard (1990) comments that it is the local characteristics of a locality that determines the rate of displacement. As a consequence, gentrification can transform areas either partially or entirely, depending on the ability of the local population to contest and resist the in-migration (Bridge, 1994). Indeed, the later waves of client gentrifiers (busy professionals) may promote a revival in quasi-domestic services, with the requirement for nannies, child-minders, home cleaners and gardeners (Rose, 1989). Hence, rather than displacing all of the indigenous population, the later waves of client gentrifiers may actually encourage and facilitate the indigenous population to remain in the location. This is presuming that the indigenous population can remain resident and that such services are not imported from external sources.

A further component which can be added to the displacement-replacement scenario is "exclusionary displacement" (Marcuse, 1986). This may occur when in-migrants replace and displace the indigenous population, subsequently excluding and removing the opportunities of access to housing for other working class individuals and groups. Prior to gentrification, housing may have been exchanged between working class groups but once gentrification commences, the working class may not be able to compete and meet the inflated house prices. The result is the continued out-migration of the indigenous population and the removal of opportunities for the in-migration or intra-migration of "replacement" working class individuals and groups.

**2. *It is a transformation in the built environment, via building work, that exhibits some common distinctive, aesthetic features and the emergence of certain types of local service provision.***

Warde's usage of the term “building work” lacks clarity and raises a number of ambiguities. Much of the physical transformation to the built environment (the unbuilt environment should not be ignored, i.e. open green areas) does not occur within the domain of “building work”. “Building” conjures images of development by commercial institutional actors who are active for profit (albeit in paid labour). This removes elements of DIY self-renovation and rehabilitation by individuals in households. A more suitable term would be “via revitalisation activities”. Revitalisation is preferred since it also highlights

that gentrification involves physical renovation in the form of rehabilitation and redevelopment. Building work does not necessarily refer to an improvement, for example, it could relate to an adaptation of an existing building.

Furthermore, Warde "homogenises" the nature of gentrification by overlooking the heterogeneity of gentrified locations. Rather than involving one particular group of individuals, gentrification involves different groups of people who are attracted to different parts of a location. Paradoxically, Warde (1991 p.227) later observes that "different social groups appear responsible for different instances of the phenomenon".

Therefore, clustered "pockets" of distinctive aesthetic features occur as opposed to a common uniform exhibition of features. Warde's over-generalisation neglects to take into account the "context within context" and that gentrification is time-space specific to certain parts of a place. The process of gentrification overlaps and meshes throughout a place. Particular enclaves commence earlier or later than others, the rate of gentrification varies and some enclaves may not become gentrified. Inevitably, small scale studies of gentrification must be micro in focus to comprehensively explain the phenomenon. As Van Weesep states:

"The hallmark is the interpretation of the phenomena in their context. This approach follows from the realisation that social phenomena differ in place and time" (Van Weesep, 1994 p.80).

Warde's final point that gentrification involves an emergence of certain types of local service provision is of vital importance. In addition to "renovated and redeveloped residential units" (Ley, 1986) gentrification also includes retail and commercial transformations (Mills 1988; Hill 1994). These transformations are deemed a secondary effect of the physical and socio-cultural transformations of the residential elements in the landscape. Indeed, as the process of gentrification is perpetuated, transformations to residential, commercial and retail properties are mutually supportive and dependent. (Beauregard, 1986). Residential transformation stimulates commercial and retail transformation and vice versa. A parallel spatial expression within the landscape is visible via the architectural styles of the three transformations, which conform to a naturalised local aesthetic feature.

**3. *It is a gathering together of persons with a putatively shared culture and lifestyle, or at least shared, class-related, consumer preference.***

Warde ignores the "context within context", with reference to the above. The gathering together of

persons involves a variety of shared cultures and consumer preferences, which are arranged in clusters throughout the gentrified place. This is not surprising given the dynamics of the gentrification process. It will be outlined in the following section that different social groups are attracted to different parts of the gentrified place at different times, to fulfil differing cultural aspirations. Moreover, it will be shown that the mechanism for maintaining cultural differentiation varies between different groups at different stages of the gentrification process. Clearly, the key word here in relation to culture is *difference*. For the earlier waves of DIY gentrifiers, cultural identity is constituted by the consumption and production of the gentrified landscape. For the latter waves of client gentrifiers, cultural identity is maintained by the consumption of the “ready-made” gentrified landscape, although they also help to transform it by their presence and habits.

Hence, culture and practice is more appropriately replaced by cultures and practices. This plurality is also linked to clusters within the gentrified place exhibiting common aesthetic features, which may be specific to particular types of housing stock or elements in the landscape. As Williams (1986 p.68) stresses: “we can make crude correlations between building types and social groups.” A fine example which illustrates this point is provided by Ley (1993), who ties certain types of housing to certain types of individuals in the gentrified areas of Vancouver. Indeed, it will be shown in Section 2.6, that gentrifiers do not belong to an homogenous class grouping with highly distinctive cultural and consumption preferences.

**4. *It is an economic reordering of property values, a commercial opportunity for the construction industry, and generally, an extension of the system of the private ownership of domestic property.***

Having already stressed the physical transformation to the condition of the housing stock and landscape, Warde quite rightly draws attention to transformations to the tenure and price of the housing stock. There is agreement within the literature about the economic impacts of gentrification. For instance, both Badcock (1991) and Hamnett (1991) note that gentrification leads to significant shifts in the condition, tenure and price of the housing stock. It must be stressed that an economic reordering of property values occurs to both renovated and unrenovated property (Hamnett, 1984). Hence, the scale and pace of the gentrification process in transforming a place is crucial to understanding the economic transformation of the gentrified place. In addition, evidence from the literature indicates that there is little doubt that the process of gentrification does result in an increase in home ownership.

## 2.2.4 Arriving at a Definition of Gentrification

The preceding discussion, centred upon Warde's four-tier definition of gentrification, has shown a general consensus within the literature regarding the manifestations of gentrification. The gentrified place is highly visible, in terms of its physical, social, cultural and economic characteristics. In accordance with Warde (1991), the term gentrification is clearly best reserved for situations where all four transformations coincide. In conclusion, this thesis will adopt an amended version of Warde's four-tier definition of gentrification:

### 1. *Social Transformation*

It is a process of resettlement and social concentration, a process involving the displacement, replacement and/or marginalisation of a variety of indigenous residents (with diverse characteristics) by invading "outsiders" (also with diverse characteristics), entailing territorial patterns of social clustering.

### 2. *Physical Transformation*

It is a transformation of the built and unbuilt environment, via revitalisation activities, which exhibits multiple "pockets" of distinctive, aesthetic features and the emergence of new types of local service provision.

### 3. *Cultural Transformation*

It is the emergence of a mosaic of distinctive enclaves of individuals, who have a putatively shared cultural lifestyle and consumer preference.

### 4. *Economic Transformation*

It is an economic reordering of renovated and unrenovated property values, a commercial opportunity for the construction industry, and generally, an extension of the system of the private ownership of domestic property.

The focus of the following section will move away from the "end effects" of gentrification. This shift is vital, given there appears to be an academic obsession with the "end effects" of the process. This selectivity has led authors to underplay the dynamism of the process of gentrification as it unfolds in the contextuality of place. For this purpose, it is necessary to integrate the effects of time and space into the gentrification equation and disaggregate the dynamics of the process(es). These aims are fundamental to any attempt to ascertain whether conceptualisations of inner-city gentrification can be incorporated into an understanding of gentrification in rural areas (Phillips, 1993).

## 2.3 Taking the “*Chaos*” out of Gentrification

“The concepts of “gentrification” and “gentrifiers” need to be disaggregated so that we may then reconceptualise the processes that produce the changes we observe, and so that we may change, where necessary, our “ways of seeing” some forms of “gentrification” and some types of gentrifiers” (Rose, 1984 p.62).

Rose’s quote implies a need to instil the specifics of space and time into the concepts of gentrification and gentrifier. Likewise, Hamnett (1991 p.176) has called for research into gentrification to “address the questions of where, which areas, who, when and why”. This proposition appears to have been somewhat neglected and prototypical accounts of gentrification and gentrifiers prevail. Gentrification is still used by most authors as an all encompassing label, inherently dismissive of the spatial and temporal complexities and specifics of place. It is still adopted to signify the wider generalised transformation and upgrading of place. By utilising the gentrification label, authors appear to be afflicted with a malaise which hinders the exploration of micro-diversity and the different experiences and outcomes within the gentrified place. The aim appears to be a generalisation of the manifestations of the processes at work.

It is not being argued here that studies of gentrification are aspatial or atemporal. Rather, in line with Rose, “our ways of seeing” the spatial and temporal features of gentrification must be adjusted and refocused to explain the complexities of the process. The task of the geographer should be to search and account for differences and discrepancies, inspecting the corners of the gentrified place which do not conform to the change associated with the academic discourse of gentrification; namely, the revitalisation of working-class or abandoned property and the subsequent reproduction of a middle class neighbourhood, stimulating a rise in property values and the displacement and/or marginalisation of the indigenous and relatively less affluent households (Smith and Williams 1986).

### 2.3.1 Gentrification: A Complex and Diverse Process?

This section will provide a reconstruction of the dynamics of the gentrification process, supporting the notion of a stage theory of gentrification (see Caulfield 1994; Ley 1996). Clearly, Smith’s (1987a p.170) view that “gentrification must be seen as a process and not a state of existence” is integral to this discussion.

As with any process which *both* modifies and is modified by the contingencies of time and space, gentrification is complex and diverse, taking different forms in different locations at different times (Bondi 1991; Butler and Hamnett 1994). For instance, drawing upon the work of Williams (1984,

1986), Warde (1991) highlights that there appears to be distinct processes at work in different nations. In addition, intra-national diversity is prominent at a regional level and below (Ley 1986; 1996). Ultimately, the origin and form of gentrification is specific to the contingent time-spaces and social systems of the local context within which it occurs. As Van Weesep stresses:

“Its signs, effects and trajectories are to a large degree determined by its local context; the physical and social characteristics of the neighbourhoods in question; the positions and goals of the actors” (Van Weesep, 1994 p.80).

It is hardly surprising given the diverse nature of gentrification, that numerous variants of gentrification prevail (Van Kempen and Van Weesep 1994; Lees and Bondi 1996). As Mills (1993) describes in the context of Canada; “in one place there will be “whitepainting”; in another “brownstones” are renovated; elsewhere, warehouses are converted into residential use” (p.150).

This disarray does not warrant the elimination of the concept of gentrification. No singular conceptual label could possibly "lump together" the plurality of expressions of gentrification, this would be too heavy a cross to bear. Perhaps, it is for this reason that gentrification has been labelled a chaotic concept (Beauregard, 1986). Importantly, just because the concept of gentrification is chaotic does not mean that it should be discarded. As Warde (1991) states, chaotic conceptions must not be abandoned before “that which has been unreasonably conflated, has been unambiguously identified” (p.223).

Following Warde's call for retention of the term "gentrification", it can be argued that gentrification is only a chaotic concept and incapable of grasping the real situation, when it is employed incorrectly. Unfortunately, it would appear that there has been a mis-application of the gentrification label in the literature. As Smith points out:

“Gentrification itself is in turn inflected by its metaphorical appropriation: to the extent that “gentrification” is generalized to stand for the eternal inevitability of modern renewal” (Smith, 1996 p.34).

It is claimed here that this inflection stems from the oversight of authors to clarify a fundamental research conundrum - does gentrification relate to a distinct process of change or is it a label which depicts a more diverse socio-spatial phenomenon (i.e. the revitalised landscape)? The literature suggests that the majority of authors have adopted the label to document the end result of *processes of revitalisation*, not the processes of gentrification themselves.

This framework is clearly evident in Warde's (1991) discussion of four types and trajectories of gentrification. Significantly, Warde distinguishes between (i) the large-scale, directed, gentrification of

commercial institutions, (ii) the restoration of individual property by individual households, (iii) a process whereby a second wave of gentrifiers replace a pioneering wave of artists, and finally, (iv) the presence of rural gentrification. In this context, Warde is clearly adopting the gentrification label to represent a socio-spatial outcome (i.e. the revitalised landscape) of four very different processes of revitalisation. Warde is not alone in this practice; other authors (e.g. A.Smith, 1989) have attached the gentrification label to places which have the characteristic hallmarks of gentrification, yet which have not undergone the early “pioneering” stages of the gentrification process, i.e. the influx of a counter-culture. It is well documented in the urban literature that many places have been repackaged, revitalised and sold by profit-motivated commercial institutions (Anderson and Gale 1992; Kearns and Philo, 1993). Many of these packaged environments are rooted within the conformity of postmodernism, which Carpenter and Lees (1995) claim to be a signifier of gentrification. The thematic visual homogeneity of the postmodern landscape(s) is well documented in the literature, for example, Harvey provides the following summary:

“Fiction, fragmentation, collage, and eclecticism, all suffused with a sense of ephemerality and chaos, are, perhaps, the themes that dominate in today’s practices of architecture and urban design” (Harvey, 1989 p.98).

This postmodern facade must not "mask" the variety of processes which are hidden under its surface. To illustrate this point, reference is made to the institutional redevelopment of former abandoned, vacant and non-residential areas (e.g. “The Calls” area of Leeds). When assigned the label of gentrification, processes of revitalisation initiated by this type of institutional redevelopment inexplicably “relates the unrelated” (Sayer, 1984). In the context of this thesis, repackaged places, which are produced purely by commercial institutional agency and motivated by economic interests, are not associated with the process of gentrification. Although the visual end result may be similar to gentrification, they do not fulfil the counter-cultural criterion which are characteristic of the early phases of gentrification.

### **2.3.2 Gentrification: A Dynamic Process of Change**

In line with Hamnett (1991), who draws upon evidence from New York and London, this thesis will adopt the view that gentrification depicts a distinct *process* of change; whereby an initial role is played by individual pioneers eventually giving way to the dominance of commercial institutions. As Hamnett (1991 p.183) asserts “there is a strong case that where the collective economic actors venture, urban pioneers have often gone before.” Similar presumptions are made by Beauregard (1986), who notes that the most commonly accepted version of gentrification involves an invasion of "pioneers" into a dilapidated neighbourhood. This group is then followed by more affluent households as the process



gains momentum, along with small real-estate interests, financial institutions and construction firms. Likewise, Ley provides the following excellent summary of the gentrification process in Canada:

“Older neighbourhoods in the centre city then became oppositional spaces; socially diverse, welcoming difference, tolerant, creative, valuing the old, the hand-crafted, the personalised. In the search for “authentic places” the rapidly expanding number of artists were the first to advance what, in hindsight, was a middle class claim to these districts. They were followed by consecutive waves of the middle class, predictable in their order from their proximity to the cultural politics of the priestly caste of the artist” (Ley, 1996 p.210-211).

Although Warde (1991) touched upon this dynamism in his discussion, stressing that there is a world of difference between the activities of large-scale property developers and those of individual households, there was no acknowledgement of any links. Rather he segregates the two main trajectories of gentrification, concluding that “their mutual influence on each other seems to be comparatively minor” (p.230). Where he does acknowledge the dynamism of the process, when “pioneers” are replaced by a second wave of gentrifiers, he overlooks the role of institutional agency in this transition. Interestingly, Smith (1996) claims that Warde’s trajectories of gentrification are no longer a useful distinction, since “gentrification has itself undergone a vital transition” (p.39). Unfortunately, Smith does not expand this contention, other than stressing that gentrification is now bound-up with a larger restructuring of urban space.

The following section will consider gentrification as a distinct and dynamic process which is modified over time and space. When viewed in this way, it is argued that the “butterfly of gentrification” is a more appropriate metaphor than Hamnett’s “elephant”. This is not a criticism of Hamnett’s analogy. Hamnett was not seeking to reflect the dynamism of the process but rather the impact of the theoretical debate upon explanations of gentrification.

### 2.3.3 The “Butterfly” of Gentrification

In the context of this section, the appropriateness of the butterfly metaphor will become clear. It is vital to add an element of caution here as a preliminary to the discussion. As Ley points out:

“Any discussion of a gentrification cycle must concede from the outset that the concept is an idealisation, that may well be terminated prematurely, accelerated or delayed” (Ley, 1996 p.57).

Taking into account Ley’s call for vigilance, the following discussion will show that the gentrified place undergoes a metamorphosis from a pre-gentrified zone of discard (i.e. the pupa), passing into *DIY*

gentrification (i.e. the caterpillar) and evolving into *institutional* gentrification (i.e. butterfly). Moreover, it is useful at this stage to call for a renewed research drive. In places where the process of gentrification has been (correctly) identified, it is necessary to study further the “butterfly of gentrification” and clarify whether it has *either* flown away, remained in situ and/or mutated into a different form.

DIY gentrification is an appropriate term for the pioneering stage of the gentrification process since it refers to a phase when the major key agents of change are the individual gentrifier households (Hamnett, 1991). This does not presume that the agency of gentrifier households is “individual”; this would be guilty of Smith's (1992) charge of philosophical individualism. Rather, individual household agency is both the medium and end result of social and collective household preferences, albeit on a small scale at the beginning of the process (Warde, 1991). As Hamnett (1992) points out, gentrification is a collective social phenomenon and the collective social agency of gentrifier households is of considerable importance. Moreover, the term DIY gentrification implicitly endorses Rose's (1984 p.56) view that “gentrifiers are not the mere bearers of a process determined independently of them.” Indeed, it is claimed here that the gentrifier households are the key instigators of the process.

On the other hand, the term '*institutional*' is appropriate since it denotes a stage of the gentrification process that is shaped and controlled by powerful profit-motivated institutions. Following Manion and Flowerdew, the term “institution” refers here to:

“... an organisation considered in relation to the effects of its internal structure and operating constraints on how it acts. The organisation may be a private company, a nationalised industry, a non-profit organisation, a central or local government or one of its departments, or a quango” (Marion and Flowerdew, 1982 p.1).

Institutional actors therefore include estate agents, building society/bank employees, landlords, private developers and speculators, local consortia of trades-people (builders, roofers, joiners, plumbers, etc), entrepreneurs and the state (government funding, planning process and so on).

The fundamental difference between “DIY” and “institutional” gentrification is the nature and scale of the production of the gentrified residential commodities. As the following sections will show, during DIY gentrification production activities are undertaken by pioneer gentrifier households, termed *DIY gentrifiers*. In contrast, during institutional gentrification, the gentrifier households are excluded from production activities by the escalating property prices. Production becomes increasingly dominated, shaped and controlled by commercial institutional actors and the subsequent “ready-made” gentrifiable product is consumed by *client gentrifier* households.

Importantly, it is the agents of DIY gentrification (the DIY gentrifier households) that are responsible for transforming the image of the place and location, thereby, kick-starting the gentrification process. As Ley outlines:

“The urban artist is commonly the expeditionary force for inner city gentrifiers pacifying new frontiers ahead of the settlement of more mainstream residents” (Ley, 1996 p.191).

It is not being argued here that the DIY gentrifiers are the only agents involved in the DIY gentrification stage. As Hamnett (1991) highlights, the impact of institutional actors, such as estate agents, planners, developers and mortgage lenders, must be acknowledged at this stage. Importantly, the role of institutional actors is secondary; it is enabling (or constraining) rather than pro-active (for example, mortgage lending) during the early stages. For example, Zukin (1991) has dismissed the role of mortgage lenders in stimulating the early stages of gentrification, stressing that DIY gentrifiers often use the non-institutional finance of inheritance, family loans, personal savings and sweat equity to enable self-renovation.

Although this dismissal may be justified in Zukin's research context of New York, it is obvious that the role played by institutional finance varies between contexts. Hence, activities of institutional actors must not be neglected in the early stages of gentrification. Beauregard (1986) indirectly makes the important distinction between "facilitating" actors (e.g. the relaxation of guidelines by planners) and "steering" actors (e.g. the selective introduction of housing to gentrifiers by estate agents). Once again, it is essential to stress that "facilitating" and "steering" actions do not directly initiate gentrification, although the roles are important in removing constraints and "encouraging" DIY gentrification (Munt, 1987).

Institutional actors only become dominant in the process once the image of the place and location has been transformed by the DIY gentrifier households. The later predominance of institutional actors is consistent with Ley's (1986) view that they are sensitive to risk and only enter the process of gentrification once the demand of client gentrifiers is confirmed. Smith (1996) makes a similar point, observing that commercial institutional actors “do not plunge into the heart of slum opportunity” (p.23), but wait for signs that the conditions for capital accumulation are in place. Importantly, Ley adds that the involvement of larger commercial institutions is pre-dated by smaller “organic entrepreneurs”, who test the potential of gentrification:

“... larger companies are frequently too sceptical to enter, and a market niche may well appear for small and innovative entrepreneurs” (Ley, 1996 p.45).

The presence of “organic entrepreneurs” may therefore signal the cross-over from DIY to institutional

gentrification. Inevitably, this will not be a clear-cut transition in any one place. It is important to stress that once gentrification gets underway, it is possible that both DIY and institutional gentrification can simultaneously occur and overlap. The gentrification process does not sweep over a place in a uniform manner. Rather it is spatially and temporally specific to place, impacting upon different parts at different times in different ways.

### 2.3.4 An Opportunity For Gentrification, Not An Inevitability

An initial precursor of the process of gentrification is the presence of a “zone of discard” (Ley, 1993), spatial areas which have witnessed a “decline” in terms of the social, cultural, economic and the physical fabric of the environment. As already observed, due to a disinvestment of capital, a “rent gap” exists in the zone of discard. For commercial institutional actors, the transformation and revitalisation of the zone of discard, brought about through the agency of the DIY gentrifier households, provides a medium to raise the ground rent (revalorisation of investment) and manipulate the locational advantages of the “under-used” capital potential of the location (Rose, 1984). However, Munt's (1987) view that the rent gap theory is applicable only to institutional gentrification (developer led) is rejected. Although the rent gap is only one among several prerequisites for gentrification, it is a determinant factor in the supply of cheap and attractive property for the DIY gentrifier households engaging in DIY gentrification. In this sense, it is the DIY gentrifiers who first take advantage of the rent gap and not commercial institutional actors.

It is also important to stress that rent gaps do not always inevitably stimulate gentrification; they can lead to something other than gentrification, for example, renewal or redevelopment (Badcock 1989; Clark, 1992). Rather, the rent gap creates an *opportunity* for gentrification to occur (Smith, 1987a). It is the local contingent conditions and actors that determine whether the opportunity for gentrification is “actualised” or “rejected”. As Hamnett highlights:

“Gentrification is not to be expected where the rent gap exists; it is a contingent phenomenon. Gentrification could occur but so could renewal, deterioration or abandonment” (Hamnett, 1991 p.181).

Hamnett claims that Smith's rent-gap theory “is of value insofar as it explains the existence of areas within cities where gentrification may take place” (p.181). Bearing in mind the range of possible outcomes given a rent gap, Marcuse's (1981) view that gentrification is inevitable for inner-city areas in their organic life-cycle must be strongly questioned.

### 2.3.5 The Early Stages: DIY Gentrification

“As with the original frontier, the mythology has it that gentrification is a process led by individual pioneers and homesteaders whose sweat equity, daring and vision are paving the way for those among us who are more timid” (Smith, 1986 p.18).

As the above quote indicates, the academic literature documents that the initial colonisation of the zone of discard involves the in-migration of “pioneering” individuals. Taking into account Smith's (1996) charge that the idea of “pioneers” is insulting, it is important to stress that the adoption of the term does not imply that no one lives in the areas being gentrified. Rather, the term is appropriately used to denote the inaugural waves of DIY gentrifier households.

The literature suggests that the DIY gentrifiers are a diverse social grouping, specific to particular contexts. For instance, Rose provides the following description of the DIY gentrifiers in Montreal:

“Educated young people, who may be unemployed, under-employed, temporarily employed (or all three simultaneously), to find creative ways of responding to new conditions of paid and unpaid work and worsening economic conditions” (Rose, 1984 p.63).

This group may include artists, poets, writers, students and recently graduated individuals. There are numerous examples of the involvement of “artisan” groups within the early stages of gentrification, as exemplified by the process of change in New York (Schaffer and Smith 1986; Smith 1987; Zukin 1988; Bowler and McBurney 1991), Vancouver (Ley 1981, 1996; Mills 1988) and Montreal (Dansereau and Beaudry 1985). This selective list of North American examples suggests that the involvement of “artisan groups” in the early stages of gentrification is specific to North America and not Europe. It is well documented, however, that this dichotomy is too simplistic (see Smith, 1991; Carpenter and Lees, 1995). Firstly, it implicitly ignores the well documented cases of gentrification of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide in Australia (Badcock 1991; 1993; 1995 and Jager 1986). Secondly, it declines to recognise that urban research has focused upon large North American cities. This issue will be examined in greater depth in Section 2.7.

Although continental and national structural forces may create trans-national differences between North American, Australian and European gentrification, there are considerable intra-continental differences within North America and Europe (Smith 1996). At the same time, there are considerable similarities between North American, Australian and European accounts. Not surprisingly, the incidence of “artisan groups” in the early stages of gentrification is not confined to North America. For example, both Munt (1987) and Kratke (1992) have identified the involvement of young artists in the gentrification of

London and Berlin respectively.

In most accounts of gentrification, the DIY gentrifiers enter the zone of discard to pursue a counter-cultural lifestyle. They are attracted by the social diversity and tolerance of the resident population (Holcomb and Beauregard 1981; Zukin 1991; Ley 1996). Constrained by low incomes, their options are limited to locations with affordable cheap housing (Hamnett, 1992). Furthermore, they may be driven by a desire for greater residential space for "work at home" (Zukin 1988). Alternatively, they are attracted to low-cost rented accommodation, a factor which makes them highly susceptible to displacement by later waves of more affluent client gentrifiers.

It is important to recognise that not all DIY gentrifiers are characterised by relatively low incomes. The early stages of DIY gentrification can also involve the in-migration of people such as single parents (in relatively well paid employment), gay couples and unrelated people living together. This category of pioneers, termed "marginal gentrifiers", are characterised by their relatively moderate incomes (Rose 1984; 1989). In line with other DIY gentrifier households, these "marginal households" are attracted by the potential to undertake a counter-cultural lifestyle. This is a quality which the conformity and homogeneity of suburban space does not offer. Indeed, both Caulfield (1989) and Bondi (1992a) claim that gentrification signals a rejection of the suburbs by individuals and households who find "inauthentic" modernist spaces unliveable.

The "marginal gentrifiers", therefore, share with the low income gentrifiers a desire for locations which have the potential and tolerance of counter-cultural expression. However, since the "marginal" gentrifiers have relatively higher incomes, their locational options are less constrained. Access to cheap housing may be of minor secondary importance and they may be willing to pay inflated property prices. Perhaps this marks the origins of the rise of property prices associated with the gentrification process. Hence, Smith's (1996) view that marginal gentrifiers are "marginal" to the process of gentrification is questioned.

Smith's (1979; 1992; 1996) contention that "pioneer" preference for residential space in the early stages of gentrification results from profit-motives is rejected. Rather, Hamnett's (1991; 1992) scepticism of Smith's label of pioneer gentrifiers as "occupier developers" is shared. As Hamnett (1991: 180) comments, Smith's proposal of the term is made with the intent "to circumvent (the) awkward intrusion of individual renovation for consumption into his producer dominated thesis." As already outlined, it is the lure of a counter-cultural lifestyle and the constrained purchasing power of the DIY gentrifiers that results in their colonisation of the zone of discard.

The pre-gentrified location is gradually transformed by the DIY gentrifier households' simultaneous production and consumption of the location. Through the self-renovation of dilapidated and run-down property, the DIY gentrifier households are both agent of the transformation and user of the transformed. Accordingly, it must be emphasised that DIY gentrifier households cannot be posited as pure consumers or pure producers. As *both* Hamnett (1992) and Smith (1992) agree, DIY gentrifier households signify the most integrated conception of consumption and production that there is.

Hence, the individual and collective socio-cultural preference of the DIY gentrifier households is actualised through their own "sweat equity" or the employment of builders (Cloke et al, 1994), which is manifest in the creative rehabilitation and consumption of "bricks and mortar". Not surprisingly, both Caulfield (1994) and Filion (1995) term the DIY gentrifier households the "transition-stage gentrifiers". Moreover, perhaps it is at this stage of the gentrification process that Berry's (1985) phrase "islands of renewal in seas of decay" is most apt.

It is the creative self-renovation that enables the DIY gentrifier households to inscribe cultural values and beliefs upon the landscape. As the contextual code of gentrification gains a foothold in the location, this sets the precedent for a dominant local aesthetic which is thereafter "naturalised" and reproduced, as the DIY gentrifiers exert considerable political influence in the local corridors of power. This is well exemplified by the Electors Action Movement (TEAM) in Vancouver, who "assumed power in the city hall in 1972" to develop an alternative ideal of the humane city (Ley 1980, 1987, 1994; Mills 1988). Zukin (1988) also writes of the DIY gentrifiers' attempt at shaping space in New York, referring to this practice as the "paradoxical power of the powerless". In particular contexts, the "paradoxical power of the powerless" plays an integral role in establishing a "new Bohemia" - an expression of counter-culture and a "spirit of revolt" (Bowler and McBurney, 1991). It is important to add that DIY gentrification is not always synonymous with a counter-culture, the characteristics of DIY gentrifiers vary within and between contexts.

Whatever the characteristics of the DIY gentrifiers the redefined symbolism is reinforced *from within* the place, further individuals and households with similar cultural and socio-economic attributes are alerted and attracted by the campaigns of the DIY gentrifiers (seeking to reinforce the cultural movement). DIY gentrification thereby gradually becomes less of a "marginal" phenomenon and the earlier "stuttering" pace of the process of change accelerates, giving rise to "galloping gentrification" (Ley 1993; Bridge 1995a). The highly visual and dramatic transformation associated with the process at this stage attracts significant media attention and the previous meanings assigned to the zone of discard

are redefined and reversed through the media (Zukin 1991; Jauhiainen 1993). The detrimental images of decline, discard, disinvestment, neglect and abandonment are replaced with revitalisation, renaissance and investment (Deben et al, 1993). Once assigned positive symbolism from within and externally, the location becomes an attractive and chic proposition for client gentrifiers (Robins 1991; Bridge 1995b). The gentrified place offers many of the qualities of distinction and difference which the client gentrifiers are searching for, in their pursuit of social and cultural identity and belonging (Mills, 1993). \*

Moreover, from research undertaken in Toronto, Caulfield (1994) emphasises the predominance of "critical cultural practices" in the early stages of gentrification, which are contrary to capital accumulation. He argues that once embedded in a place, it is these critical practices that are appropriated and recommodified by institutional actors, in order to enhance capital accumulation. Although this link is essential in understanding the transition from DIY to institutional gentrification, it is not an inevitable prerequisite of gentrification. The process of revitalisation may commence at a stage stimulated by institutional actors or may stall at an household led stage of revitalisation, depending on the working definition of gentrification.

### **2.3.6 The Later Stages: Institutional Gentrification**

As commercial institutional actors become aware of the potential for profit-making, institutional gentrification takes over as the dominant process of change. The positioning and roles of institutional actors are reformulated as they seek to enforce their role as producer and supplier of packages to exploit and tap the demands of potential consumers. This shift is excellently documented by Smith, when describing the role of financial agents in the gentrification process:

“Loan officers are instructed to take down their old maps with red-lines around working-class and minority neighbourhoods and replace them with new maps sporting green lines; make every possible loan within the greenlined neighbourhood” (Smith, 1996 p.23).

The transformed location, largely created by the DIY gentrifiers, is thus appropriated, controlled and marketed by commercial institutional actors. Gentrified residential packages are either produced and/or renovated by institutional agents and promoted to the relatively affluent client gentrifiers, who are willing and able to absorb higher property prices. At the same time, institutional gentrification may involve households purchasing property and subsequently, employing architects and trades-people to undertake renovation activities. In short, institutional gentrification is denoted by the exclusion of gentrifier households from production activities and engineered inflation of property prices, instigated by the commercial institutional actors



Redfern (1994) refers to the simple laws of supply and demand to explain the escalating property prices in gentrified places. Indeed, Redfern argues that it is the constrained supply of property that is fundamental in explaining why gentrification involves dramatic property price escalations. Smith's (1986) claim that gentrification is a "frontier of profitability" on which fortunes are realised, appears particularly appropriate for the commercial actors who are manipulating supply and demand to inflate property prices. Clearly, the exploitation of demand by commercial actors, through the supply and promotion of gentrified packages, is central to the process of gentrification. As Hamnett points out:

"Consumer preferences do not emerge out of thin air. They are partly socially created, manipulated and shaped, and they are necessarily made on the basis of the available options and constraints and not always in the circumstances of their own choosing" (Hamnett, 1991 p.179).

Within the controlled supply of commodities, institutional agents not only renovate existing dwellings/convert other-use properties (e.g. lofts), but also construct new dwellings. The predominance of new development provides an important distinction that can be made between institutional and DIY gentrification. A further distinguishing characteristic of institutional gentrification is the upgrading or development of multiple properties in order to maximise profit. This contrasts sharply with the simultaneous upgrading of single properties by DIY gentrifier households.

The supply of ready-made or ready-converted residential properties excludes client gentrifiers from participating in "production" via renovation or the conversion of "other-use" dwellings into residential property (e.g. manufacturing space). Therefore, the individual and collective social preferences of client gentrifiers is manifest in the consumption of "that which is produced" by the institutional agents. Although client gentrifiers are pure consumers of "that which is produced", their agency must not be ignored. It is their willingness (and capability) to consume the gentrified commodity that drives the production activities of commercial institutional actors.

It is also essential to distinguish between institutional gentrification and institutional redevelopment. As already outlined in Section 2.2.4, particular authors (e.g. Smith 1989) appear to have confused processes of revitalisation with gentrification by adopting inclusive definitions which relax and ignore residential socio-cultural transition criteria (Bourne, 1993b). For example, Schaffer and Smith comment:

"Although the process often involves the rehabilitation of residential neighbourhoods ...it can also occur in non-residential areas where the building stock is economically obsolete but sufficiently sound that rehabilitation is viable" (Schaffer and Smith, 1986 p.347).

Hence, the redevelopment of former abandoned, vacant and non-residential areas (e.g. grey field sites - industry, warehousing, ports) for luxury housing is classified within the realm of gentrification. It is proposed that such transformations of space should not be subsumed within the domain of gentrification. It is beneficial to view these changes as part of a wider institutional redevelopment of space, since it involves only physical and economic transition emanating from the creation of a new social space. There is no residential socio-cultural transition since there are no resident populations to be replaced or displaced. Smith's (1996 p.39) assertion that "it would be anachronistic to exclude redevelopment from the rubric of gentrification" is thus questioned.

It is not being argued here that redevelopment should be excluded from accounts of gentrification. On the contrary, the institutional redevelopment of grey-field sites does not take place in a vacuum, it also occurs within or in close proximity to established residential areas. Although a direct social transition is not possible from redevelopment, the wider and later implications necessitate a "knock-on" socio-cultural transition. This emanates from the physical and economic transformations producing "new" symbolic meanings to the existing housing stock in the locality. The wider location becomes a more attractive proposition for in-migration and this exerts considerable pressures on the adjacent established residential areas. Consequently, it is argued that institutional redevelopment, which exists within the confines of the gentrified place, termed "infill gentrification" (Smith, 1987), or on the margins of the gentrified place, termed "overspill gentrification" (Ley, 1996), are part of the gentrification process since this initiates a residential socio-cultural transition. As Ley points out:

"Social change incorporates redevelopment as well as renovation, and both often co-exist in the same neighbourhood" (Ley, 1996 p.34).

As transformations intensify, the narrow social process characteristic of the early stages of gentrification expands into a broader social process (Smith, 1987a). Ironically, this expansion leads to a narrowing of the social diversity of the location. Social homogeneity leads to social conformity. The expression of a radical and oppositional counter-culture, expressed in the landscape by the DIY gentrifier households, is replaced by a kitsch (Jager, 1986). Through the consumption of the recommodified landscape, the counter-cultural expressions of the DIY gentrified landscape become the norm. This is exhibited through an homogenisation of land use, architectural styles and "neighbourhood credentialism" within the landscape (Zukin 1991; Ley 1993, 1996). Constraints are placed upon later phases of renovation, rehabilitation and redevelopment by the well educated, articulate and politically active client gentrifier households. Protecting their recently acquired gentrified package, they institutionalise an "ideology of preservation" in the local corridors of power. As Filion outlines:

“Gentrification facilitates the identification of a common interest base in the protection and enhancement of reproduction aspects of the neighbourhood and of its property values.” [and subsequently] “These actions ensure that gentrified neighbourhoods’ reproduction characteristics are maintained and indeed upgraded, and that these areas become a reflection of the values of the new middle class” (Filion, 1991 p.563).

Moreover, the “ideology of preservation”, in conjunction with inflated property prices, removes the potential for counter-cultural expression and creative self-renovation. As DIY gentrifiers are excluded, the politics of preservation helps to maintain the roles of institutional actors as producers and client gentrifiers as consumers. It is the consumption of the preserved gentrified landscape which allows the client gentrifiers to maintain socio-cultural differentiation. As Moore comments:

“Gentrification represents the process whereby an important fraction of the new class is establishing a residential identity concomitant with its social identity” (Moore, 1982 p.1).

This experience contrasts with the DIY gentrifier households, who maintained socio-cultural differentiation through their consumption and production of the landscape. Excluded from the production activities in later stages of gentrification, the DIY gentrifiers either move out or compromise their counter-cultural values and beliefs. It is highly likely that they will become client gentrifiers, consuming that which is produced by institutional actors.

The spiralling process of change continues until the majority of the indigenous population and/or the DIY gentrifiers, are replaced, displaced and/or marginalised and a new equilibrium of social, cultural and economic uniformity predominates (Rose, 1984). This view of the process is not contemporary in origin and can be traced back to the founder of 'gentrification' - Ruth Glass:

“Once the process of gentrification starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced, and the character of the district is changed” (Glass, 1964: viii).

Importantly, it must be stressed that gentrification does not always result in a complete displacement and/or replacement of the indigenous population. Rather it is likely that in any one place there will be particular enclaves which gentrifiers do not find attractive. As already outlined in the working definition, it is possible that the indigenous population will be marginalised to these less desirable parts.

Inevitably, it is open to question whether these marginalised parts should be included when defining the boundaries of gentrification for research. Such a problem was noted by Ley when establishing a spatial framework for research into inner-city change in Canada:

“There are no unequivocal grounds for delimiting it [the inner-city] as a geographic region, and while we may set out objective or subjective indicators to establish a profile, both a statistical and a perceptual overview obscure important internal diversity” (Ley, 1995 p.336).

In response to this dilemma, it is proposed that the boundaries of the gentrified place should have social and cultural meaning to *both* the gentrifiers and the indigenous population. In this sense, the study of non-gentrified parts is as equally important as the gentrified parts in understanding the dynamics of the gentrification process and why gentrifiers gentrify in particular parts at particular times.

## 2.4 Who are the Gentrifiers?

There is a consensus in the literature that the concept of a gentrifier denotes individuals who migrate into an established residential area, through the purchase or renting of property, thus triggering a physical, socio-cultural and economic transformation. This section will argue that such an all encompassing definition is highly chaotic and creates conceptual ambiguity. For this reason, it is proposed that the prescription of the gentrifier label (in the context of the thesis) is limited to in-migrants who commit themselves to the respective location, by "living in it" once they have purchased or rented the property, i.e. the location must be seen as their place of identity. Under these guidelines, individuals who purchase property in gentrified locations as secondary/holiday homes are not deemed gentrifiers, since they do not reside in the location on a permanent basis. Their residence is temporary and their primary place of identity is located elsewhere. Indeed, they may rent out their secondary home and thus bear some similarities with private landlords, who also cannot be defined as gentrifiers. It is therefore preferable for a refinement of Rose's (1984) view that gentrifiers are loosely defined as individuals who enter into the housing of a gentrified place.

Accordingly, gentrifiers are viewed as the "users" in the process, who consume directly or indirectly the location for permanent residential purposes. Before accepting this supposition, it is important to note Smith's (1992) scepticism of "user" definitions, which he argues, inherently exclude the productive activities. Smith's opposition to "user" definitions is fraught with a number of contradictions. First, he claims that "no one seems to have conceived producers of gentrified properties as gentrifiers" (p.112). Paradoxically, Smith then claims that gentrifiers are defined by ideological and selective methods which consciously removes the "producers" from the definition. These two statements reveal a major mismatch in his argument, i.e. the exclusion of producers stems from an intentional omission of the unacknowledged. Taking a further twist, Smith then charges that gentrifiers "do very little gentrifying; at best they move into a housing stock already transformed for gentrified consumption." This is also

surprising, bearing in mind that Smith referred to DIY gentrifiers as “occupier developers”, who could no longer be posited as pure consumers.

Hamnett's response to Smith is therefore shared. The exclusion of “producers” from the definition of gentrifier is due to the necessity for conceptual clarification:

“If real estate professionals are to be called gentrifiers, what are we to term the individuals who renovate their own homes? This would be to produce conceptual confusion on a grand scale” (Hamnett, 1992 p.118).

Indeed, Smith omission to recognise the core activity of gentrifiers, i.e. the consumption of a dwelling and permanent residence thereafter. For this reason, it is detrimental for the definition of gentrifiers to be extended to the institutional actors. In conclusion, the concept of the gentrifier will be used in this thesis to refer to a diversity of individuals whose residential decision-making triggers the social, cultural, economic and physical transformations which are characteristic of the gentrification process.

#### **2.4.1 The Gentrifier: Uniformity or Difference?**

As already outlined, many accounts of gentrification have been pre-occupied with the latter *institutional* led stages of gentrification and the emergence of the new middle class (e.g. Legates and Hartman, 1986). For instance, Marcuse (1986 p.176) casts aside to the notes section that “conventional pattern involves young couples or singles as the first gentrifying agents, households with young children moving in later”. Such accounts clearly under-play the distinctive stages of gentrification and the catalysts of the process; the DIY gentrifiers.

The obsession with client gentrifiers may result from the point at which the research was undertaken. Many studies were carried out once the effects of gentrification were highly visible in the place of study. Whatever the reason, there is little doubt that stereotypical depictions of the “yuppie” gentrifier are viewed as synonymous with gentrification, particularly in a substantial amount of “eighties” gentrification literature. Indeed this is manifest in many of the titles of gentrification articles, i.e. “Of yuppies and housing: gentrification, social restructuring, and the urban dream” (Smith, 1987) and “Yuppies, yuffies and the new order” (Short, 1989). Filion (1991) provides a wonderful synthesis of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the yuppie gentrifier, concluding that they are portrayed as:

“... relatively young, employed in white-collar occupations, often as professionals and managers, and are very well educated. In addition, research revealed that gentrifying households have few or no children and that gentrifiers earn more than incumbent residents. Researchers discovered that gentrifiers hold different values from mainstream middle-class members, most of whom still opt for suburban residences. Gentrifiers make greater use of recreational and cultural activities and exhibit distinctive consumption tastes with a penchant for historic objects and buildings” (Filion, 1991 p.554)

In essence, these prototypical portraits are somewhat aspatial and atemporal and ignore the local context of investigation. They do not recognise that institutional gentrification may be evident in one part of the location, while *DIY gentrification may exist in another part of the location and vice versa*. The outcome is a spatial overlapping of a range of gentrifier types with differential demographic and socio-economic characteristics. As Rose (1984 p.68) points out; “we ought not to assume in advance that all gentrifiers have the same class position as each other.” There are obvious disparities between the *DIY* gentrifiers (possibly unemployed/under-employed), who are renting or purchasing property for the first time, and the later waves of client gentrifiers who are purchasing property when house prices have reached their optimum level, during the later stages of gentrification. To quote Rose once again:

“It would appear that what is being produced is not a single group of gentrifiers with homogeneous cultural practices and ways of using space, but several different, perhaps even divergent fractions” (Rose, 1989 p.120).

Clearly, gentrification cannot be viewed as a singular entity which “can be attributed to a particular, closely defined, social or occupational class grouping” (Warde, 1991 p.68). Rather it may be possible that particular enclaves of gentrified locations can be attributed to particular, closely defined, social or occupational class groupings at particular stages of the process.

That such a weakness predominates in the literature is somewhat surprising, given some authors noted that gentrification affects different parts of different local contexts at different rates and at different times. For example, Munt (1987) concluded from his study of Battersea, London, “that there is no one single type of gentrifier. Characteristics of gentrifiers vary over both time and place” (p.1189). This led him to claim that gentrifiers are worthy of investigation in their own right. Similarly, Beauregard (1986) made the point that most authors have created a Weberian proto-type gentrifier whose characteristics lacks historical and spatial contingency. Clearly, the contextualities of space and time matter when examining the characteristics of gentrifiers.

Perhaps the seminal article which overtly introduced the notion of difference among gentrifiers was provided by Rose (1984). Rethinking gentrification [her own words], recognising the different stages of

the process and the importance of gender, she questions:

“What conceptual grounds exist for assuming that these ‘first stagers’ and the ‘end stage’ affluent residents have anything in common other than the fact that their household incomes are higher than those of the original residents?” (Rose, 1984 p.58).

Rose’s thesis introduced the distinction between “marginal gentrifiers” and “more affluent gentrifiers”. Significantly, for the first time Rose interjected into the literature the contention that gentrifiers were not a cohesive “yuppie” social grouping. Rose concluded that there was a “need to analyse the process in terms that go far beyond the concepts of undifferentiated gentrifiers” (p.67). In response, Smith (1987) deliberated that prototypical depictions of gentrifiers may be merely empirical generalisations which lacked any sense of understanding.

A decade later, the empirical generalisations of the yuppie have been transcended in the majority of “nineties” gentrification literature (see Warde 1991; McBurney and Bowler 1991; Bondi 1991). In a recent review of gentrifier characteristics, Ley (1996) contests these prototypical gentrifier assumptions which have “become part of the folklore of the 1970s and 1980, and too often reduced to the cliché of the young urban professional in both academic and media accounts” (p.35). Interestingly, Ley’s depiction of the typical gentrifiers bears many of the hallmarks of Filion’s prototypical gentrifier:

“Such an individual is well educated, upwardly mobile in a public-, or perhaps less commonly, a private sector occupation in a professional or managerial capacity, single or living with a partner, and with adequate discretionary income to engage in the rituals of the culture of consumption, expressing the canons of good taste in a designer market-place” (Ley, 1996 p.35).

Importantly, Ley does not deny the existence of the prototypical gentrifier; commenting the profile has a substantial basis in reality. Rather, he rectifies the singular profiles of the gentrifier, stressing that gentrifiers exhibit spread incomes and somewhat belatedly drawing upon Rose’s (1984) notion of marginal gentrifiers. Secondly, the existence of a spread age profile arising from the presence of older households with children is noted. Ley’s argument, although superficial, provides the most explicit discussion of the heterogeneity amongst gentrifiers in any one place. It does not call for the dismissal of the notion of gentrifier with prototypical attributes, but it begs for the gentrifier focus to be widened. It is this line of argument which will structure the following chapters.

Caution must be exercised when defining new categorisations of gentrifiers. It is impractical to substitute “multiple for binary” by establishing fixed demarcations around more clearly focused categories of gentrifiers. The prototypical gentrifier should not be reduced into smaller but equally rigid

boundaries. The solution is to accept that boundary building must be a flexible, fluid and context-sensitive practice. It follows that gentrifier boundaries must be seen as permeable with an appreciation for the role of time and space (Scott 1990; Hanson 1992).

The problem which follows is how can the diversity of attributes of gentrifiers be best identified, explained and categorised? The academic literature does not provide a good source of guidance to overcome this dilemma. Rather an active debate has flourished regarding whether gentrification is the spatial expression of changes within the class structure or the outcome of changing gender relations (Rose 1984; Beauregard 1986; Smith 1979/1987/1992; Filion 1991; Warde 1991; Bridge 1994/1995a; Butler and Hamnett 1994; Ley 1994).

More recently, Redfern (1994) has introduced a new dimension into the debate, questioning the usual assumptions that gentrification has anything to do with class or gender. He claims that “gentrification would have occurred whether all the gentrifiers were male or female” (p.1). Furthermore, he argues that “gentrification has nothing to do with class, and *a fortiori* nothing to do with class constitution” (p.1). Rather, Redfern argues that gentrification is about issues of identity and status. Clearly, Redfern has made an important contribution by drawing attention to issues of identity and status, but he appears to miss the point that identity and status are central to class and gender constitution.

## 2.4.2 Gentrification as Cultural Action Space

It is argued here that the polarities of the class-gender debate are fundamentally flawed because they overlook that gentrification is *cultural action space*, within which ingredients of identity and status (e.g. class, gender, race, ethnicity and sexuality) are spatially expressed, reinforced and contested through the individual and collective agency of gentrifiers. It is not being argued here that gender and class do not provide an appropriate focus for research into gentrified places. Butler’s (1992, 1995, 1996) excellent class analysis of gentrifiers in Hackney, London, provides a valuable insight into the characteristics of gentrifiers in that particular context. Likewise, credit is attached to Bridge’s (1994; 1995a) class analysis of gentrifiers in Hammersmith and Fulham, London.

In the context of this thesis and the research aims outlined in Chapter 1, Butler and Hamnett’s convincingly argued approach is particularly relevant:

“Gentrification is best understood in terms of the distinctive *cultural practices and orientations* of the fragment(s) of the middle class in whose social and occupational formation gender plays an important role” (Butler and Hamnett, 1994 p.477 emphases added).



There appears to be considerable support within the literature for studies of gentrification to adhere to a cultural focus. For instance, Smith (1987) and Bowler and McBurney (1991) iterate that the dynamics of cultural differentiation must be central to studies of gentrification. Indeed, Lees (1994) with reference to Williams (1986) and Caulfield (1989), strongly argues that an inherent failing of the gentrification literature is the lack of consideration given to culture.

The "starting point" for any consideration of culture must be the provision of a clear definition of culture. However, this requirement is not easily attained. As Jackson (1989) and McDowell (1994) stress, culture is a slippery concept and defies easy definition. Jackson goes as far to emphasise that "culture" is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English Language (Williams, 1977).

Fulfilling the need for clarity, the thesis will adhere to Jackson's (1989) definition of culture as the domain "in which social relations of dominance and subordination are negotiated and resisted, where meanings are not just imposed, but contested" (p.ix). This representation of culture is clearly relevant in understanding the politics of preservation, introduced in Section 2.2.6, in which many gentrifiers participate to maintain the image of the gentrified place.

Since culture is both a medium and end result of class and gender relations, the dynamics of culture cannot be understood without reference to both class and gender (Cloke et al, 1994). Thus, it is essential to move beyond the polarised singular accounts of class or gender discussions of gentrification. As Butler and Hamnett state:

"To stress the gender basis of gentrification at the expense of the class dimension of the process, is in our view mistaken" (Butler and Hamnett, 1994 p.477).

This approach is vital, since as Bridge (1994) asserts, the cultural consumption of gentrified property is an expression of class relations and has many constituent effects on class relations. Moreover, the constitution of gentrified space is a cultural expression of gender, race and ethnic relations and a constituent of these relations. Accordingly, research into place-specific gentrification must seek to:

"... examine more closely not only which individuals are involved but how their class, gender, racial and ethnic positions are expressed and forged through [the cultural practices of] gentrification" (Bondi, 1991 p.96).

The previous sections have established a clear theoretical and comparative "base" of urban gentrification. In particular, the major issues and debates which have dominated the urban gentrification literature have been introduced. The following section will assess the validity for continuing to focus

upon gentrification in the inner-city, addressing recent claims that a phase of “de-gentrification” is now prominent. Although this speculation will be challenged, the thesis will propose that the gentrification lens is widened to take account of gentrification in rural contexts.

## 2.5 Gentrification - A Valid Topic for Research?

In a recent attack, Bourne has strongly questioned the validity of inner-city gentrification as an area of research (Bourne 1989, 1993a; 1993b). The crux of Bourne’s critique is that inner-city gentrification has received an unwarranted amount of attention in the “scholarly journals”. More recently, Redfern (1994 p.11) has followed Bourne’s lead, asking “why is so much time and attention devoted to gentrification when quantitatively it is of little significance?” Both Bourne and Redfern should be praised for raising these issues, since it is clear that gentrification has “occupied a remarkably large amount (of space) in the scholarly journals” (Hamnett, 1991 p.173).

Importantly, Bourne (1993a) does not deny the existence of gentrification, indeed, he stresses that “gentrification has altered the face, composition and ambience of many older neighbourhoods” (p.185). Rather, he charges that the pronounced focus upon gentrification has “obscure(d) the much richer, more diverse and often problematic set of social processes that are reshaping our cities” (Bourne, 1993b p.103). As a consequence, it is claimed that the inner-city gentrification literature has exaggerated the significance and impact of gentrification by employing specific variables/indices and selectively focusing upon particular spatial targets. As Bourne comments:

“Research has tended to focus on a few global cities such as London, New York and San Francisco, or on smaller centres such as Boston, Adelaide, Stockholm, Vancouver and Toronto” (Bourne, 1993a p.96)

Bourne is particularly critical of authors who imply that gentrification is a major pervasive process of social and physical change, based upon the findings of singular research accounts. For example, Zukin (1988 p.193) refers to “the bittersweet taste of gentrification on every urban palate”, in her concluding chapter of gentrification (loft living) in Soho, New York. In a recent review, Lees and Bondi (1995) have reiterated Bourne’s charge, asserting that some authors “have move(d) too quickly from specific instances of gentrification to broad statements about gentrification in general’ (p.236).

Undoubtedly, Bourne (and Lees and Bondi) are correct to question the verification of “generalisation” based on the results from specific singular research accounts. Unfortunately, Bourne falls into the “trap of generalisation” which he is critical of. From research undertaken in the Toronto metropolitan area,

Bourne (1993a) writes that “gentrification has been limited to only a few major centres, and to a few neighbourhoods within these centres” (p.188). Bourne’s critique is thus somewhat misplaced.

It is not being argued here that Bourne is unjustified in questioning the spatial extent of gentrification. Indeed, there is a consensus in the literature that gentrification is limited and confined to older industrial cities, such as “Paris, London, New York, San Francisco, Toronto, Sydney and Melbourne” (Hamnett, 1991 p.176). Likewise, Badcock (1991) shares Bourne's view that gentrification is still relatively small-scale, piecemeal phenomenon compared to post war suburbanisation and inner city decline.

It can be argued, however, that Bourne is wrong to stress that gentrification has received unwarranted coverage. Just because something is small in scale does not mean that it does not warrant considerable attention. The interest shown in a concept should not be determined by its impact upon the wider social and economic structures of particular contexts. Rather, as Hamnett outlines, gentrification has remained at the forefront of urban geographical literature because:

“.. it is one of the key battlegrounds of contemporary human geography which highlights the arguments between structure and agency, production and consumption, capital and culture, and supply and demand” (Hamnett, 1991 p.173).

In his defence of gentrification as a topic for investigation, Ley makes a similar point, stressing that gentrification is a valid research focus:

“.. not only for its own sake, but also because of the related questions it has raised, and continues to raise, in the much broader field of the restructuring of metropolitan society at the close of the twentieth century” (Ley, 1996 p.350).

In addition, Bourne (1993b) argues that less attention should be paid to gentrification since its rate and impact will decline and be of decreasing importance, as the conditions of the "gentrification era" fade. From a comparative analysis of the contrasting factors underlying the rise and decline of gentrification, Bourne argues that a shift is underway into a "post-gentrification era". Hence, the conditions and factors which enabled gentrification to occur will gradually disappear. According to Bourne, these fading conditions include: increasing levels of educational credentials, real income, service employment, household formation, private sector investment and housing stock appreciation. Although it is impractical at this stage to become preoccupied with an assessment of Bourne's speculations, it is valuable to note that Bourne’s thesis of de-gentrification has stimulated an active response from the key proponents of the gentrification literature. In general, there is a consensus which strongly disputes Bourne’s thesis of de-gentrification (see Badcock 1993; Lees and Bondi 1995; Smith 1996; Ley 1996, for a fuller discussion). For example, Ley claims that Bourne has mistaken the consolidation of gentrification for the decline of gentrification:

“A psychology attuned to rapid change may misinterpret stability for decay, but there are clearly upward limits to social transition... The charge of de-gentrification is not sustained by a slow down of social transition in such districts which are at mature stages in the cycle, and where the capacity for further upgrading is limited” (Ley, 1996 p.351-352).

Interestingly, Bourne himself has not dismissed gentrification as a topic of research in the future. Although he stresses that the majority of potential inner city locations have been "swallowed up" by previous rounds of gentrification, Bourne accepts that gentrification may occur in alternative spatial areas, such as the older suburbs. Indeed, Holdsworth (1993) claims to have identified "suburban" gentrification in Vancouver, Canada. Likewise, Ley contends that gentrification is moving outwards from the city centre, speculating that:

“The lessons learned from inner-city gentrification over the past 25 years may well find a broader spatial field of applications at the turn of the twenty-first century” (Ley, 1996 p.359).

Whether Holdsworth's and Ley's identification is evident in other national contexts is uncertain. Only future research will answer this question. If so, it is important that the term "urban" gentrification is discarded. It would be beneficial for authors to specify "inner-city gentrification", "suburban gentrification", "rural/non-urban gentrification" and so on.

Contemplating these "new frontiers of gentrification", Bourne (1993b) demands that continued attention is prescribed to questions of gentrification which are ambiguous and which warrant further research. These demands undermine and are detrimental to Bourne's belief that gentrification will decline and be of less importance in the future. Paradoxically, rather than justifying the reduction of gentrification on the academic agenda, Bourne stimulates new research directions for gentrification.

### **2.5.1 The Way Forward is “Outwards”: Rural Gentrification**

Sharing a desire for a continuing interest in gentrification, this thesis will address Bourne's final point of “new gentrification frontiers”. It is not being suggested here that the "inner-city" research focus be dismissed and/or replaced. On the contrary, it must be widened to incorporate “new frontiers”. Accordingly, the thesis will travel outwards away from the inner city, through and beyond the older suburbs and finally arrive at the alternative residential settings of non-urban exurbia. This research will therefore contribute to a growing interest (e.g. Thrift 1987; Phillips 1993; Cloke et al 1994) in spatial transformations occurring outside the city, which bear many of the hallmarks of the process of gentrification, in terms of their physical, social, cultural and economic change.

In this non-urban context, it is necessary to question Badcock's (1991) view that gentrification presents a challenge to traditional theories of residential location and urban social structure, although this view is clearly valid for "inner city" gentrification. Badcock's argument stemmed from Hoyt's (1939) belief that the wealthy never reverse their steps and move backwards. The process of inner city gentrification clashed with the centrifugal residential expansion of Hoyt and Burgess, whereas, non-urban/rural gentrification is conceptualised in terms of an outward movement of the "wealthy", away from the urban centre. However, this assumption is too simplistic. It overlooks the place of origin of the in-migrants into the non-urban/rural locations. It is possible that the in-migrants are moving from similar non-urban/rural locations and not necessarily from inner-city or suburban locations (see Halfacree 1994; Boyle 1995a).

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has established the conceptual and theoretical boundaries which this thesis will adopt in the examination of gentrification. Fundamentally, it has been argued that any research interested in the processes of gentrification should be informed by Hamnett's contention that gentrification involves the inter-relationships between structures and agency, i.e. the "structuration of gentrification". This thesis is thus underpinned in its focus by a structurationist perspective, enabling an integrated theoretical account of gentrification.

In line with the gentrification literature, it has been strongly reiterated that gentrification is a difficult term to define, meaning different things to different authors. For the purpose of establishing a working definition of gentrification for this thesis, Warde's four-tier definition, distinguishing between social, cultural, physical and economic transformations, has been employed. However, a number of weaknesses with Warde's definition have been highlighted and an amended version has been put forward. Moreover, it has been proposed that some authors have mis-applied the label of gentrification to processes of revitalisation. To counteract this problem, it has been argued that it would be beneficial to view gentrification as a dynamic process of change and not a socio-spatial entity. For this reason, the metaphor of the "butterfly of gentrification" has been suggested, stressing the differing phases which the processes of change takes. The phases have been emphasised, with the primary household-led phase labelled DIY gentrification and the latter institutional-led phase labelled institutional gentrification. Importantly, distinctions have been made between the role of DIY gentrifiers and client gentrifiers within the respective phases of gentrification. It is appreciated that the stages are not an inevitable characteristic of gentrification. The process of revitalisation may commence at a stage triggered by

institutional actors or may stall at an household led stage of revitalisation, depending on the working definition of gentrification.

Finally, the chapter has addressed Bourne's thesis of de-gentrification. Refuting Bourne claims, it has been argued that inner city gentrification continues to provide a valid research focus. More importantly in the context of this thesis, the chapter has called for the gentrification lens to be widened. It is contended that there are processes of change evident in rural areas which parallel the experiences of inner-city change, yet which have not been comprehensively studied within the domain of gentrification (see especially Hardill 1997; Hardill et al 1998). It is this rural gentrification gap in the geographical literature which this thesis will address.

Crucially, it is important to stress that the revitalisation of rural areas is not synonymous with rural gentrification. Rural revitalisation can only be subsumed within the domain of gentrification when it mirrors the stage-theory of gentrification outlined in this chapter. Unfortunately, much of literature documenting rural change does not identify whether the processes of change were instigated by consumers (i.e. the DIY gentrifiers) or producers (i.e. the commercial actors). This weakness will be taken into account in the following chapter which will establish a conceptual framework of rurality and rural change to consider the processes of gentrification. This needs to be done before the concept of inner-city gentrification provided in this chapter can be transposed to a rural context.

## *Chapter 3*

### *Rurality and the Pennines*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will provide a review of the rural literature and establish a conceptual framework to consider gentrification within the rural context of the Hebden Bridge district. The chapter is organised into seven sections. The first section will outline the general criteria which are assumed to be the trademark of rural places. The second section will propose that the rural concept is inherently chaotic, since it is associated with an array of abstract and concrete rural contexts. From this it will be argued that it is not feasible to construct a universal definition of rurality. Rather, it is appropriate to consider the rural at a subjective level in terms of imagined and concrete rural geographies. The third section will provide a discussion of the imagined socio-cultural representations of rurality. Central to the discussion will be the notion of the rural idyll. It will be shown that such idyll-ised representations of rurality are being increasingly inscribed upon material rural space in the form of “chocolate-box” packages. The fourth section will consider the role of producers and consumers within the production and reproduction of the rural chocolate-box landscape(s).

Following this review of the rural literature, the fifth section will introduce the Hebden Bridge district and discuss the need for the case study to be set within a regional focus. The sixth section will meet this objective, providing a discussion of the “South Pennine” region, highlighting the geographical differences which exist within the highly diverse mosaic of the rural and urban landscape(s) of the South Pennines.

#### **3.1 When is Space and Place “Rural”?**

“Rural localities, if they are to be recognised and studied as categories in their own right must be carefully defined according to that which makes them rural” (Halfacree, 1993: 28).

Following Halfacree’s exhortation (see also Munn, 1997), this section will outline the general characteristics which signify when a location is deemed to be “rural” in Britain. As a framework for the discussion, the multi-faceted criteria (highlighted in bold for emphasis) advocated by Cloke and Thrift (1987) will be utilised. The justification for taking this approach is based upon the recurrence of particular features in the literature. For example, both Volgyes (1980) and Hoggart and Buller (1987) stress that rural places are identified by particular types of landscape, traditional attitudes/lifestyles,

population and occupational characteristics.

It is claimed that rural space is demarcated by **small settlements with small population sizes and low population densities** (Miller and Luloff 1981; Gilg 1985). Using population size to differentiate between rural settlement types, Moss (1978) makes the following divisions between rural hamlet (less than 200 people), rural village (200 to 5,000 people) and small rural town (5,000 to 10,000 people).

Hoggart (1988) adds a further feature, claiming that the small settlements of rural space are **separated by large tracts of open space**, where economic activity is characterised by **agriculture and forestry**. Best and Rogers (1973 p.25) describe “rural land use” in terms of “agriculture, forest or woodland, as well as wild, utilised tracts in a natural or semi-natural state.” However, Bodiguel et al (1990) are critical of these land use criteria, asserting that rural places cannot be simply defined by certain types of land use or economic activity.

Miller and Luloff (1981) add that rural areas are **relatively isolated from the influence of larger metropolitan urban areas**. Similarly, Champion stresses:

“.. the rural should be taken to refer only to areas lying beyond the boundaries of the urban/metropolitan regions i.e. not forming part of the commuter hinterland of any settlement which is considered urban or metropolitan” (Champion, 1998).

This criterion to delimit rural space is strongly questioned. There are very few places which have not been influenced and/or absorbed to some degree within a “culturally urbanised Britain”, as distance and physical barriers are increasingly transgressed by transport and communication (see Pahl 1966; Cohen 1986; Buller and Lowe 1990). It is not surprising, therefore, to find labels, such as the “edge city” (Garreau, 1988) and “dispersed city” (Everitt and McGill 1994) in the literature. Interestingly, Chapuis and Brossard (1989) have termed the urbanisation of rural space - “rurbanisation”.

There is widespread evidence in the literature that the rural and the urban have become entwined (Perkins 1989; Hardill 1997). For instance, Murdoch and Day comment that:

“...the boundary between urban and rural space seems increasingly porous... It now seems that rural areas possess fewer and fewer distinctive defining characteristics as their populations come to take on more and more of the features of the urban realm.” (Murdoch and Day, 1998).

This blurring of the rural and urban does not merit the dismissal of the rural concept. As will be shown in this chapter, the “rural” still holds significant social and cultural meaning in contemporary Britain



(and beyond). Rather, it is proposed that in the context of this thesis, the rural should be set within an urban spectrum, given the substantial urbanisation of the countryside that has taken place (Champion and Watkins, 1991). This proposal implicitly draws upon Best and Rogers' (1973) definition of rural settlements, as those positioned at the "end of the urban spectrum which consists of the less populous and less sizeable categories of settlements" (p.25). Although they appreciate that it is paradoxical to consider rural settlements within an urban context, they argue that the inclusion of the urban within the rural is in fact completely logical. Their justification is based on the belief that the less populous and less sizeable categories of rural settlements contain urban elements. Urban elements denote those dwellings (housing) and features (transport) which perform similar functions whether in the cities and towns, or in the rural villages and hamlets. Hence, their argument follows that settlements of any size from the largest city to the smallest hamlet, are all considered to be urban. Appropriately, it is proposed that a rural "niche" occurs on an urban spectrum where rural land outnumbered the urban land elements.

The final criterion, that **rural space is synonymous with certain "ways of life"**, is strongly rejected. The reasons for this contention will be made clear in Section 3.4. It will be argued that rural space is not homogenous and involves an array of lifestyles and differing social relations.

To conclude, it is acknowledged that rural space is characterised by small-scale built settlements, low population sizes and densities and certain types of landscape and rural land uses. On the other hand, the assumption that rural space can be identified by certain types of economic activity, occupations and "ways of life" is questioned. It is essential to recognise that rural space is heterogeneous and cannot be identified by a pre-defined checklist of features.

### 3.2 Defining The "Rural"

Despite the general agreement within the literature of "what makes a place rural", a universal definition of the rural is not evident (Pacione 1984). This gap has been exposed by the recent debate concerning what constitutes the rural (Hoggart 1990, 1997; Halfacree 1993, 1994; Crouch 1992). In response, this section will argue that the "rural" remains (and should remain) an imprecise theoretical concept because it is used "chaotically" by researchers (Urry 1984).

Authors have until recently failed to recognise and distinguish between the two facets of the "rural":

- i) Rural as a concept which represents concrete geographical space; and
- ii) Rural as a symbolic term which enables socio-cultural meaning(s) to be attached to abstract space (Whatmore, 1993).

Academic definitions of the rural are infiltrated by preconceived socio-cultural representations of rurality which authors have in mind prior to definition formulation (Mormont, 1990). Indeed, both Short (1991) and Halfacree (1995) write of an "academic discourse", which promotes rural space as a "green pleasant land" (e.g. Newby, 1979). As a consequence, academic definitions of the "rural" represent a misconception of material rural space (Halfacree, 1993). In general, they fail to appreciate the immense diversity which is involved in the concrete geographical expressions of rurality.

Cloke's (1977) "index of rurality" illustrates this point excellently (see also Owen, 1996). It is based on the measurement and analysis of sixteen variables to determine the degree of rurality of a location. However, the framework adopted by Cloke is based on his own pre-supposed representation of what makes a place rural. As Halfacree (1993) charges, such definitions "put the cart before the horse" because they try to align a definition to what they already consider to be rural, without assigning any sense of empirical validity.

In retrospect, Cloke (1994 p.156) concurs with Halfacree's view, admitting that "by selecting a number of variables to represent... the rural I was predetermining the outcome." Accordingly, Cloke agrees that "mechanical statistical descriptions of rurality are usually self-defining and therefore, of relatively limited use" (p.164) since they are "an in-appropriate way of addressing the idea of what and where is rural" (p.156). To continue with Halfacree's above analogy, rather than putting the "cart before the horse", it can be argued that definitions of the rural concept are "putting the horse in the cart". The definitions reinforce the authors' social representations of the rural and vice versa.

The lack of a universal definition of the rural thus arises because "rural" means different things to different authors (Crouch 1992; Cloke and Thrift 1994). The solution, both Philo (1992, 1997) and Cloke (1994) suggest, is for authors to refer to "other" rural *geographies* rather than rural geography. This proposition is based on two major premises. First, it is generally claimed that rural places are increasingly being restructured and differentiated by processes of change (see Marsden et al 1993; Pacione 1995). For instance, Halfacree (1997) asserts that a shift is underway from a "productivist" to a "post-productivist" era in the countryside. Second, as a result of such transformations, it is argued that the rural can no longer be viewed as fixed and absolute category (Cloke and Goodwin, 1992). Hence, an all embracing definition of the rural is neither desirable nor feasible, since the rural cannot be defined

in terms of a distinct type of place and/or locality (Falk and Pinhey, 1978). Rather intra-rural differences must be recognised. As Gorton et al (1998) assert, the theme of diversity must be recognised since rural areas are not “homogenous lumps”.

It is the significance of this imperative which Hoggart (1990) claims rural researchers have failed to consider, along with similarities between rural and urban space. Consequently, Hoggart is critical of the rural concept, stressing that it “implies a uniformity of condition that is not present”. He concludes in his critique that the rural concept is of limited value which misguides research and proclaims “lets do away with the rural”. In opposition to Hoggart, it is suggested that his critique appears to rest on a fundamental misconception of the rural. The strength of the rural concept is its descriptive ability to categorise a “jumble” of differing contexts and guide research. It is the task of the researcher to yield descriptive and analytical power and explain intra-rural difference and rural-urban similarities, not the rural concept. Doing away with the rural (to borrow Hoggart’s terminology) would be doing away with a significant chunk of contemporary social and cultural meaning, which helps individuals to compare and make sense of space in a variety of contexts (Cloke, 1994).

In conclusion, this section has argued that there is no justification for disposing of the rural simply because it is a more mobile term (Cloke and Thrift, 1994). In accordance with Cloke (1994 p.164) “the idea of doing away with the rural as a useful category of study (is) somehow anathema to me”. Importantly, the rural concept will be viewed in terms of imagined (abstract) and real (concrete) qualities (Allan and Mooney, 1998). As Short makes clear:

“The countryside is more than just a place for farmers to grow crops, raise animals and make money. It is a place of broader cultural significance and deeper ideological meaning, a place redolent with historical association, perceptions of nationality and intimations of community” (Short, 1991 p.171).

Retaining the rural concept, the following sections will address the imagined socio-cultural representations of the rural. It will be shown that these are tied to the specifics of place and people and any understanding *must* consider time and space. Moreover, it will be argued that as concrete rural places and spaces are moulded to match idyll-ised socio-cultural representations, there is an increasing convergence between the abstract and concrete in the rural context. Parallels should be noted here with the inner-city gentrified context where an inner-city urban idyll has been (re)produced by *both* gentrifiers and commercial institutional actors.

### 3.3 The Rural Idyll

There is a consistent theme in the literature that the British countryside is the symbolic representation of national identity (Shoard 1985; Lowenthal 1985). For example, Newby (1988 p.1) writes that rural Britain contains “all that is best in British and Britishness, from it we get a sense of history, our culture, our very identity as a nation.” Similarly, Best and Rogers comment:

“The countryside stands for all that is important in Britain, it is the expression of the good life away from the stresses and strains of the city and the symbol of everything what is considered truly British.” (Best and Rogers, 1973 p.20)

This idealised British representation of the countryside is otherwise known as the “rural idyll” (Thrift, 1989). The rural idyll is founded upon an imagined correlation between the social and spatial attributes of the rural village, giving rise to a “village in the mind” (Pahl 1970; Harper 1989). As Matless states:

“The imagined village offers an example and a hope of an ordered life; not in the sense of imagined discipline and systematisation but of stability, gentility and above all harmony, social and scenic” (Matless, 1994 p.76).

Based on a morphological continuum between urban and rural modes of living (see Frankenberg 1966; Halfacree 1993, for fuller discussion), the low population densities of villages are understood to give rise to *gemeinschaft* social relations; close-knit and sharing relationships between place and people and a co-operation for a common good (Redfield, 1947). In opposition, the densely populated highly urbanised locations are assumed to generate *gesellschaft* social relations (Simmel 1903; Wirth 1938); social relations deemed to be anonymous, impersonal and unstable with no actions or unity based on a common good (Tonnies, 1955).

The “village in the mind” thus represents an abstract space which is devoid of social problems, providing a means of escaping the urban risks of personal attack, theft, “joyriders”, pollution, loneliness, isolation and anomie (Dempsey 1990; Cloke et al 1994). Moreover, the “village in the mind” offers a superior way of life which is the bucolic, joyful, natural, healthy and the wellspring of sublime experience (Cloke 1994; Bunce 1994).

For those individuals who claim the pernicious characteristics of urban ways of life stem from the creation of multi-racial urban areas, rural areas symbolise the polar opposite, that is, predominantly “white” space (Lowenthal 1991). As Cloke et al comment:

“We certainly believe it to be the case that the idyll-ised ideology of village England does have a component which privileges English nationhood over “other” races and ethnicities, resulting in a discursive filtering out of cultural belongings other than “whiteness”” (Cloke et al, 1998a).

It is not being argued here that the rural idyll is predominantly an English phenomenon. On the contrary, the construction of rural idylls are founded in race, ethnicity, class, culture, gender and sexuality (Agyeman and Spooner, 1997). For this reason it is necessary to consider sub-national identity, since “national identity can be seen to be mediated through regional, local and individual experiences, with Englishness understood in very different ways by the English” (Cloke et al, 1998b). As Cloke and Milbourne (1992) stress, constructions of rurality are connected to differing geographic levels. Cloke et al (1998), in their discussion of the geography of the rural idyll, assert that rural idylls are constructed at three main levels; distinguishing between national, regional and local level constructs. First, they highlight the national distinction between rural idylls of the English village and Welsh speaking rural Wales. Second, they adopt Urry’s (1995) discussion of dominant North-South metaphors of rurality to illustrate the regional construction of rural idylls. Finally, they go beyond the regional construction of rurality, noting that “within regions different rural places will represent sites of very different cultural constructs of rurality”.

The following section will take on board the existence of a multi-layered geography of rural idylls. It will be shown that central to the reproduction of the “idyll-ised” rural *geographies* is a recommodification process, whereby commercial institutional agents exploit idyllic conceptions to produce rural “chocolate box” packages. Moreover, in a similar manner to the production of gentrified packages, it will be argued that the “chocolate-box” packages are based upon mis-representations of past and contemporary rural time-spaces. As Matless comments, the “imagined cultural village”:

“.. can be regarded as a mythic figure, one dancing in English and other imaginations, a figure where people have located emotions, wishes, houses, anger and more, a site of values which are by no means tied to a rural location” (Matless, 1994 p.7).

### 3.3.1 The Production of the “Chocolate-Box”

The exploitation of the rural idyll by commercial institutional actors, for the purposes of capital accumulation, has been well documented in the literature (see Perkins 1989; Urry 1995). There is an endless list of idyll-ised rural packages, based upon the myths and nostalgias of local and regional particularities (Matless, 1994). Examples include the "Bronte Country", "Last of the Summer Wine Country", "James Herriott Country", "Hardy's Wessex", "Heartbeat Country" (Game 1991; Cloke and Milbourne 1992). The “names” of these rural packages highlight the importance of the media practices, in which meanings of rurality are circulated through media such as television and radio, advertising, literature, newspapers, magazines (Cloke, 1994).

The exploitation of local and regional myths is undertaken in order to influence consumer demands and fulfil the desires of rural consumers for scarcity, authenticity and uniqueness (Marsden et al, 1993; Cloke et al, 1998a). As Sack argues, for packages (i.e. the rural place) to be attractive for consumption, the generic must be constantly made to appear specific:

“A place is often thought of as a unique set of attributes at a unique location. This is especially so before a place becomes “commercialised”. Therefore, we can expect that when a place enters the market, so to speak, it must advertise itself as being accessible to this type of service or that” (Sack, 1988 p161).

Contemporary rural packages are thus full of historical local and/or regional details to convince the consumer of its authenticity (Goss, 1992). As a result, rural packages which are manufactured to appear authentic and specific are becoming increasingly separated from geographical material rural space (Cloke and Thrift, 1994). Clearly, parallels can be drawn here with inner-city gentrified packages which often contrast greatly with adjacent “run-down” inner-city areas (see Smith, 1997).

Tackling this issue in the rural context and drawing upon the work of Baudrillard (1988), Halfacree (1994) argues that the sign (rural) and the signification (meanings of the rural) are increasingly becoming detached from their referent (locality). The imagined form of the rural is being lived out in material space and hence the "chocolate box" concretisation of rural space. He concludes:

“If the material space of the rural is no longer the rural locality but the material space created through the usage of rural social representation, the much-derided “chocolate box” countryside may not become such a myth after all” (Halfacree, 1994 p34).

Moreover, the examples cited above illustrate that manufactured rural packages are diverse and incoherent, being geographically and socio-culturally specific to particular time-space contexts (Thrift,

1985). It is therefore not plausible and/or possible to formulate a precise definition of the "rural idyll" (Cloke and Milbourne 1992; Cloke 1994; Little and Austin 1996). As Matless strongly asserts:

"Too often images of the country are lumped together under a single simple category - the rural idyll - as if there were no difference there, as if the culture of rural in England were one of a simple sentimental homogeneity" (Matless, 1994 p.8).

In order to reflect this diversity, this thesis will adhere to Halfacree's (1994) view that it is necessary to ascertain the "structuration of the rural idyll"; that being, the sets of structural rules and resources which are drawn upon by individuals in place-specific contexts, during discursive and non-discursive actions, thereby reproducing the structures and vice versa.

The identification of rural constructs is further problematised given that meanings of rurality are in an active flux of interpretation and reinterpretation and so on. For example, Massey highlights the changing perceptions of Northern England, where:

".. there is less mention of satanic mills. More the talk (in the south) is of how wonderful the countryside is, and the quality of life it is possible to have" (Massey, 1988 p.17).

Once again, the role played by commercial institutional actors when circulating, manipulating and reinterpreting rural meanings (e.g. Northern England) for their own vested interests (i.e. profit making) must be clearly acknowledged.

The constant dynamism of the meaning of rurality is well exemplified by Johnson's (1986) theory of the circuits of culture. Stressing the importance of narrative and context, Johnson describes how meanings are constantly being redefined as they are encoded and decoded by authors (producers) and readers (consumers) over time and space. Adopting the circuits of culture thesis, Burgess (1990) explores the ideological work of the media in producing environmental meanings. She highlights the various stages of the process. As meanings are encoded by the media (stage one) cultural texts are produced (stage two). By producing these texts the media are seeking to impose particular ideological beliefs and values (i.e. their representation of rurality) via the decoding by audiences (stage three). However, the cultural texts are interpreted in differing ways by different individuals and social groups (stage four), depending upon narrative and context. This is not surprising since different people can gaze upon the same set of objects and read them in different ways (Duncan and Duncan 1988; Urry 1990; McDowell 1994). As a result, there is a continual pursuit by the media to naturalise their ideological values and beliefs by re-commencing the circuit of culture. As Burgess outlines:

“Producers endeavour through the rhetoric of their visual and verbal communications to position readers and viewers so that they interpret the meanings in the ways intended” (Burgess, 1990 p.147).

In the rural context, commercial institutional actors wishing to promote the countryside only encode and re Commodify the positive meanings of rural place which they can use to their own ends (Perkins, 1989). Similarities can be drawn here to the promotion of inner-city gentrified places which emphasise the advantages of the inner city (e.g. cultural attractions, proximity to work, waterfront location). It is hardly surprising that adverts do not mention the stereotypical meanings of inner-city areas (e.g. high crime levels, high unemployment, low quality of life).

Hence, rural packages such as “Bronte Country” express a selective exploitation and re Commodification of the place-specific meanings which are most profitable. Indeed, this explains why commercial institutional actors selectively exploit and promote certain rural spaces, while other rural spaces continue to be neglected (Rowley 1987; Cloke and Goodwin 1992). Their selection reflects the extent to which areas conform to the socio-cultural representations of the British “rural idyll”, as outlined earlier.

This selectivity promotes a “rose-tinted” imagery of rural space which discards the realities of modern agricultural practices and the increasing destruction of valued rural environments (Youngs 1985; Burgess 1990). As Cloke and Milbourne (1992) make clear, rural idylls “turn a blind eye” to the poverty, low wages and unemployment of past and contemporary rural places. Accordingly, rural idylls are viewed as a misconception of rurality and are termed a “perceptual paradox” (Corbett, 1988); a mismatch between reality and myth.

Indeed, there is a school of thought which argues that “rural idylls” must be challenged, since rural places are often not as idyllic as they are made out to be (Thrift 1987; Rowley 1987; Mingay 1989b; Champion and Watkins 1991; Bell 1997). For instance, Urry states that the rural idyll:

“.. does no justice at all to the back-breaking hard work undertaken by men and women (and children) who have worked and lived in rural areas. Such a vision is comprised of elements that never existed together at a single historical period” (Urry, 1994 p6).

Perhaps the fundamental misconception of the rural idyll is the imagined superior lifestyle which revolves around *gemeinschaft* social relations (Halfacree, 1993). As Dempsey (1994) states, with reference to Newby (1980), *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* relationships often co-exist in the same rural locality. Therefore, this thesis supports Pahl’s (1966) view that any attempt to correlate patterns of social relations (*gemeinschaft*) with particular geographical milieux (village) is a pointless practice.



However, this does not warrant the dismissal of the rural idyll (Matless, 1994). As the following section will show, idyllic constructions of rurality are vital to explaining the consumption of packages which involve a fictionalisation and inauthentic forgery of the past (Game 1991).

### 3.3.2 The Consumption of the “Chocolate Box”

The mythical representations of rurality are consumed by a multiplicity of individuals and groups to fulfil differing motives and aspirations (Halfacree 1994; Cloke and Little 1997). In the context of this thesis and its concern with gentrification, the following discussion will focus upon the reasons why the so-called “new middle class” consume the fictional rural packages (see Phillips 1994; Cloke et al 1995, 1997; Urry 1995a, 1995b). Importantly, in considering the role of the “new middle class” in rural areas this thesis supports the view of Cloke and Thrift, that:

“It seems extremely unlikely that just one distinctive middle class group will have evolved in rural areas. Instead we should expect to encounter different fractions of middle-class presence” (Cloke and Thrift, 1990 p.166).

Like inner-city gentrified places (see Jager, 1986), rural places are “theatres of consumption” (Leiss et al, 1986) which are crafted, marketed and sold to the new middle class, albeit for differing cultural aspirations. The consumption of rural places (and the inner city) enables the new middle class to buy into lifestyles, offering a source of identity, shared living experiences and a membership to social space and group (Jhally 1987; Cloke 1982; Bourne and Bunting 1993; Thrift 1994). Through the exclusionary nature of this practice, the new middle class can establish social, cultural and class differentiation and self-preservation (see Thrift 1991; Savage et al 1992 for a fuller discussion).

The rural package (like the inner-city gentrified package) is, therefore, of most value when it is scarce, unique and prohibits certain types of individuals from participating (Bourdieu 1984; Hitters 1992; Cloke and Thrift, 1990). As Urry (1995a) states, the rural package is deployed as symbolic capital, because it excludes the working class (for cost and taste reasons) and is unattractive for much of the bourgeois due to their high levels of economic capital (Hamnett, 1995a).

The consumption of the rural can also symbolise the social ascendancy of the new middle class. Drawing upon the past consumption of the rural by the landed gentry and aristocracy, Short comments:

“The image of the country seat became the zenith of ambition for the rest of society. Those moving up the hierarchy saw a rural setting as the pinnacle of their rise and a mark of their arrival” (Short, 1991 p.73).

Parallels can be drawn here between the consumption of the landed gentry and the present conspicuous consumption of the new middle class. The ownership of rural space represents an indication of status, wealth, taste and decorum.

The refinement of consumption to enable exclusion, status and socio-cultural differentiation, Knox (1991) argues, represents the transformation from the vulgar functionalism of modernist mass consumption to the postmodern "seamless aestheticization of everyday life" (Berman, 1987). The desire for distinction, difference and heterogeneity of scarce rural contexts emanates from the "era of postmodernity" (Jameson 1984; Lash and Urry 1994). As Cohen comments:

"The mainstream forces of economic, political and administrative life attack the structural bases of local diversity and replaces them with a veneer of homogeneity" (Cohen, 1986 p.1).

The place-based consumption of the rural, therefore, highlights the search for identity, belonging and the rediscovery of community in an impersonal postmodern world (Bauman 1992). The consumption of reworked and reinvented artefactual images of the rural provides a medium for obtaining a "sense of place" in the world (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980). As Hauer and Hoekveld comment:

"In the continual process of human realisation, people look for places where they, alone and as a group, can be themselves, where they can shape their biographies in their space bounded bodily entity" (Hauer and Hoekveld, 1993 p.17).

The following section will examine the way in which idyllic representations of rurality are maintained within the rural landscape(s). It will be argued that rural landscapes are in fact landscapes of power, which can be purchased and controlled by the dominant groups of the particular place (Murdoch and Pratt, 1997; Agg and Phillips, 1998). As in inner-city gentrified places (see Chapter 2), the reproduction of power is an essential practice for the new middle class to undertake if their "new found" identity, belonging and status symbols are to be maintained. Hence, attention must be directed towards the social groups who have the "power" to influence the socio-cultural constructions of rurality and "set the stage for the acting out of the rural idyll" (Cloke, 1994). For this purpose, it is necessary to consider how some groups gain positions of relative power, how they maintain power by dominating subordinate groups, and how those groups in turn contest their subordination (Jackson, 1989).

### 3.3.3 Maintaining the Rural “Chocolate Box”

It can be argued that the inscription of idyllic conceptions of rurality upon the landscape(s) are not solely attributable to producers (e.g. commercial institutions). In addition, some members of the new middle class who consume rural packages, thereafter, play a crucial role in reproducing and protecting the “chocolate box” landscape(s) through socio-cultural and political practices. In brief, these practices are undertaken to (re)mould rural landscape(s) to fit in line with their romanticised ideological values and beliefs of rurality (see Abram et al, 1998). In the context of this discussion, ideology is defined as the systems of beliefs and common sense ideas of the rural, that are seen as characteristic of a location and are taken for granted by a particular group (Williams 1977; Eagleton 1983).

It must be noted that no one singular new middle class rural ideology exists. Rather, rural *ideologies* are tied to place and location and are expressed in different ways in different contexts. For example, the “green and pleasant” chocolate box imagery of the Cotswolds differs with the “heather and bleak” representations of the Scottish Highlands. As a result of the diversity of rural ideologies, specific objects within the rural landscape are valued differently in different rural contexts (e.g. open moors). In addition, social divisions within the new middle class, such as ethnicity, race, gender and sexuality, will also have a bearing upon the ways that rural landscapes are read (for example, see Bell and Valentine (1995), Valentine (1997) for discussion of lesbian rural spaces).

To maintain and reinforce idyllic conceptions of rurality upon the landscape, members of the new middle class frequently seek a dominant position within the rural place. In general, this is achieved by penetrating and exploiting the local political institutions to exercise hegemonic power. From this position of institutional influence, the new middle class have the potential to “naturalise” and “institutionalise” their idyllic imaginations of rurality within the locality and thus undermine rival representations of rurality, which may threaten their idealised representations (Buller and Lowe 1990; Halfacree 1995). In line with Gitlin (1980), hegemony is viewed as the power(s) of persuasion which dominant groups exercise over subordinate groups, to enable the naturalisation of their ideology into everyday common-sense practice. It is important to add that hegemony never exists as a form of dominance and is always in a state of reformation, being constantly resisted, defended and modified by other groups and other fractions of the new middle class; see Williams (1977), Hall (1988), Jackson (1989), for a fuller discussion of hegemony.

Contemporary rural landscapes can be thus viewed as the concrete representation of relations between dominant and subordinate groups (Duncan and Duncan 1988; Squire 1994). As Ley points out, the

landscape can be textually read:

“.. as a product which expresses a distinctive culture of ideas and practices, of often oppositional social groups and political relationships” (Ley, 1985 p. 410).

Importantly, the capacity of the new middle class to express its cultural values and beliefs upon the rural landscape is affected by its ability (and its influence upon other groups) to “read and write” the information and meanings which are stored in symbols (i.e. housing) within the landscape. Symbols provide a medium to convey complicated meanings of an ideology into an object within the landscape. For example, working farms symbolise different things to different social groups. Meanings evoked by working farms can range from the idyllic symbolism of “Old MacDonald”, sites where animals are inhumanely treated, unsafe spaces associated with dangerous farm machinery to places where livelihoods are made.

Within this diversity of meaning, members of the new middle class attempt to naturalise their own particular reading of the landscape (i.e. romantic connotations of working farms). The penetration and exploitation of local political institutions is vital for this purpose, providing the means to constrain, restrict and enhance communication of information in the rural place. It is a socio-cultural and political practice which involves the language of exclusion and inclusion (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980). By controlling the local resources which facilitate stability and/or change (e.g. improvement grants) and influencing the structural rules set by local political institutions (e.g. planning frameworks), the new middle class can (re)produce and (re)adjust symbolic communication in response to stresses imposed by other groups. This is well exemplified by the important role played by the new middle class in resolving land-use conflicts by manipulating the planning system, through the exertion of disproportionate local political and cultural influence (see Harrison 1991; Marsden et al 1993; Murdoch and Marsden 1994). For instance, based on their research of Gower, Wales, Cloke et al (1991b) assert that the “colonisation of particular rural locales is tied up with the role of land-use planning mechanisms” (p.39). In particular, developments which may destroy the “village in the mind”, for example low-cost housing schemes, are consistently opposed and prevented, often on the grounds of aesthetic and architectural incompatibility (Urry 1994; Cloke et al 1994).

As a consequence, housebuilding in many rural areas tends to be restricted to a few high quality and design conscious, high cost housing schemes. Indeed, Cloke et al (1991b) claim to have identified a selective partnership between the new middle class and housebuilders in rural areas. When this marriage is coupled with escalating housing prices (stimulated by high levels of demand for rural housing), the lack of affordable and low cost housing may ultimately culminate in the displacement,

exclusion and marginalisation of indigenous and less affluent households from the rural place (see Cloke 1997; Cloke and Little 1997).

As the in-migration of the new middle class is perpetuated (by institutional actors, for example, estate agents, developers, planners), the process of gentrification may become embedded in the rural place and the social, cultural, economic and physical changes proliferate. The extent of the displacement of indigenous and less affluent households from some rural places is such that, as Cloke et al (1998) claim, rural areas can become “the preserve of the middle class”. Similarly, Murdoch and Day (1998) state that rural areas are now the “exclusive domain of the white middle class”. Although these claims appear to be an over-generalisation (i.e. not all rural areas are the territory of the new middle class) they are relevant in many rural contexts, where the issues of housing affordability and access to housing prevail.

Therefore, it can be argued that the construction of new middle class rural territories is intentional. In a similar manner to the creation of inner city gentrified territories, as discussed in Chapter 2, rural territories are another strategic expression of the new middle class. They are rooted in the motives and behaviour of the new middle class to reinforce their idyllic conceptions of rurality. As Sack repeatedly comments, territorial construction is a political strategy:

“.. by an individual or group, to affect, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area” (Sack, 1986 p.19).

In summary, the rural territories of the new middle class are thus social, cultural and spatial entities, which may in turn aid the maintenance of their hegemonic power and "naturalise" the rural ideology of the new middle classes.

It is important to stress that such strategies also provide a medium for counter-hegemony and alternative hegemony, given that rural space is contested space (Sibley, 1995). As Wolch and Dear (1989) argue, territorial practices also have the power to undermine social relations and produce significant change in a place. Indeed, there are numerous cases where the indigenous rural population have contested the invasion of the new middle class into “their” territory. For example, at Clapham, Yorkshire Dales, the indigenous population placed placards throughout the village proclaiming “outsiders out”. Importantly, this contestation demonstrates that attempts to protect and/or claim territory are not always dependent upon the control of local political institutions. Rather, the outcome of claims to space and place will be influenced by the specifics of the context and the social groups involved in the territorial battle.

To conclude, the preceding sections have highlighted that some rural places have undergone (and are

undergoing) dramatic social, cultural, economic and physical transformations. It has been argued that these changes have been brought about through the agency of producers and consumers. In short, both producers and consumers have increasingly sought to inscribe mythical and idyllic representations of rurality upon the landscape. As rural places have been remade and repackaged to cater for the new middle class market, processes of change similar to those associated with the gentrification of the inner city have predominated. In particular, as in the inner city the new middle class in-migrants have perpetuated the processes of change through their disproportionate exertion of cultural and political power. Protecting and reproducing idyllic conceptions of rurality upon the landscape, the political and cultural strategies of the new middle class have constrained low income households in the rural housing market, as low cost housing schemes are opposed and house prices escalate beyond the means of low income households. The outcome of these processes of change parallel that of gentrified inner city places, with the displacement and exclusion of indigenous and low income households from the rural housing market. Ultimately, many rural places have been “territorialised” by the new middle class as rural gentrification has swept across many contemporary rural landscapes.

Following this line of thought, it can be thus argued that the new middle class not only gentrify the inner city. Moreover, if inner city gentrification signifies the pro-urban aspirations of the new middle class, rural gentrification may then express the *counter-urban* aspirations of the new middle class. Perhaps the consumption of the inner-city and rural locations illustrates the differing cultural predilections of distinct segments of the new middle class and/or the effects of the life-stage cycle.

It is not being argued here that rural gentrification equates with the migration trend of *counter-urbanisation*. Importantly, there is disagreement regarding the term counter-urbanisation in the literature. Like gentrification, counterurbanisation is a chaotic concept, which is defined in a wide number of ways (see Perry et al 1986; Champion 1989; Halfacree 1997, for fuller review): -

- 1) The relocation of an urban way of life where the movement of households to the countryside is seen as geographical rather than ideological (Vinning and Strauss 1979; Boyle 1994, 1995b).
- 2) The direct antithesis of an urban way of life. This involves households who enter remote rural places which are not linked to larger settlements for employment and services (Champion 1987, 1989). In this sense, migrants who continue to commute for employment and services to nearby larger settlements are not viewed as true counter-urbanites (Robert and Randolph 1983).
- 3) A process which is bound up with suburban sprawl (Berry, 1976).

In a wider sense, the counterurbanisation literature is relevant to the thesis in terms of its coverage of

small town regeneration (Coombes 1991; Champion 1994; Spencer 1995; Walmsley et al 1998). The thesis recognises the parallels which can be drawn between many of the small towns described in the counter-urbanisation literature and Hebden Bridge. However, the thesis shares the dominant view that counter-urbanisation signifies a rejection of an urban way of life - a feature that does not equate to rural gentrification. Although it is appreciated that rural gentrification is underpinned by counter-urban aspirations, these do not denote the rejection of an urban lifestyle. Rather the counter-urban motives signify the search for a location which evokes significant meanings of rurality. As the rural literature makes clear, the majority of new middle class households entering rural areas maintain their links with metropolitan places, commuting back and forth on a daily basis (Cloke et al, 1991). Therefore, rural gentrification is viewed as part of the wider urbanisation process.

### **3.4 Moving Towards The Focus Of Research**

This thesis will focus upon one localised manifestation of rural gentrification, investigating the case study of the Hebden Bridge district, West Yorkshire. Like many inner-city gentrified places, the Hebden Bridge district has undergone significant social, cultural, economic and physical transformation since the late 1960s. Its landscape(s) has been modified, remade and repackaged, attracting new middle class households searching for idealised versions of Pennine rurality. To borrow the words of Cloke et al (1998), the rural areas of the Hebden Bridge district now appear to be the preserve of the new middle class - a contention which the following chapters will address. Moreover, the working definition of gentrification, as outlined in Chapter Two, appears highly relevant when contemplating the transformation of the Hebden Bridge district:

#### **1. *Social Transformation***

It has involved a process of resettlement and social concentration, a process involving the displacement, replacement and/or marginalisation of a variety of indigenous residents (with diverse characteristics) by invading "outsiders" (also with diverse characteristics), entailing territorial patterns of social clustering.

#### **2. *Physical Transformation***

It has involved a transformation of the built and unbuilt environment, via revitalisation activities, which exhibits multiple "pockets" of distinctive, aesthetic features and the emergence of new types of local service provision.

#### **3. *Cultural Transformation***

It has led to the emergence of a mosaic of distinctive enclaves of individuals, who have a putatively shared cultural lifestyle and consumer preference.

#### **4. *Economic Transformation***

It has involved an economic reordering of renovated and unrenovated property values, a commercial opportunity for the construction industry, and generally, an extension of the system of the private ownership of domestic property and a decrease in the unemployment rate of the population.

At this stage of the thesis these aspects of rural gentrification are highly speculative. Importantly, the speculations provide a framework within which the key research aims can be framed (see Chapter One). As a starting point for the research, the following sections will justify the validity of examining rural gentrification in the Hebden Bridge district and clarify the spatial boundaries within which the research will be set.

It can be argued that the Hebden Bridge district allows the researcher to explore issues emerging from the literature review. First, in line with the working definition of gentrification outlined in Chapter Two, the Hebden Bridge district has undergone dramatic and simultaneous social, cultural, economic and physical transformation since the late 1960's. Second, the processes of transformation were instigated by counter-cultural households in the late 1960s/early 1970s, searching for a rural location in which to undertake a "good-life" counter-cultural lifestyle. Hence, the third criterion for the selection; the Hebden Bridge district invokes significant socio-cultural meanings of rurality for the "readers" its landscape(s) (based on "first-hand" prior knowledge of the district). In addition, the landscape of particular parts of the Hebden Bridge district meets Beauregard's prerequisites for gentrification:

"These sites are often characterised by architecturally interesting housing or commercial and industrial structures with "potential": a unique spatial amenity such as access to a waterfront; a hilltop location or a spectacular view; substandard but structurally unsound buildings clustered relatively close together to allow for a contagion effect to occur and for gentrifiers to protect themselves ...good mass transportation links and local neighbourhood commercial base with an initial attraction to the early gentrifiers but also with the potential for transformation to the types of shops, restaurants and facilities more compatible with the reproductive decisions and consumption activities of the gentry" (Beauregard, 1986 p.53).

It is important to stress that the presence of these qualities does not necessarily result in gentrification. For instance, similar locational attributes characterise other parts of the Upper-Mid Calder Valley, such as Todmorden and Sowerby Bridge, yet these places remain ungentrified. A key question which the research must therefore explain is; why has the Hebden Bridge district been gentrified whereas other places in the Calder Valley have remained in relative states of decline? To address this issue, it will be necessary to consider *both* the material and abstract qualities of the Hebden Bridge district in comparison with other places in the Calder Valley. For this purpose, it is proposed that the atypical nature of the Hebden Bridge district, in the context of the Calder Valley, is a culmination of abstract representations (i.e. the positive meanings of the Hebden Bridge district), as well as its physical attributes. The research must identify the socio-cultural representations of the Hebden Bridge district and establish the links between the material and the abstract. As Cox and Mair (1989, p.122) assert the "locality can no longer be viewed as the realm of the concrete."



### 3.4.1 The Hebden Bridge District in a Regional Context

This section will establish the spatial benchmark within which the case study is framed. It will be argued that to comprehend the specifics and complexities of the Hebden Bridge district, it is necessary to place it in a wider spatial context. The thesis will therefore adhere to Choko and Harris' view that:

“An unusual place attracts us. It piques our curiosity and prompts us to ask what factors helped to make it so different? In answering such a question, it is natural to concentrate on the place itself, to explore the peculiar influences that went into its making. But a purely local focus can never tell us all we need to know. "Unusual" implies a comparative frame of reference and pushes us to consider the particular place against a wider benchmark” (Choko and Harris, 1990 p.73).

Massey (1993 p.44) has also called for a non-parochial study of “place”, arguing that the links between place and the wider spatial context are “more than links, they are part of the constitution of place, part of what gives it its own character.” Indeed, Massey argues that place “cannot be understood by assuming that it is unique and eternal, and constructed only out of materials found in that place” (p.146). Hence, the Hebden Bridge district will be considered within a regional context, since it may be argued that “much of people's knowledge of the world, their common sense, their passions and their collective practices are anchored in th(e) regional setting” (Markusen, 1987 p.42). Following this line of thought, it can be argued that the region within which the Hebden Bridge district is located, is both the medium and end result of the production and reproduction of social relations in the Hebden Bridge district. The attachments of groups to particular regions helps to define their local context and vice versa (Murphy, 1991). The wider regional context within which the "place of research" is set must therefore be an integral part of that which is being studied.

This stance signifies a belief that distinct regional personalities exist (Unwin, 1992). The concept of region is defined here as the “spatial compartments of formal, functional or perceptual significance. It is an umbrella term that subsumes aspects of place and locale” (Murphy, 1991 p.22). This definition of region introduces Giddens concept of “locale”, which Hauer and Hoekveld define as:

“.. bounded spaces where lifeworlds and actions of individuals and groups interconnect in a historical and spatial context. They refer to spaces where actors meet, shape their biographies and give meaning to their actions, and where power structures manifest themselves” (Hauer and Hoekveld, 1993 p.15)

Appropriately, the thesis will not view the region as synonymous with place and/or locale. Rather it is appreciated that the region within which the Hebden Bridge district is located, comprises a number of different connected settings for social integration (Thrift, 1983). It follows that an acknowledgement of

intra-regional diversity is crucial. As Hauer and Hoekveld (1993) claim, regions not only differ among each other, but also within a diversity of sub-regions. Since the sub-regional settings are dynamic spatial expressions of social relations, there appears validity in adding the notion of regions as dynamic and socially distinct historical and geographical creations (Murphy, 1991).

The fundamental point to draw out of this dynamism is that regions are socially constructed and socially changeable (Urry 1986; Archer 1992). Hence, this thesis does not share the view that regions are unproblematic spatially fixed concepts (Murphy, 1991). On the contrary, regional constructions must be problematised and viewed as fluid entities which are in a state of constant reproduction and/or transformation (Pudup 1988; Thrift 1994). As Paasi (1986 p.116) states; “the region is a kind of entity which geographers have to discover or produce as a result of the research process”

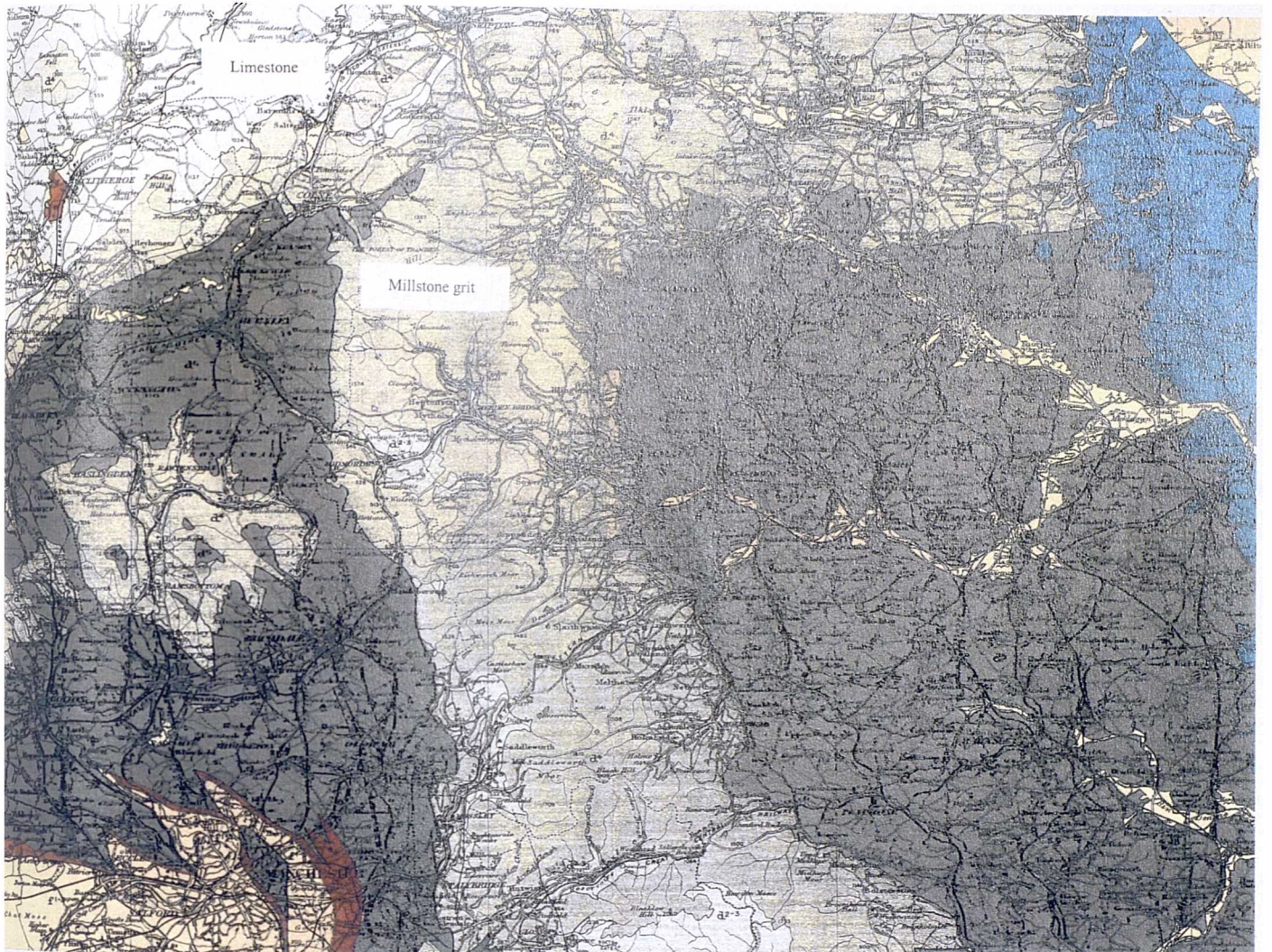
To conclude, the region within which the Hebden Bridge district is set will not be viewed *asa priori* spatial category. Rather the research will address how the region is constituted as social unit, how the region is interpreted by the individuals of the Hebden Bridge district and why understandings of the region have changed over time and space . Since regional formation is both the medium and end result of the social interaction, it will be necessary to consider ideological, experiential and power relations. With these demands in mind, the following section will now address what constitutes the “South Pennines” region and how one defines the region within which the Hebden Bridge district is set.

### **3.5 Setting Hebden Bridge Within The Region**

The calls of Choko and Harris (1990) and Massey (1993), to “place the place” within the wider context are easily attained from an inspection of the present landscape of the Hebden Bridge district. Upon arrival, all entry points into the Hebden Bridge district visually informs visitors: “You Are Now Entering Hebden Bridge: The *Pennine* Centre”.

It may be argued that the road sign is incorrect to claim that Hebden Bridge is the centre of the Pennine region. The Pennines are a diverse mountain chain when considered in terms of their natural geology and topography, as well as the human landscape (Gaunt, 1975). More appropriately, the road sign should read “You Are Now Entering Hebden Bridge: The *South Pennine* Centre”. The South Pennine region is distinct from other Pennine regions primarily in the composition of its physical landscape. Indeed, Porter (1993) claims that the South Pennine landscape is the most distinctive in Britain. Figure 3.1 shows that the character of the landscape stems from the anticlinal ridge of millstone grit, which gives rise to sharp regional boundaries with a minimum of transition.

Figure 3.1 - Geology of the Pennines



The millstone grit material is clearly visible in both the natural environment and in many of the human artefacts within the landscape of the region (Raistrick,1970). As Warner (1984) points out, with an element of environmental determinism:

“The South Pennines main claim to cohesion and its main difference from its regal sisters to the north and south, lies under the surface, in the composition of the rock itself. It is here that the true shape of the region was generated, and here that the apparently wayward forces of history were in fact dictated and channelled. It is as though the rock itself carried a genetic code which shaped the landscape, determined the vegetation and established the character of the people who lived on it and the uses to which they put the land” (Warner, 1984 p.5).

As with most generalisations, there are a number of anomalies within the assumption of a homogeneous South Pennine region. There are major divergences between the human landscape of the South Pennine region. In particular, the millstone grit areas to the west of the South Pennine region (Forest of Bowland and Forest of Pendle) differ historically in their social and economic development when compared with other parts of the South Pennine region. Both the Forest of Bowland and Forest of Pendle areas never experienced the rapid industrialisation associated with factory system of textile production and hence, there are no similar relict industrial and residential artefacts within the landscape. As Porter documents, these areas:

“.. lay away from the main routes joining major towns. Consequently they were avoided by the builders of turnpikes, canals and railways, and despite the existence of many suitable water-mill sites, new textile masters preferred to develop the industry in districts where the domestic trade had been more deeply entrenched” (Porter, 1993 p.50).

Accordingly, in the context of this thesis the Forest of Bowland and Forest of Pendle areas are omitted from the South Pennine region. Likewise, it is proposed that the millstone grit areas to the north of the South Pennine region, alongside the Yorkshire Dales, are also omitted for the same reasons.

It can also be seen in Figure 3.1, that to the north and south of the millstone grit, the Pennine mountain chain is distinguished by limestone. The two blocks of limestone which couch the millstone grit have both been designated national parks; the Yorkshire Dales to the north and the Peak District to the south. Each have their own strong regional identity and official spatial parameters. The boundary between the Yorkshire Dales and sections of the millstone grit is physically separated by the “Aire Gap”. There is less clear physical demarcation to the South, between the limestone and millstone grit.

Regional distinctions are clearly visible in the landscape where the lighter coloured limestone replaces the darker coloured millstone grit. This visual impact is also replicated in the material artefacts of the

landscape. The millstone grit of the South Pennines provides a good source of building material, which can be easily cut by stone-masons and used for all parts of dwellings. The outcome is smooth and well finished external facades of dwellings. In contrast, the limestone material to the north and south of the millstone grit is a less easily cut. Consequently, the dwellings of the Yorkshire Dales and the Peak District have a more rugged appearance and are integrated with sandstone.

At the western and eastern edges of the South Pennine region, it can be seen in Figure 3.1 that the millstone grit becomes buried below coal measures. As the narrow steep valleys of the South Pennines widen into deeper valleys, the small mill towns and villages are replaced by dense urban conurbations. To the west in the Lancastrian lowlands, Manchester, Rochdale, Oldham, Bolton, Blackburn and Burnley dominate the landscape. To the east on the Pennine foothill fringes Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, Wakefield and Sheffield dominate.

Having established the boundaries of the "South Pennine" region, it is appropriate to note sub-regional differences. It can be argued that the South Pennines can be split into four sub-regional areas; Worth Valley (Bronte Country), Calder Valley, Colne Valley and Holme Valley (Last of the Summer Wine Country). Each sub-regional construction has a distinct identity and evokes specific socio-cultural meanings (which are constantly reproduced/reinforced by the media). Significantly, across all the landscapes of the sub-regional constructs there is stamped a regional theme of diversity. This diversity is superbly documented by Brooke, in a somewhat promotional representation of the South Pennines:

“It is an area of dramatic views, from the wild, wide, open moorland plateau to the deeply incised river valleys; roaring and tumbling streams and sheltered woodland glades; hillside hamlets amidst their webs of drystone walls contrasting with tight valley towns clustered round sturdy Pennine mills and proud non-conformist chapels” (Brooke, 1987 p.iii).

The differentiation within the landscape(s) highlights the differing social and economic elements of bygone eras. In order to appreciate why different landscapes have evolved it is important to present a general economic and social chronology of the region. This chronology can be split into three "overlapping" phases. Firstly, a pre-industrial phase (domestic system of textile production) associated with the “wild, wide, open moorland plateau” and the “hillside hamlets amidst their webs of drystone walls”. Secondly, a pre-industrial revolution (water powered quasi factory system of textile production) associated with “roaring and tumbling streams and sheltered woodland glades”. Finally, an industrial phase (steam powered factory system of textile production) associated with “tight valley towns clustered round sturdy Pennine mills”. At specific locales within the region, these relict landscapes merge. This is not surprising since many of the initial water powered mills located in the region were converted or

adapted to steam powered mills.

The following section turns to consider the production of diversity within the Calder Valley landscape. A sub-regional focus is essential, since the Hebden Bridge district *both* constitutes and is constituted by the sub-regional (the Calder Valley) and regional (the South Pennines) layers within which it is wrapped. The discussion will include an over-simplification of a more complex geography of textile production in the Calder Valley (see Gregory, 1982 for greater detail).

### 3.5.1 The Moor Tops and Edges

The initial in-migration into the Calder Valley region occurred in the sixteenth century. Prior to this period, the landowners (the Manor of Wakefield/Honour of Pontefract) of the Calder Valley had discouraged settlement to maintain the Erringdene and Sowerby hunting grounds of deer and boar (Gee, 1991). Seeking new sources of revenue these constraints were relaxed by the landowners and open land became available for in-migrants to rent.

The initial in-migrants were poor and established farms, concentrating on small-scale corn production and the rearing of sheep on the remote moor tops. Since farmhouses were scattered, corn mills were dispersed close to streams, to serve small groups of farmers (Porter, 1993). Constrained by the cold wet Pennine winters and the low incomes of farming activities, the farmers sought activities which would supplement their incomes and which could be undertaken indoors. In response farmers turned to the spinning wheel and loom.

Gradually, during the sixteenth and seventeenth century the domestic manufacture of textiles grew among small farmers. The process represented a clear division of labour. Females would separate the woollen fibres (scribbling) by carding and slubbing, and then spin the wool into a yarn. In their spare time, away from farming activities, males would then weave the yarn into cloth. Farmhouses became half farm/half textile workshop.

As the domestic system of textile production gradually developed, "entrepreneurs" began to control the domestic system of production and a class of clothiers developed. Enterprising individuals increased cloth production by employing scribblers, spinners and weavers to undertake work elsewhere. These activities were carried out in rows of cottages which were exclusively built for weaving and spinning. Many of the rows had a continuous shared workshop on the top floor where spinning and weaving was undertaken. This "upper-floor" domestic textile production was also evident in 'folds', squares of

cottages with a continuous top floor workshop where scribbling, spinning and weaving would take place. The distinguishing feature of these cottages was the predominance of weaving windows to increase natural light. With the development of the congregation of the weavers and spinners cottages, hamlets and villages were established on moor edges close to hillside farms, where gently sloping land was formed by millstone grit ledges (e.g. Heptonstall).

The final stage of cloth production, fulling, would be undertaken in the nearby fulling mills. The fulling of woven cloth involved the pounding of soapy water to scour, clean and thicken the cloth. Hence, the fulling mills were built close to fast flowing streams where a small dam could impound water for the water-wheel (Raistrick, 1970). Generally, fulling mills were combined with corn milling.

However, with the advent of the importation of cotton in the eighteenth century, the domestic system of textile production became more complex. Product specialisation occurred and a geography of textile production resulted. It is impractical in the context of this section to provide a concise history of the geography of textile production; see Gregory (1982) for a fuller discussion.

### 3.5.2 The “Cloughs”

“Here, the opposing sides of the glen approaching each other, and becoming clothed with brushwood and stunted oaks, formed a wooded ravine; at the bottom of which ran a mill stream, in broken unquiet course, struggling with many stones, chafing against rugged banks, fretting with gnarled tree-roots, foaming, gurgling, battling as it went” (Charlotte Bronte (Shirley, ch.29), as quoted in Leeming, 1988).”

Between 1780-1825, the demand for new sources of power led to the development of small water-powered mills in the high tributary valleys, known locally as “cloughs”, close to fast flowing streams where sources of water were plentiful. It was in these locations that the fulling mills and corn mills had previously been established (Giles and Goodhall, 1992).

Initially, the small water powered mills specialised upon particular stages of the production of cloth. Areas of cotton production focused upon carding and scribbling, worsted areas upon spinning and woollen areas upon scribbling, carding and fulling (Jennings, 1992). The remaining parts of the process of textile production were undertaken outside the mill in the domestic sphere. In order to reduce movement of unfinished material, small stone cottages containing large numbers of mullion windows (for light) were built around the small water powered mills. Hamlets and villages therefore developed in the higher tributary valleys (e.g. at Colden Water), comprising rows of small stone cottages and small water powered mills. These settlements are still highly visible in many of the contemporary rural

landscapes of the Calder Valley.

As technological developments became more widespread and accepted, an integration of the stages of production occurred within the small mills. However, due to the fragile nature of woollen yarn, weaving remained a largely domestic practice in areas which specialised in woollen production. Whereas, in worsted and cotton areas of specialisation, all the practices of scribbling, spinning and weaving occurred within the small water-powered mills (Jennings, 1992).

### 3.5.3 The Valley Bottom

'The other day I passed up the hollow, which tradition says was once green and lane, and wild, and there I saw the manufacturer's dreams, embodied in substantial stone and bricks and ashes - the cinder-black highway.... there I saw a mighty mill, and a chimney, as ambitious as the tower of Babel' (Charlotte Bronte (Shirley, p.37), as quoted in Leeming, 1988)

With the advent of the steam engine, water was replaced as the source of power for machinery. Steam engines allowed a greater number of machines to be housed under a single roof. Since the introduction of coal, the energy to power the steam engines was expensive, the new larger mills were built in the more accessible valley bottoms. As a consequence of the rapid movement of both textile production and populations into the valley bottoms, many of the earlier moor edge and tributary valley settlements were abandoned, underwent little change and have retained their past appearances. Indeed, the village of Heptonstall (known locally as the "fossil on the hill") receives the following description in Nicholson and Morter's "Prospects of England":

"Heptonstall remains - in its physical structures - an almost untouched example of the seventeenth- and eighteenth -century South Pennine village it once was" (Nicholson and Morter, 1989 p.135).

The increased movement of raw materials, cloth products and building materials facilitated a transport revolution. Firstly, turnpike trusts were established to improve the valley bottom road networks. Canals followed (Rochdale Canal, 1804) and later the railways (Yorkshire and Lancashire, 1839). These transport innovations made other valley bottom locations more attractive for the deployment of large mills and perpetuated the rapid movement of population into the valley bottoms. Furthermore, the transport innovations allowed the cheap importation of corn for the expanding populations of the valley bottoms. Around 1840 local corn milling experienced a rapid decline and many farmers abandoned properties (Porter, 1993). It is because of the transition, from a domestic to a factory system of textile production, that a Pre-Victorian and Victorian Industrial landscape predominates. These types of



landscape comprise distinct types of residential property within contrasting surrounding environments.

The Pre-Victorian industrial landscape is characterised by scattered farmhouses on the moor tops and small isolated mill hamlets and villages on the moor edges and high tributary valleys. Both are set within a rural context of open fields and steep sided wooded valleys. They are joined by narrow lanes and old packhorse routes which the cloth makers used to transport their cloth to be fulled or sold to merchants at markets. Hence, these landscapes represent the hand weaving communities/part-time farmers of the domestic system of textile production and the water-powered mills.

The residential properties of these pre-industrial landscapes are quite distinct. A close interaction between the natural environment of the region and the local inhabitants is evident. Farmhouses, weavers cottages and the small water-powered mills reflect the bleak Pennine environment. Architecture is vernacular, closely influenced by the region's distinct material resources (millstone grit and stone roofing slates) and the social and economic needs of the inhabitants. Housing is the work of the individual farmer and weaver designed to cater for their own needs; further expressed in individual styles. The small mills also demonstrate vernacular building traditions and used local stone.

The Industrial Victorian landscape of the valley bottoms differs sharply from the Pre-Industrial Victorian landscape in terms of the residential property, mill architecture and the surrounding environment. In contrast to the small and isolated pre-Victorian Industrial landscapes, the Victorian Industrial landscape is composed of small mill towns in close proximity to each other along the valley bottoms. Likewise, there are sharp divergences between the house plan, appearance and architectural detail of the residential properties and mills of the two landscapes. Designed by architects employed by mill owners the industrial housing neglected the vernacular and individual attributes of the pre-Victorian dwellings (i.e. mullion windows were not incorporated). Uniformity replaced diversity and the close relationship between nature and individual was lost. Due to transport innovations the architects were not constrained in their usage of millstone grit material from local quarries. Different types of cheaper building material could easily be transported from external sources (e.g. roofing slates replaced stone slates) The manifestation of this change are rows of terraced back to back housing, with no through ventilation and initially with shared water closets (Porter, 1993).

In summary, this section has outlined the importance of differing stages of textile production upon the diverse Pennine landscape at a regional (i.e. the South Pennines) and sub-regional level (i.e. the Calder Valley). Chapters 5 and 6 will show that these links are central to an understanding of the diverse landscape of the Hebden Bridge district and the processes of greentrification.

### 3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has established a conceptual standpoint to study gentrification in a rural context. This thesis supports the view that rurality (and the rural) is a subjective socio-cultural construction which is specific to individuals and social groups. It has been shown that representations of rurality are often idyllic and based upon romanticisations of local, regional and national myths. Moreover, a link has been made between idyllic socio-cultural representations of rurality and their inscription within the production of “chocolate-box” rural landscapes. In line with the structurationist stance outlined in the previous chapter, the role played by institutional and consumer *agency* in the maintenance and reproduction of “chocolate box” imagery has been examined. Attention has been prescribed particularly to the role of members of the new middle class who have entered rural areas. It has been contended that some rural landscapes reflect the cultural and political practices of members of the new middle class who are motivated by a quest to naturalise their rural ideologies through the control and exploitation of local political institutions.

From this discussion parallels have been drawn with the processes of gentrification in the inner-city. It has been noted that literature documenting rural change (like literature documenting inner city change) frequently refers to the constitution of the new middle class territory. It has been shown that this stems from members of the new middle class gaining positions of dominance and expressing their power within the rural landscape (e.g. the rejection of low cost affordable housing). Ultimately, these practices exclude and displace relatively less affluent households who do not have the economic means to remain in the area. Based upon this process of rural change, the chapter therefore argues that many rural areas have undergone processes of gentrification, similar to changes experienced in some inner-city locations.

Finally, the chapter has presented the focus of enquiry for this thesis, the Hebden Bridge district, West Yorkshire. It has been proposed that the Hebden Bridge district fulfils the signifiers of gentrification encompassed within the amended version of Warde’s four-tier definition of gentrification. In addition, in conjunction with the notion of rural geographies outlined above, it has been revealed that the Hebden Bridge district includes a myriad of rural and semi-rural landscapes and locations. Hence, it is proposed that the Hebden Bridge district means different things to different people. More specifically, this diversity of meaning will be manifest in the differing socio-cultural representations of rurality which underpin the movement of relatively affluent households into the area. This speculation will be tackled in the following chapters which present the findings of the research. As a precursor, the following chapter will provide a discussion of the methods employed during specific stages of the research.

## *Chapter 4*

### *Methodology*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will provide a discussion of the methodological approach to this research. It will be shown that *both* qualitative and quantitative methods were adopted for the collection of different sources of data. Particular methods were selected on grounds of applicability to the research question being addressed at a particular phase of the research.

The structure of this chapter is based upon the research timetable. This was established at the beginning of the research process and subsequently modified, to co-ordinate and manage the collection of different types of data at distinct phases of the research process. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into two general sections. The first section will discuss the qualitative component of the research. This was highly exploratory and used as a means of investigation to gather rich data from the local population and the local media about the processes of change in the Hebden Bridge district. Central to this collection of qualitative data was a need to consider the role of *both* local institutional and household agency and relate this to the wider regional and national structural conditions (Sarre et al, 1989). The second section will document the quantitative component, undertaken to assess the empirical validity of conceptual inferences drawn from the qualitative methods and provide a synthesis of the conceptual strands. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were necessary to achieve the overall aim of the thesis, to provide an integrated theoretical account of the transformation of the Hebden Bridge district based upon the reciprocal inter-relationships between structure and agency.

Throughout the research process the qualitative and quantitative methods were integrated for “theoretical triangulation” exercises. This involved a cross-checking of the validity of inferences drawn from one data source against another data source (Denzin, 1983). Importantly, theoretical triangulation did not dismiss any contradictions that existed between data sources, as Eyles and Smith (1988) argue any differences may be just as illuminating as similarities.

#### **4.1 Qualitative Research**

Given that I was entering a relatively unknown research setting, it was essential to familiarise myself with the Hebden Bridge district and its population. This involved grasping a knowledge of the socio-cultural and economic make-up of the Hebden Bridge district, both past and present, and identifying the

key events and agents in the processes of change. In order to achieve these aims, it was essential to gather interpretations from the local media and the local population; highlighting their experiences, feelings, attitudes and the meanings which they ascribed to the socio-cultural, physical and economic transformations of the Hebden Bridge district since the 1960s. Qualitative methods were the most appropriate means to collect this “rich” data.

One particular merit of the qualitative research was that it provided a medium to investigate why and how the local media and/or the local population ascribed different meanings to and provided different interpretations of change in the Hebden Bridge district. This was important given the research was “doubly hermeneutic” (Giddens, 1984), it involved my interpretation of the local media’s and local population’s interpretation of change. To transcend any bias, all interpretations were contextualised by considering the socio-cultural values and beliefs and the vested interests of the researched (and researcher). As Benner (1987) comments, it is necessary to consider the effects of context, since individuals constitute and are constituted by context. This point was especially relevant when considering how local institutional and household agency had been constrained and/or enabled by local contingent factors and regional and national structural conditions. For instance, a key theme running throughout the thesis will show how local commercial agency was influenced by the guidelines of local, regional and national government.

To gather qualitative data from both the local media and the local population and provide a contextual foundation for later stages of the research, primary and secondary sources of qualitative data were collected using three techniques; newspaper content analysis, overt participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The following sections will justify the adoption of these techniques.

#### **4.1.1 Newspaper Content Analysis**

In order to gain an insight into the specifics of the local context, one of the first data collection tasks involved a thorough content analysis of the local newspaper, the Hebden Bridge Times. The parochial focus of the Hebden Bridge Times enabled me to achieve four key aims of the research. First, it enabled me to document chronologically the processes of change evident in the Hebden Bridge district since the 1960s. Second, it provided an opportunity to assess the geography of change within the Hebden Bridge district, highlighting the spatial and temporal inter-relationships between the social, cultural, economic and physical transformations of the district. Third, it provided a medium to identify and evaluate the importance of key actors and/or institutions who had instigated and encouraged the processes of change.

Finally, it offered the potential to explore the role played by the local media in transforming the imagery of the Hebden Bridge district. This final aim was important given that the media can be highly influential in shaping the attitudes, ideas, feelings and meanings which local people ascribe to the local context (Burgess, 1990). Indeed, Chapter 5 reveals that the local media were crucial in shifting local feelings from disillusionment to an optimism about the future of Hebden Bridge in the mid 1970s.

Each weekly edition of the Hebden Bridge Times between 1966 and 1997 was laboriously examined (it is not indexed) on a microfilm reader in Hebden Bridge and/or Halifax Central public library. The starting point of 1966 was chosen to coincide with the year when the social and economic decline of the Calder Valley was officially documented by the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council.

Unfortunately, no microfilm records of the Hebden Bridge Times were available for the periods 1976-78 and 1980-81. To fill this time gap the Halifax Evening Courier was examined for articles which related to the Hebden Bridge district. As this newspaper covered the whole of the Calderdale region, discovering articles which related to the Hebden Bridge district was time-consuming. To overcome this problem, selective editions were targeted based on the dates of important events that were identified through other data sources. For example, editions were sought in June 1978, to gauge the reaction of actors in the Hebden Bridge district to the West Yorkshire County Structure Plan (1978).

### **4.1.2 Participant Observation**

In order to acquire a deeper understanding and sense of the Hebden Bridge district, as well as consolidating the knowledge obtained from the newspaper content analysis, contact was sought with the research population. As an entry point into the research setting an initial period of participant observation was undertaken between November 1994-March 1995. This involved attending the presentations, meetings and informal meeting spaces (i.e. the local pub) of a very active and well publicised local voluntary institution, namely the Hebden Bridge Local History Group. To gain access to the meetings, the Chairperson was contacted and informed that the thesis was concerned with documenting the history of the Hebden Bridge district.

The Chairperson introduced me to other Local History Group members, thus easing me into the research setting. Since the aim of involvement was to “see the processes of change through the eyes of the researched”, I displayed minimal knowledge of the history of the Hebden Bridge district and listened to conversations. To maintain a peripheral role within the setting, information collected from the

newspaper content analysis was never disseminated to the members. Presenting myself as an unknowledgeable outsider, interested in the history of the Hebden Bridge district, appeared to reduce the suspicions of the Local History Group members and helped foster trust and rapport. As my presence within the research setting became increasingly taken-for-granted, members willingly told me their views of how and why the Hebden Bridge district had changed. This enabled an identification of the attitudes, feelings and meanings which elderly residents gave to the process of change in the Hebden Bridge district and emphasised the significance of local knowledge. However, when the data were analysed it was clear that the members had presented themselves and the Hebden Bridge district in the most favourable light (Brink, 1991). They had clearly provided romanticised accounts of the past, for example, one paradoxical description of Hebden Bridge stated that it was “a black evil satanic mill town full of happy people”.

As Local History Group members frequently described events of past change, the problems of recall had to be recognised (Lee, 1992). Brown (1983) terms this process where the past is recalled in the differing context of the present, as the “retrospective past”. Where interviewees described more recent events which have the same vantage point in time-space, this is termed the “introspective past”. A further issue which had to be taken into consideration was that introspective and retrospective pasts are shaped by the need for acceptability in the present time-space context (Heritage, 1983). This was an important consideration particularly when discrepancies relating to past change in the Hebden Bridge district were evident.

In order to remain unobtrusive and minimise distortion no notes or tape recordings were taken in the presence of members. It was important in the data collection process, not to impose conditions upon the members which might have a “reactive effect” (Deatrick and Faux, 1991). Inevitably, this presented problems of recall and was detrimental to the quality of the data that was gathered from participant observation. Nevertheless, since these data were largely used for exploratory purposes, this was not regarded as highly problematic.

Importantly, participation in the Hebden Bridge Local History Group provided an introduction to the research setting and revealed the influential actors in the re-making of the Hebden Bridge district. It provided a sample of the types of individuals who controlled voluntary local institutions (reaffirmed by later stages of the research) and the relationship between different sections of the research population. Moreover, a base had been established which offered the potential to recruit willing interviewees.

### 4.1.3 The Semi-Structured Interviews

The next stage of the research process sought to validate and investigate further the spatial and socio-cultural specifics of the Hebden Bridge district and its population, identified from the newspaper content analysis and participant observation. In order to fulfil this aim, semi-structured interviews were conducted between January 1995 to June 1996. The focus of the semi-structured interviews were organised into three stages; elderly long term residents, consumers of the greentrified landscape and producers of the greentrified landscape.

Semi-structured interviewing techniques were adopted to enable all interviewees' scope to raise issues and themes that they deemed important, whilst at the same time, maintaining control of the direction of the interviews. The interviews were broadly structured in terms of a pre-defined schedule of topics, which sought information and opinions on the processes of change.

Given that knowledge of the Hebden Bridge district and its population was still highly suppositional at this stage of the research, no absolute number of interviews could be pre-defined. Hence, a snowball sampling technique was adopted within an open and flexible framework. One particular benefit of adopting a snowball sampling technique was that levels of trust and rapport were enhanced as interviewees introduced the researcher and the researched to the next respondent, prior to the interview. In some instances, however, snowball sampling did lead to an ineffective use of time and resources. Interviewees could not be "purposefully sampled" and "theoretical saturation" did occur, with some accounts often limited to a reiteration of earlier concepts, especially the latter interviews. This was valuable, however, in that it validated the findings of the earlier interviewees.

The first stage of the semi-structured interviews was largely exploratory and was used to validate inferences drawn from the newspaper content analysis and reveal differing interpretations of past key events and agents, in the processes of change in the Hebden Bridge district. For this purpose, elderly indigenous residents were required who had lived in Hebden Bridge since the 1950s were targeted. This was not difficult given the substantial elderly membership of the Hebden Bridge Local History Group (as identified during participant observation). The Chairperson of the Hebden Bridge Local History Group was contacted as a way of gaining access to potential interviewees, although interviews with elderly residents did not snowball directly from the Chairperson of the Hebden Bridge Local History Group. The opportunity arose to arrange a substantial number of interviews with elderly residents during participant observation. After one presentation of the Hebden Bridge Local History Group, the Chairperson called for elderly volunteers who were willing to be interviewed for the thesis. I was invited to take the stage and explain the aims of the thesis to an audience of approximately 150 people.

Fifteen elderly residents (approximately 10%) came forward and all were happy to provide personalised accounts of how the Hebden Bridge district had changed since the mid 1960s. Perhaps the willingness of the elderly respondents to participate in the research was a result of the support of the Hebden Bridge Local History Group Chairperson, who had legitimised the value of the research to the members beforehand. In addition, by this stage of the research my presence within the research setting had increasingly become taken-for-granted.

The schedule of topics covered with elderly interviewees emanated from the literature review, newspaper content analysis and participant observation. Topics included descriptions of the Hebden Bridge district before the 1960s, explanations for the textile decline, accounts of change and the reasons for in-migration to the Hebden Bridge district. The elderly residents were given considerable latitude to “ramble”. The content of many of these early interviews initially appeared irrelevant, but became apparent at later stages of the research process. Indeed, the findings of the early interviews provided the basis for the schedule of topics for later interviews.

For the final two stages of the semi-structured interviews it was necessary to split the focus into the “producers” and the “consumers” of the greentrified landscape of the Hebden Bridge district. This enabled an identification of the role of *both* institutional and household agency and provided an opportunity to investigate the inter-relationships between institutional supply and household consumption. Moreover, it offered the potential to evaluate the impacts of *both* institutional and household agency in reproducing and/or transforming necessary and contingent structural conditions.

In this context, producers were defined as individuals and/or institutions who had repackaged or reproduced the greentrified landscape(s) of the Hebden Bridge district via their institutional agency. Consumers, as the term implies, were defined as the greentrifier households who had in-migrated, since the early 1970s, into the Hebden Bridge district in order to consume the greentrified landscape(s) and location(s), exercising their household agency. Inevitably, there was some overlap between the two groups. For example, Chapter 9 will reveal that local action groups are highly influential in protecting the rural aspects of Hebden Bridge.

For the practical purpose of managing the research and given that the interviews with greentrifiers had snowballed from the elderly residents, attention was primarily focused upon the greentrifier households. The identification of the greentrifier households was thus initially based on the awareness of the elderly indigenous residents (i.e. when the households had entered Hebden Bridge). Usually this involved asking the elderly indigenous residents if they knew of any “off-cumdens” (a label adopted by the



indigenous population to denote an “outsider”) living on their street, who they thought would help in the research.

The underlying aim of this phase of the research process was to ascertain the socio-cultural and economic motives of household agency during the residential decision making process. For this reason, the schedule of topics constructed for interviews with the greentriifier households included; ‘When did you enter the Hebden Bridge district? Why did you enter the Hebden Bridge district? Where did you come from? What were you searching for? How did you enter the Hebden Bridge district, in terms of finance and support? How did you find out about the property? This stage of research also sought to identify the role that the greentriifier households played in producing and reproducing the greentriified landscape(s), through their individual and collective agency.

Importantly, semi-structured interviews with the elderly local residents had earlier suggested that the greentriifiers were a diverse socio-cultural grouping, who had bought into different parts of the Hebden Bridge district at different times. Hence, the interviews also sought to illuminate the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the greentriifiers and reveal links between greentriifier type and the time-spaces of the Hebden Bridge district. It was essential to identify if different stages of the process of change were synonymous with specific types of greentriifier. In hindsight, the spatial and temporal distinctions between greentriifier types should have been incorporated into the process of selecting greentriifiers to interview, instead of selecting them along the lines of a snowballing technique. For instance, greentriifiers could have been selected according to the year of their in-migration or the part of the Hebden Bridge district which they had entered. However, variation amongst the greentriifiers at this stage of the research was still highly speculative and very sketchy.

The final phase of the semi-structured interviews focused upon the producers of the greentriified landscape. The aim of this stage of the research was to ascertain the extent to which institutional agency had produced, mediated and reproduced the “structures of revitalisation”, which had abetted the processes of change. For this purpose, it was necessary to evaluate how the local agency of producers had been enabled and/or constrained by the national and regional structural frameworks and local contingent conditions, within which they operated. In particular, the “producers” were asked to explain their role and the motives which had encouraged their participation in the re-making, re-packaging and/or promotion of distinct parts of the Hebden Bridge district. Interviews played an essential role in identifying the cultural values and beliefs which underpinned their engagement in the production, reproduction and selling of the landscape(s) and locations(s) of the Hebden Bridge district. In addition, interviews with producers provided a medium to cross-check against the accounts of the elderly locals

and greentrifiers and vice versa. Indeed, follow-up interviews were undertaken with key agents of change, during the ultimate stages of research between June-July 1997, for data validation purposes, to clarify any discrepancies and to verify my own interpretation of the earlier interpretations of change in the Hebden Bridge district.

After undertaking the newspaper content analysis and conducting interviews with elderly residents and greentrifier households, my understanding of the research setting had been consolidated and conceptualisations were well advanced. Accordingly, care was taken not to become too assertive or put words in the mouths of the producers. In line with the aims of qualitative research, it was necessary to let all producers tell their own story in their own words. For this reason, it was important that the schedule of topics did not lead to structured interviews. Hence, highly focused questions were presented to the producers but scope was provided for them to digress. For instance, the schedule of topics included questions such as; What images of the Hebden Bridge district do you sell? Are you selling the rural and industrial past of the Hebden Bridge district? Are the “outsiders” attracted by the Pennine imagery? What are the “outsiders” searching for in terms of location and dwelling type?

It had been hoped that interviews with producers would have snowballed from the semi-structured interviews with the greentrifier households. Unfortunately, this did not occur and producers had to be contacted directly. Given that the key agents and/or institutions of change had been identified by the newspaper content analysis and that other “producers” (i.e. estate agents and architects) were highly recognisable within the research setting, identifying and making contact with producers was relatively straightforward. Producers were contacted at their place of work, in person wherever possible, in order to explain the aims of the research and clarify any sensitive themes which may have appeared threatening (e.g. displacement of local indigenous population). An introductory letter requesting an interview was therefore not sent out. This would have provided less scope to reassure the producers and also given the producers an opportunity to decline the request for interview. In most instances, when producers were contacted in person they appeared sceptical of the research and were initially reluctant to be interviewed. Perhaps they felt that the interviews would be detrimental to their business practices if their accounts were published. However, all producers were eventually persuaded and agreed to an interview, once they were assured that they would be anonymously referenced in the thesis.

To provide an account of the wide range of institutional agency, the producers were categorised into two broad groups. The first group comprised estate agents and financial institutions, past and present, active in the promotion and selling of the Hebden Bridge district. The second group included individuals and/or institutions, particularly architects and developers, who had considerable interests in the

redevelopment and/or rehabilitation of the Hebden Bridge district.

Interviews were firstly conducted with two retired estate agents (still resident in the Hebden Bridge district). It had been made clear by the newspaper content analysis and semi-structured interviews with elderly residents, that these two estate agents had been crucial agents of change during the 1970s and 1980s. The interviews then targeted four estate agents, operating from offices within the Hebden Bridge district, who were active during the research period. Significantly, one practice was specific to the Hebden Bridge district (Ryburne & Co), another to the Calder Valley (Anthony Turner), another was advertised as the “North’s leading estate agents” (Reid-Rains) and another was a national concern (Halifax Property Services). Finally, an interview was conducted with the Ecological Building Society at Cross Hills, West Yorkshire. It had emerged from the semi-structured interviews with estate agents, that this institution had enabled and financed the renovation of derelict property in the 1980s. Moreover, an interview with the Ecological Building Society was particularly important given its background. It had been formed by a group of in-migrants, who could not secure finance from conventional building societies to self-renovate properties in the Hebden Bridge district in the 1970s.

The interviews then turned to individuals and/or institutions who had an interest in the development and/or rehabilitation of the Hebden Bridge district. The logical starting point was David Fletcher, the undoubted key agent of change in the Hebden Bridge district. Both the newspaper content analysis and semi-structured interviews had already uncovered the pivotal role played by David Fletcher, in his many positions of influence at a local voluntary, local government and commercial level, in the processes of change. Interviews were then conducted with four local architects/developers (residents of the Hebden Bridge district), which had been highlighted by David Fletcher. These interviews began to highlight the presence of institutional networks within the Hebden Bridge district. In addition, it emerged that although the networks of architects/developers were key sculptors of the landscape, the power to shape the form of the landscape lied with the Calderdale District Council.

To assess the impact of gentrifier households within this relation of power, interviews were conducted with two representatives of local action groups (Mayroyd Action Group and Steepfields Action Group), which had recently contested development proposals. These interviews identified that gentrifier households exerted well-organised and vocal pressures (an indication of their educational background and professional characteristics) upon the Calderdale District Council. Clearly, the collective agency of gentrifier households was important in understanding the actions of local architects/developers and the Calderdale District Council and the nature of local networks of producers, as will be revealed in Chapters 5 and 6.

In order to “make sense” of the quantities of “rich” qualitative data, the principles of “grounded theory” were followed (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). All interviews were tape-recorded (with the permission of the interviewee) and data were constantly reviewed (i.e. transcripts were produced and analysed before next interview) allowing emergent themes and issues to be developed at next interview. On average, the length of the interviews lasted between thirty minutes to one hour. Interview length was of particular importance when interviewing the producers. Producers consistently stipulated that they could only spare a short period of time (usually thirty minutes) for an interview, due to work commitments. However, once the interview was underway the producers usually became more flexible and the interview length exceeded the original arrangements (a feature of all the interviews).

A verbatim record of all data (“word for word”) was included in all the transcripts. The value of this did not become evident until the latter stages of the research process, as some data that appeared irrelevant at the beginning gained greater relevance towards the end. Likewise, each transcript was analysed on an equal par throughout research, although certain interviewees did appear more important at specific stages than others. For instance, the accounts of elderly residents for the decline of textile manufacturing in the Hebden Bridge district appeared at first glance to be reflective guesses. However, their interpretations were consistently validated by the producers; that economic disinvestment was part of an institutional strategy for a new commuter and tourist function for the Hebden Bridge district (see Chapter 5).

As areas of commonality were identified through a content analysis of the interview transcripts, data were structured and placed in categories by selecting themes which had been consistently raised by interviewees (Walker, 1985). From this it emerged that the process of change had involved distinct temporal stages that were linked to particular locations within the Hebden Bridge district. This enabled the construction of temporal and spatial conceptualisations, which were then pursued during the latter stages of the research. For example, semi-structured interviews with elderly residents observed that the greentriplier households were attracted to the urban areas of Hebden Bridge for its rural association. Later interviews with the greentriplier households and producers of the greentripled landscape then pursued such points, verifying or discarding the data themes.

## 4.2 Quantitative Research

The general aim of the quantitative component of the research was to address the empirical validity of the conceptual inferences that had been drawn from the qualitative research. This involved investigating further the role of household and institutional agency in the context of the social, cultural, economic and political forces which had influenced the spatial and temporal manifestations of the processes of change within the Hebden Bridge district.

For this purpose three sources of quantitative data were targeted. Firstly, secondary data were extracted from the Manchester Computer Centre for the 1981 and 1991 Census to provide a comprehensive account of the social change and the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population in the Hebden Bridge district. Secondly, to explore and verify the geographical differentiation drawn from the analysis of the 1981 and 1991 census data, residential profiles were extracted from the 1991 GB Profiling System. An in-depth discussion of the methods undertaken to extract the census data and the residential profiles will be provided in Chapter 7. Finally, during June and July 1996, primary data were collected using an household survey to reflect a cross-section of the population in the Hebden Bridge district. The following section will provide a discussion of the household survey.

### 4.2.1 The Household Survey

The household survey utilised a formal structured questionnaire (see Appendix 4.1) and was conducted using a stratified random sample of the Hebden Bridge district. This was undertaken to provide a cross-section of the population in the Hebden Bridge district and evaluate the empirical validity of the spatial and temporal conceptualisations of the processes of change, as identified by earlier research methods.

The first aim of the household survey was to explore the concept of a geography of gentrifier types within the Hebden Bridge district. For this purpose, data were gathered to ascertain the following characteristics of the sample; household structure, demographic characteristics, educational background and qualifications, social background, occupation, employment status and income levels. This data thus enabled a comparison of gentrifier profiles with the prototypical profiles of the inner-city gentrifier, discussed in Chapter 2.

As the questions about respondent and household characteristics required a “recognition” from the respondent, rather than a “recall”, they appropriately took the form of closed-ended questions (Bailey,

1986). Respondents found these relatively easy questions to answer and this helped establish a rapport and trust with the respondents; an essential prerequisite for the more sensitive and open-ended questions that followed.

The second aim of the household survey focused upon the household agency of the sample, with an examination of the socio-cultural and economic motives that had underpinned their residential search. Central to achieving this aim was the need to reveal the subjective dwelling and locational preferences which had guided the residential search. As a result, it was neither feasible nor desirable to construct pre-determined lists of answers and questions took the form of open-ended questions (Bailey, 1986). The open-ended questions provided an opportunity for the respondents to recall their own experiences in their own words, revealing three important components of the residential search. First, respondents were able to highlight any other locations that they considered during the residential search and why they had chosen the Hebden Bridge district. Second, respondents provided indications of their knowledgeability of the Hebden Bridge district. Third, it revealed their financial capability at the time of the residential search and any trade-offs which they had made.

In addition, a number of closed questions were included in the residential decision making process to identify the respondents "dis/satisfaction" with the Hebden Bridge district. The list of responses reflected the themes which had emerged from the semi-structured interviews conducted earlier. A five stage continuum was adopted to measure the levels of dis/satisfaction. In order to contextualise and not distort respondent feelings, respondents were also asked to list "other" themes which they felt were important.

The third aim sought to reveal the role that institutional agents, especially estate agents and financial institutions, had played in the residential search and any subsequent home improvements. This developed further the links that had been previously identified between household agency and institutional agency. Moreover, it helped to establish which commercial institutional actors had been dominant at particular stages of change.

In addition, it was considered important to use the questionnaire to explore ambiguous terms and concepts, for example, definitions of Hebden Bridge? Respondents were asked to elaborate and clarify terms at certain stages of the questionnaire, such as rural, semi-rural and urban descriptions of Hebden Bridge. These terms could have been pre-defined for the respondent to ensure that all questions consistently meant the same thing to all respondents. However, this would have been detrimental to the "interpretative" research aims, forcing my own subjective interpretation of these concepts upon the

interviewee. It was essential to uncover the respondents own representation of rurality, semi-rurality and the urban aspects of the Hebden Bridge district. Indeed, Chapters 8 and 9 will show the highly subjective multitude of representations of the rural and the urban in the Hebden Bridge district.

To measure the effectiveness of the interview schedule eight pilot questionnaires were undertaken. The pilot survey highlighted a number of weakness (mainly question ordering) of the schedule, which were accordingly rectified. Additionally, this increased my own competence in administering the questionnaire.

#### **4.2.2 The Sample**

As the Hebden Bridge district was not an official administrative spatial area, there was no pre-defined sampling frame available. Accordingly, the Calderdale Electoral Register (1991) was procured for the construction of a sampling frame for the household survey. The Electoral Register provided a list of household addresses arranged by the respective Wards of Calderdale for the 1991 Census. Since the Hebden Bridge district encompassed segments of the Calder Valley and Luddenden Wards, it was necessary to re-aggregate (using an OS map) the list of households for the construction of the sampling frame. This was achieved by placing households into the respective Enumeration District (ED) of the 1991 Census, for the survey area within the Hebden Bridge district. It was then possible to discard the households contained within EDs of the Calder Valley and Luddenden Wards that were located outside of the Hebden Bridge district.

Taking into account the size of the sampling frame (3000 households), the isolated nature of parts of the Hebden Bridge district (especially the scattered moor top dwellings) and the available time and resources, a 5% (150 households) sample was deemed the most manageable and achievable figure for the household survey. A stratified random sample was selected, whereby households were proportionately selected in accordance with the 5% sampling fraction for each ED. A list of the sample sizes for each ED is provided in Appendix 4.2.

The sample was then categorised into four locational types, using the socio-economic characteristics of the Hebden Bridge district through an analysis of the 1981 and 1991 Census data and confirmed by the 1991 GB Profiling System. The locational strata will be examined in greater depth in Chapters 7 and 8. It will be shown that this sampling procedure produced an important insight into a cross-section of areas within the Hebden Bridge district.

### 4.2.3 Sampling Administration

Since one particular aim of the household survey was to examine the residential decision making process of households, it was deemed essential to obtain the subjective interpretation of the best informed actor (as defined by the household) in the residential decision making process within the household. Targeting the head of the household as the point of contact would have therefore been inappropriate, since this may have not been the most informed member of the household.

The need to obtain information from a specific household member, in part, determined the method of data collection. Both telephone and mail survey methods were rejected, since these would not guarantee that the household survey would be completed by the relevant respondent. Only personal interviewing would ensure that the best informed actor in the household completed the survey (this is assuming that the household correctly identify the best informed actor). Additionally, the subjective nature of the residential decision making process required me to probe respondents' views. In addition, personal interviewing allowed me to follow up incomplete answers and provide greater clarity, particularly in relation to the open-ended questions.

In order to identify and interview the best informed key actor, it was deemed necessary to send an informative letter in advance. The letter also performed a number of other functions. Firstly, it provided a means of gaining access to respondents and then improving the chances of enlisting their co-operation. It helped to overcome problems of respondent availability by informing the respondents of a flexible schedule. Respondents were able to verify convenient times and/or places for appointments (some sent postcards), rather than turning up on their door-step when it was inconvenient. Respondents were encouraged to participate by being informed that their help was important and useful. It reduced the level of threat of the survey by expressing a written promise of anonymity and confidentiality.

Finally, the letter also helped to reassure respondents by outlining the purposes of the household survey. This was essential in the Hebden Bridge district due to a climate of fear brought about by three recent murders in the Calder Valley. A letter was also sent to the Hebden Bridge Police, informing them of when the survey would be undertaken.

The response rate of the household survey was exceptionally high (98%). This was a product of investing a great amount of time and effort for making recall visits to households. At the same time, the high response rate was linked to individuals being willing to recount their movement into the Hebden



Bridge district, viewed by many as a fulfilling experience.

Levels of response were also increased by implementing an element of flexibility. In some instances, the best informed actor were unavailable and other household members agreed to be interviewed on their behalf. Although this provided proxy information it did provide information of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Proxy reporting may not have been as effective as self-reporting but it was better than no reporting at all. Where proxy reporting was obtained problems of subjective interpretation was taken into account, especially with regards the residential search and the residential decision making process.

Once the household survey had been completed, all responses were coded and a coding schedule was constructed. These coded data were then entered into the SPSS 3.1 package and descriptive statistics were produced. The analysis which forms of the basis of Chapter 8 was undertaken for the individual EDs and the locational strata. This enabled analysis at discrete and cross-sectional levels to ascertain any internal differentiation within the locational strata.

## *Chapter 5*

### *The Beginnings of Greentrification*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will establish a chronological portrait of the Hebden Bridge district from the early-1960s to the mid-1970s. The Chapter is organised into six sections. The first section will provide a regional perspective of the social, economic and physical decline of the Calder Valley, contextualising the Hebden Bridge district and uncovering geographic differentiation within the Calder Valley. The second section will examine the response of local and regional government institutions in the Hebden Bridge district to the social and economic decline. It will be shown that in the early to mid 1960s, the practices of local and regional government institutions mirrored the national ideology to “replace the past with the new”. The inadequacies of this solution in the context of the Hebden Bridge district will be highlighted. From this, the section will introduce the origins of an alternative manifesto which sought to save and rehabilitate the past. It will be stressed that this movement grew from the local agency of the Calder Civic Trust (CCT). In particular, the discussion will focus upon the pivotal agent of change, David Fletcher, who eventually penetrated the Hebden Royd Urban Council to institutionalise the values and beliefs of the CCT movement.

The third section will describe a parallel process of change which was underway in the rural areas of the Hebden Bridge district. This process of change will be termed DIY rural greentrification. Evidence will be presented to illustrate that significant waves of households (labelled DIY rural greentrifiers) entered the rural areas from the late 1960s, in search of a “green” location and the opportunity to undertake a “good-life” counter-cultural lifestyle. Moreover, the section will document that these DIY rural greentrifiers, through their self-renovation activities, gradually revitalised the rural parts of the Hebden Bridge district.

The fourth section will describe how the CCT and DIY rural greentrifiers joined forces to remake and redefine the urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district. Through the process of “washing, burning and greening” the urban landscape; it will be shown that a “*rurban*” package was manufactured, fusing together the sanitised urban artefacts and instilling the revitalised rural surroundings. From this it will be highlighted that Hebden Bridge was then marketed and sold as the “Pennine Centre” to commuters and tourists.

The fifth section will examine the impact of local government reorganisation in the mid 1970s, stressing that the relocation of power from the Hebden Bridge district to Halifax (Calderdale District Council), initially threatened the maintenance and reproduction of the “Pennine Centre”. It will be shown, however, that changing national priorities (caused by economic recession) actually aided the rehabilitation of the urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district from the mid 1970s. The sixth section will introduce another crucial process of change in the urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district. This process will be termed DIY *rurban* greentrification. It will be shown that the in-migration of households into Hebden Bridge from the mid-1970s aided the remaking of the urban landscape, through their self-renovation activities. Like the earlier influx into the rural parts by the DIY *rural* greentrifiers, it will be argued that the DIY *rurban* greentrifiers were also searching for the potential to undertake a counter-cultural lifestyle.

Throughout the chapter emphasis will be attached to the role of agency at individual, household and institutional levels. This will enable the origins and relationships between the consumers and producers of the “new” Hebden Bridge commodities to be ascertained. In particular, attention will be focused upon those actors who stimulated and nurtured the necessary and contingent pre-conditions of the early stages of the process of greentrification.

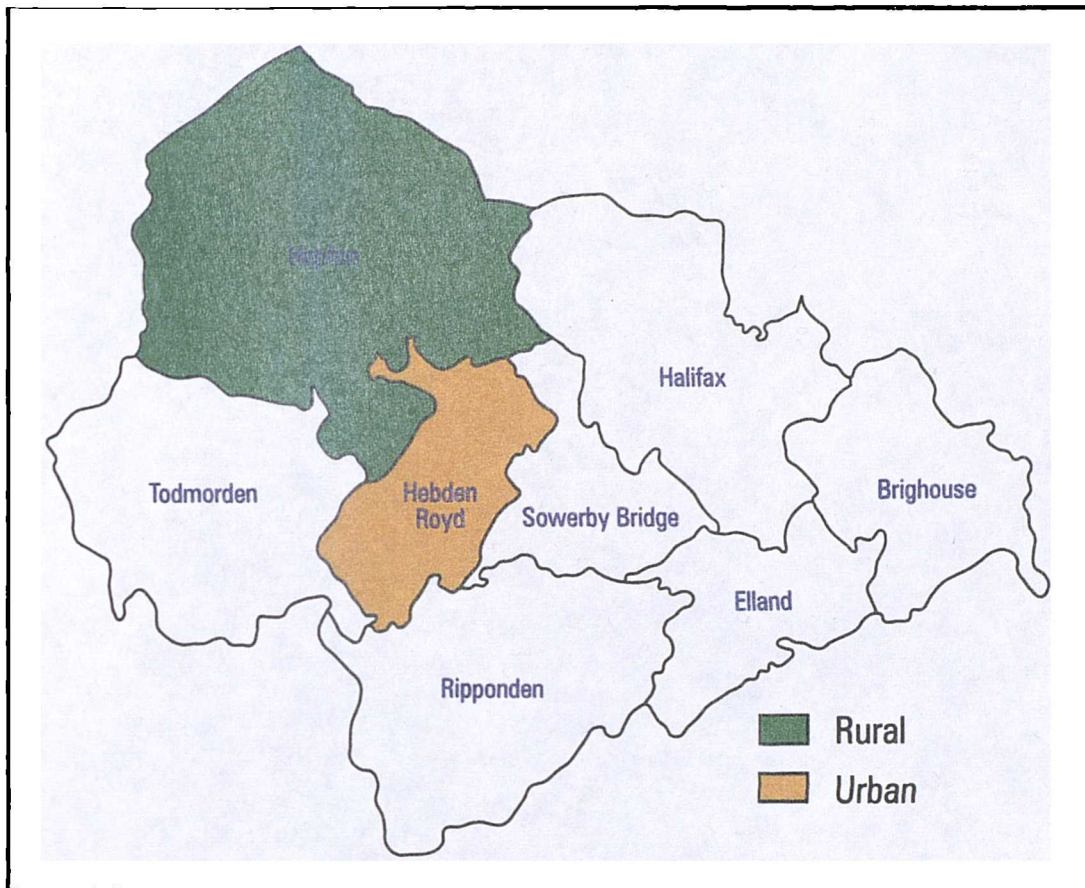
As a preliminary to the discussion, it is vital to clarify the concept of the Hebden Bridge district. This was derived from representations provided by *both* the producers and consumers of greentrification, who consistently stressed that Hebden Bridge was more than just a place. Rather, Hebden Bridge was used as a label to denote a wider spatial area, encompassing urban Hebden Bridge at its core and surrounded by rural villages and remote moor tops. Significantly, this spatial construction is not contemporary in origin and was clearly apparent in 1968, when Councillor Marshall (of Hepton Rural Council) put the question:

“Is the time not ripe for the Hebden Rural Council and Hebden Royd Urban Council to *re-open* discussion on the advisability of the two authorities meeting to form one *District Council*?” (HBT, 26 3/68 emphases added).

Figure 5.1 distinguishes between the rural and urban environs of the Hebden Bridge district. It can be seen that the rural (Hepton) and urban (Hebden Bridge) facets are defined by the administrative areas of the Hepton Rural Council and Hebden Royd Urban Council (abolished in 1974). Where reference is made in the chapter to Hebden Royd, particularly in relation to institutional agency, it must be noted that this subsumes Mytholmroyd.

Furthermore, it must be stressed that the rural-urban distinction between Hepton and Hebden Royd is a generalisation. It would be a weakness to presuppose that Hepton was “rural” and Hebden Royd was “urban” in totality. The rural-urban distinction is therefore adopted in the thesis with geographic diversity in mind.

**Figure 5.1** - The Calder Valley region

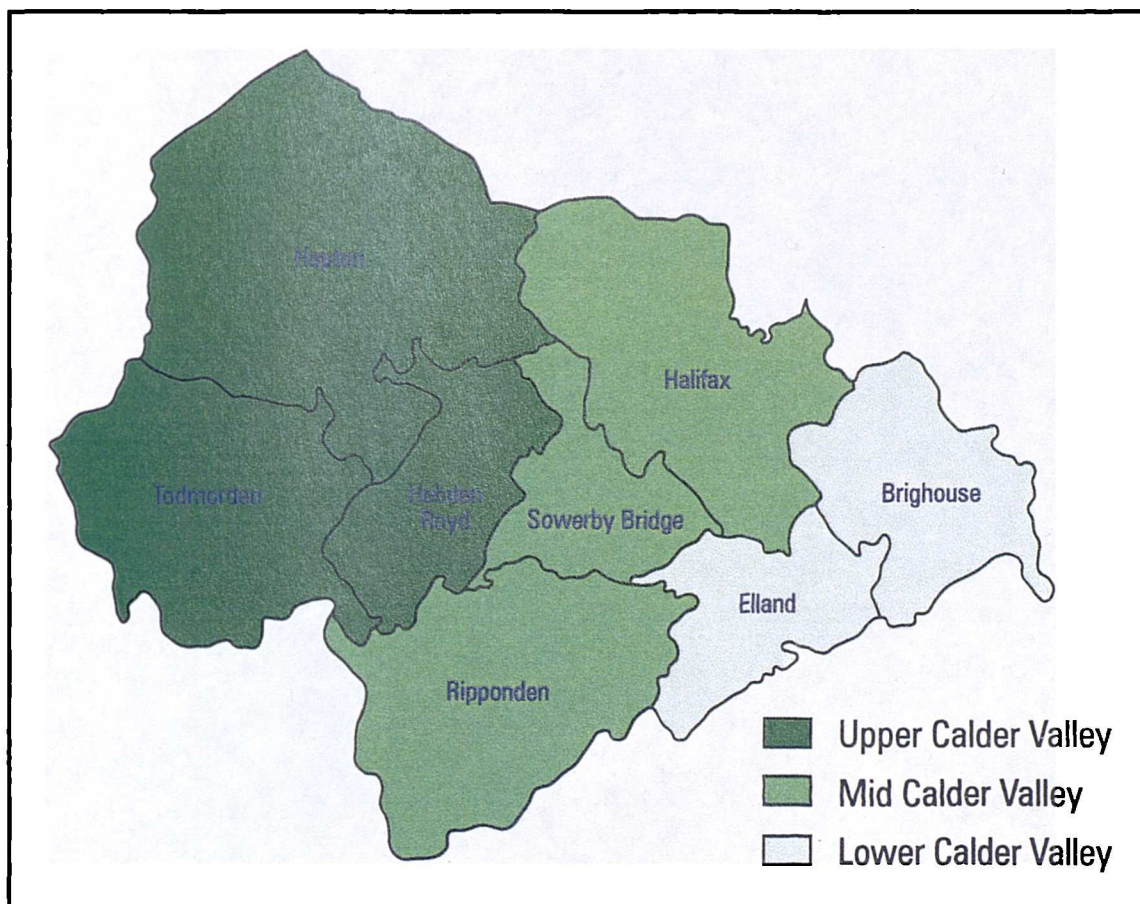


The following section will provide a regional overview of the Calder Valley. This regional focus is essential given that the “structures of decline”, evident from the late 1950’s, had afflicted the whole of the Calder Valley and not just the Hebden Bridge district. Moreover, this regional backdrop will contextualise the crucial role played by local agency in transforming the “structures of decline” into “structures of revitalisation” within the Hebden Bridge district.

## 5.1 The Calder Valley: A Region in Decline

From the early 1950s, severe economic, social and physical decline prevailed in the Calder Valley (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council, 1966). In response to increasing levels of dismay, the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Board were instructed (by the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council) to examine the problems of the Calder Valley and assess its potential for future regeneration. Subsequently, proposals were presented in a document titled “Halifax and Calder Valley - An Area Study” (1968). Significantly, as Figure 5.2 shows, the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Board study divided the Calder Valley into three general sectors; the Upper, Mid and Lower Calder Valley. The implications of recommending particular proposals for specific parts of the Calder Valley will be examined in Section 5.3.

**Figure 5.2 - The Sub-Regions of the Calder Valley**



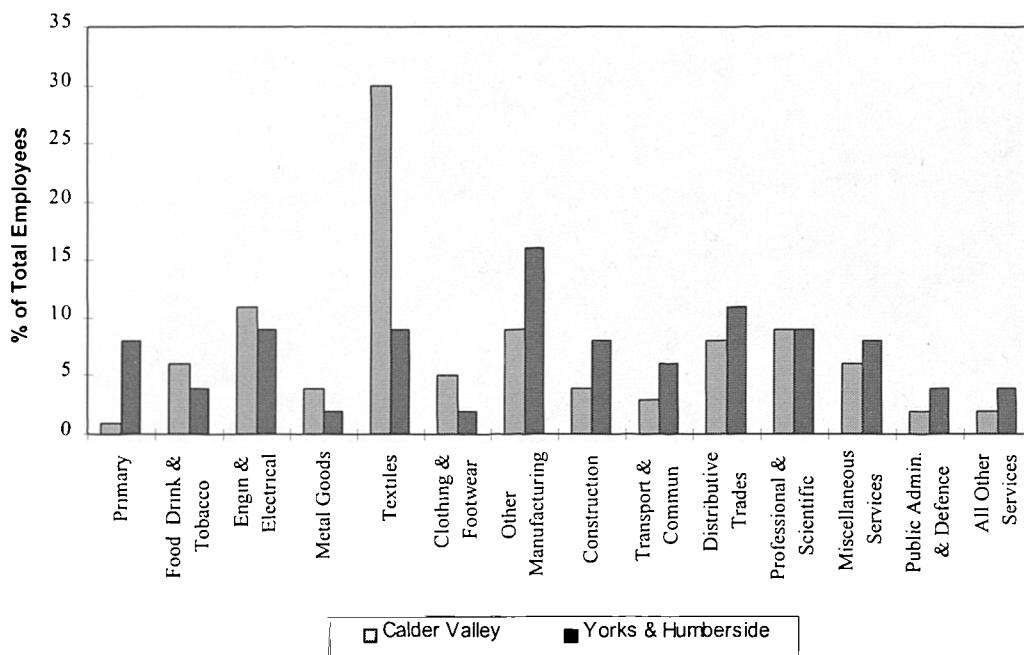
In short, the “Halifax and Calder Valley - An Area Study” (1968) confirmed the findings of the 1966 review; that social, economic and physical decline was widespread in the Calder Valley. It was argued

that economic decline had resulted from the uncompetitive and antiquated industrial textile base of the Calder Valley. Social decline stemmed from falling population totals (as a result of out-migration and natural decrease) and subsequently, the abandonment of old and dilapidated housing by out-migrants intensified the sense of physical decline. The following sections will examine these problems in greater depth, establishing differences between the Mid-Upper Calder Valley and the Lower Calder Valley.

### 5.1.1 Economic Decline

When placed in the context of the Yorkshire and Humberside region, the economic base of the Calder Valley region was highly distinct (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board, 1968). As can be seen in Figure 5.3, in contrast to the diverse economic base of the Yorkshire and Humberside region, the regional economy of the Calder Valley was dominated by textile manufacturing.

**Figure 5.3** - Distribution of Total Employees - 1966



As already noted, economic decline had afflicted the textile industry of the Calder Valley since the early 1950s. Importantly, this was a regional manifestation of much broader structural processes of decline in the textile industry (Hardill 1987; Haughton and Whitney 1995; Hebbert and Baker 1996). The decline of the textile industry in the Calder Valley did create, however, a potential for change which was absent in many other places. This chapter will show that contingent factors were influential in activating this potential for change in the Hebden Bridge district. In other parts of the Calder Valley, structures of

decline were reproduced and economic, social and physical decay proceeded unarrested.

In the Calder Valley, the economic decline of the textile industry culminated in employment totals decreasing by 2.5% (2,400) between 1953 and 1966. This contrasted with employee increases of 8.8% in the Yorkshire and Humberside region and 12.8% nationally. However, this regional mean masks significant differences within the Calder Valley region. As Table 5.1 illustrates, employment losses were most marked in the Upper-Mid Calder Valley at Todmorden, Hebden Royd and Sowerby Bridge. It is interesting to note the earlier loss of employment in Todmorden and Sowerby Bridge (1953-59) in relation to the Hebden Bridge district (1959-66). Indeed, it can be seen that total employees actually increased in the Hebden Bridge district (and Brighouse) between 1953-1959. This addition clearly contrasts with remainder of the Calder Valley; perhaps indicating a highly localised condition.

**Table 5.1** - Changes in Total Employees - 1953, 1959 and 1966

	1953	1959	1966	% Change 1953-1959	% Change 1959-66
Great Britain	20,880,000	21,870,000	23,543,600	+4.7	+7.7
Yorks and Humberside	1,941,200	2,004,100	2,111,300	+3.2	+5.3
Brighouse E.E.A	11,700	12,900	12,600	+6.8	-2.3
Elland E.E.A	8,700	8,300	8,900	-4.5	+7.2
Halifax E.E.A	50,400	48,800	50,400	-3.2	+3.3
Sowerby Bridge E.E.A	9,500	8,800	8,400	-7.4	-4.5
Hebden Bridge E.E.A	6,600	7,000	6,000	+6.0	-14.3
Todmorden E.E.A	8,400	7,200	6,700	-14.3	-6.9

source: Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board (1968)

*EEA = Employment Exchange Area*

In contrast to the Upper-Mid Calder Valley, it can be seen that employment totals remained relatively stable at Halifax, Brighouse and Elland. The marked differences within the region were related to two factors. Firstly, in the Upper-Mid Calder Valley there had been a sharp decline in cotton manufacturing, which was concentrated at Todmorden, Hebden Royd, Hepton and Sowerby Bridge. For example, fustian manufacturers in the Hebden Bridge district had relocated to Hong Kong, in order to obtain the benefits of cheaper cotton and cheaper labour. Loss of employment opportunities was a direct consequence of this mass capital disinvestment. This was highlighted by one interviewee, who recalled that 26 textile firms closed in the Hebden Bridge district between 1955 and 1968, losing its nickname as the "Fustianopolis of England" (DEF). Secondly, employment totals remained stable in the Lower Calder Valley, as the carpet industry concentrated at Brighouse and Halifax thrived and expanded in the 1950s and 1960s (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council, 1966).

### 5.1.2 Social Decline: Depopulation

While the total population of Yorkshire and Humberside (+5.5%) was growing between 1951-1966, the Calder Valley region experienced a population decline of -3.9% between 1951-1966. However, marked differences were once again apparent. As Table 5.2 shows, population decline was most prominent in the areas of the Upper-Mid Calder Valley, with the respective total populations of Sowerby Bridge, Hebden Royd, Hepton and Todmorden declining by over 10%.

**Table 5.2 - Home Population Changes 1951-1966**

	<b>Total pop change</b>	<b>% change</b>	<b>births/ deaths</b>	<b>% change</b>	<b>migration balance</b>	<b>% change</b>
England and Wales	+4,275,300	+9.8	+3,430,800	+7.8	+844,500	+1.9
Yorks and Humb	+248,060	+5.5	+330,868	+7.4	-82,808	-1.8
The Calder Valley	-7,925	-3.9	+2,932	+1.4	-10,857	-5.3
Brighouse	+1,890	+6.0	+885	+2.9	+955	+3.1
Elland	-550	-2.9	+113	+0.6	-663	-3.5
Halifax	-2,540	-2.6	+2,324	+2.4	-4,864	-5.0
Sowerby Bridge	-2,060	-11.0	-551	-2.9	-2,611	-13.9
Ripponden	-369	-7.0	-43	-0.8	-326	-6.1
Hebden Royd	-1,190	-11.7	-433	-4.3	-757	-7.4
Hepton	-476	-11.7	-40	-1.0	-436	-10.7
Todmorden	-2,580	-13.6	-425	-2.2	-2,155	-11.4

source: Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board (1968)

Table 5.2 also highlights a further distinction between parts of the Calder Valley. In contrast to the Lower Calder Valley, population decline in the Upper-Mid Calder Valley stemmed from both natural decrease and out-migration. These twin features were explicitly linked to the economic decline of the cotton textile industry, which had culminated in a lack of employment opportunities. Subsequently, young adults out-migrated from the Upper Calder Valley in search of better employment and housing conditions. An explanation of the motives encouraging the search for better housing conditions will be dealt with in the following section. The selective out-migration was consistently emphasised during semi-structured interviews with long-term residents of the area, for instance, one interviewee recalled:

“Those who voted with their feet were the young adults, those with skills and initiative, those with enterprise. What stayed behind was the dregs and the elderly people” (DEF).

The natural population decrease outlined in Table 5.2, was connected to the selective out-migration of individuals at reproductive stages of their life-cycle. Death rates had quickly exceeded birth rates, given the residual elderly population that predominated following the out-migration. Many elderly interviewees recalled the imbalance between births and deaths that existed in the 1960s in the Hebden Bridge district, for example, it was stressed that:



“Back in the early 1960’s Hebden Bridge was famous for being one of the top five communities in Britain for the rate of its population decline and its high average age of those that remained” (DEF).

Local concern about population decline was highlighted by a front page article in the local newspaper. Citing a report by the Medical Officer of Health for the District, concern was expressed that in seventeen out of the last nineteen years (1948-1967), death rates had out numbered birth rates (*HBT*, 3/2/67). In a later article, the Environmental Health Inspector claimed that high death rates were attributable to 17% (670) of all houses in Hebden Bridge district having no separate toilet facilities, 36% of all houses were without baths and 42% were without wash basins (*HBT*, 17/11/66). Section 5.3 will reveal that the Hebden Royd Urban Council favoured a demolition and redevelopment policy to eradicate these sub-standard housing conditions (in line with the national policy), rather than the rehabilitation and improvement of the property.

### **5.1.3 Physical Decline: Abandonment of Place and Property**

The out-migration of population was further stimulated, albeit unintentionally, by central government policies, which sought to alleviate the dilapidated condition of housing. Rather than solve the problem, however, dilapidation was intensified as residential property was abandoned by private landlords and owner-occupiers unwilling to invest capital for rehabilitation.

Building upon the 1953 White Paper “Houses: The Next Step”, the Housing Repairs and Rents Act (1954) stressed that local authorities should be encouraged to concentrate their main housing efforts on slum clearance. The Housing Subsidies Act (1956) reinforced the drive for slum clearance and redevelopment, revising subsidy scales to encourage local authorities to build high rise dwellings of 15-plus storeys high. In the context of the Hebden Bridge district, high rise redevelopment was a more appropriate proposition in the urban context of Hebden Bridge than the rural locations of Hepton.

The strategy of slum clearance and high rise redevelopment was further intensified by the Housing Act (1957). The Act reaffirmed to local authorities that no one should be allowed to live in a house which is unfit for human habitation (Smith, 1989). The prevalence of housing deemed “unfit” in the Calder Valley, during the first quarter of 1965, is shown in Table 5.3. It is likely that Table 5.3 under-states the levels of “unfit” property that predominated in the 1950s and early 1960s. As Section 5.3.1 will highlight, many “unfit” properties had been demolished by 1965.

**Table 5.3 - Unfit Dwellings 1965 (First Quarter)**

	<b>total</b>	<b>% of housing stock</b>
Brighouse	2,426	20.3
Elland	1,600	21.9
Halifax	6,396	18.8
Sowerby Bridge	702	10.5
Ripponden	16	0.9
Hebden Royd	298	7.8
Hepton	77	4.7
Todmorden	1,464	20.7

source: Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board (1968)

Table 5.4 does, however, reflect the extreme numbers of “unfit” properties that still existed in the Calder Valley during the mid-1960s, particularly in the Lower-Mid Calder Valley and Todmorden. Additionally, the findings may reflect more about the capability and/or awareness of the respective local authorities to designate “unfit” property.

**Table 5.4 - Housing Lacking Basic Amenities (1966)**

	<b>Hot Water Tap</b>		<b>Fixed Bath</b>		<b>Internal Water Closet</b>	
	<b>total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>%</b>
England and Wales	1,925,940	12.5	2,295,690	14.9	274,260	1.8
Yorks and Humb	172,940	12.5	2,295,690	14.9	274,260	1.8
Calder Valley	12,050	17.2	18,660	26.6	1,880	2.7
Brighouse	1,810	15.5	3,020	25.8	100	0
Elland	1,280	18.8	2,050	30.1	220	3.2
Halifax	5,140	15.7	7,420	22.6	530	1.6
Sowerby Bridge	1,290	20.8	1,930	31.1	170	2.7
Ripponden	260	15.9	380	31.1	150	9.2
Hebden Royd	690	20.1	1,010	29.4	210	6.1
Hepton	240	17.4	420	30.4	280	20.3
Todmorden	1,340	21.7	2,430	39.1	220	3.6

source: Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board (1968)

Where designated, “unfit” property was defined by local authorities based upon a nine point standard set down by the Housing Act (1957); repair, stability, freedom from damp, internal arrangements, natural lighting, ventilation, water supply, drainage and sanitary conveniences, facilities for preparation and cooking of food and disposal of waste water. Although many properties complied with certain criteria, many were still deemed unfit for human habitation as a result of the wording of the Housing Act (1957):

“A dwelling is statutory unfit where it is so far defective in **one or more** of a list of nine items as to be not reasonably suitable for occupation” (ibid).

Table 5.4 shows that the scale of housing which lacked one or more specific items was widespread throughout the Calder Valley. It is interesting to note the substantial numbers of housing in the Hepton

area which lacked an internal water closet. Perhaps this highlights an absence of home improvement grants in this area, in terms of availability and/or uptake by owners of housing.

The absence of basic amenities resulted in “Compulsory Repair Notices” being served on many private landlords and owner-occupiers, where it was deemed that housing could be made fit at a reasonable cost. Overall, these notices were rejected due to the definition of “reasonable cost”. The Housing Act (1957) defined reasonable expenditure as any amount which is less than the net increase in the market value of the house, following the completion of the necessary works and the relevant cost of repairs.

Given that the cost of rehabilitation was greater than the net increase in the market value of the house (demand for housing in the Calder Valley was limited), many owners of housing were not prepared to improve their property to the nine point standard. When improvement works were not carried out by owners, local authorities had the power to undertake the necessary improvements and charge the cost to the owner. The amount could then be secured on the property.

Where it was deemed that unfit houses could not be made fit at a reasonable cost, many closing and demolition orders were served. Once served, the owners of housing had two options. They could either sell the house to the local authority or they could demolish the house and claim compensation. In most instances, the favoured option was to sell the house to the local authority for a nominal fee. The alternative option of compensation was less attractive since it was based on the cleared site value and not the market value. Additionally, owners of housing had to bear the cost of demolition and site clearance. Where owners would not voluntarily release property or demolish and seek compensation, the local authorities had the power to make compulsory purchases. The importance of these points in the context of the Hebden Bridge district, will become apparent in Section 5.9.1, which examines the implications of the supply of cheap urban property by the Calderdale District Council. Moreover, the powers invested in the local authorities under the Housing Act (1957) enabled dramatic transformations to the landscape(s) of the Calder Valley.

Additionally, the prevalence of abandoned property was influenced by the practices of financial institutions. In many cases, owner-occupiers who wished to leave had little option but abandon their home. The possibility of finding a prospective house purchaser was undermined by the absence of finance. Large blocks of the dilapidated housing had been “redlined” by financial institutions, who would not provide mortgages to buyers of such property. As one interviewee recounted:

“You couldn’t get a mortgage on many of the double-deckers. The Halifax Building Society at that time, wouldn’t lend money on properties in the area that were over 30 years old” (PT).

In Hebden Royd, the absence of institutional agents to market and provide funds for individuals to purchase residential property gave rise to private mortgages. These were often advertised by the individual property owner in the “miscellaneous sales” section of the local newspaper. For example, the following advert offered:

“For a deposit of approx. £200 and repayments of £3-16 per week you can own a most desirable spacious stone built residence with open views in quiet position” (HBT, 25/2/66).

Very often the properties remained in the adverts section for long periods, indicating that they had not been sold. This reinforces the view that owner-occupiers were left with no other option than to abandon property, if they wanted to leave their place of residence to find employment elsewhere. As Plate 5.1 highlights, it was hardly surprising that there was little demand for housing in the Hebden Bridge district, given one respondent’s view that Hebden Bridge was “overlaid by a thick veneer of dirt, the buildings and trees were black, the wildlife limited and the people demoralised” (DEF).

**Plate 5.1 - “Black” Hebden Bridge**

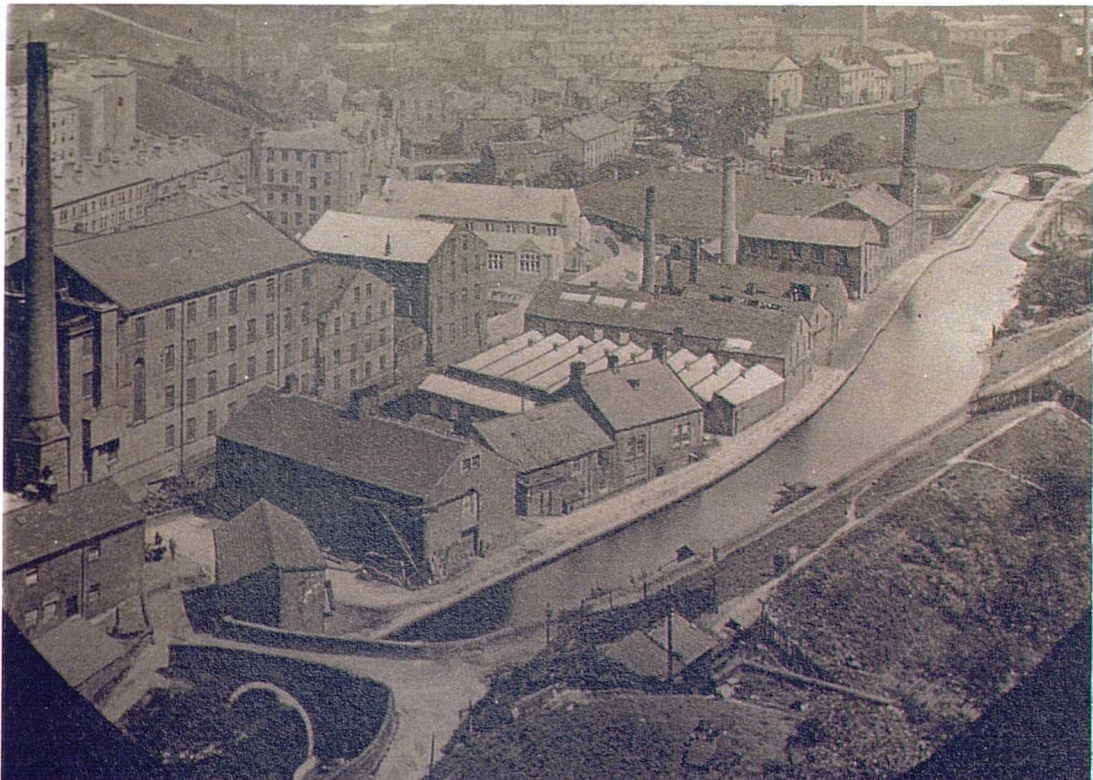


Table 5.5 suggests that high levels of vacant dwellings existed throughout the Calder Valley region from the early 1950's. It is important to take into account that vacancy percentages may have been offset by programmes of demolition and new build development.

**Table 5.5 - Vacant Dwellings (% of total dwellings)**

	1951	1961	1966
England and Wales	2.5	2.1	3.0
Yorkshire and Humberside	2.3	2.1	3.0
Calder Valley	2.9	3.4	4.9
Brighouse	2.4	2.5	3.2
Elland	2.3	3.0	5.1
Halifax	2.8	2.9	4.9
Sowerby Bridge	3.0	5.1	6.1
Ripponden	3.1	4.0	1.0
Hebden Royd	3.3	3.7	3.5
Hepton	7.8	6.7	5.3
Todmorden	3.4	5.2	6.4

source: Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council (1968)

Once again, important distinctions are evident within the Calder Valley. As Table 5.5 reveals, vacancy totals in the Lower Calder Valley remained stable between 1951-1961 and experienced significant increases between 1961-1966. There was substantial differentiation within the Mid-Upper Calder Valley. It can be seen in Table 5.5, that vacancy totals doubled between 1951-1966 at Sowerby Bridge and Todmorden. In contrast, vacancy totals at both Ripponden and Hepton (predominantly rural in character) decreased dramatically between 1951-1966. This contrasted with Hebden Royd, where vacancy totals remained relatively low and stable between 1951-1966.

In summary, this section has contextualised the decline of the Hebden Bridge district within the regional setting of the Calder Valley. It is clear that the experiences of the Hebden Bridge district were part of a regional trend, especially within the Upper Calder Valley. The following section will document the strategy followed by local government institutions in Hebden Bridge to tackle the problems of decay.

## **5.2 Removal Of The Past: Clearance and Redevelopment**

The response of the local government institutions in Hebden Bridge to the structures of decline, mirrored the guidelines advocated at a national scale (e.g. following the Housing Act [1957]). There was a compulsion to remove the past from Hebden Bridge and replace it with new modern high rise development. The institutionalised solution was also greatly favoured by the majority of the local population who had remained in Hebden Bridge. The entrenched local feeling about the declining housing is reflected in the recollection of a long term resident:

“The local people wanted them down. They saw them as eyesores.... there was a mania for anything that didn’t have an outside toilet, they had a stigma attached to them, they had to be flattened . Everybody at that time was into modernisation in Hebden Bridge. They were pulling out the mullions of the windows and nailing hardboard on six-panelled Georgian doors to make them flat and plush. Nobody was interested in the history or the past. There was a stigma about living in an old looking house. It meant that you belonged to the peasant class. So people wanted the old houses pulling down” (SM)

Given the strong pressures for the clearance of the dilapidated housing, the Hebden Royd Urban Council conformed to the prevailing ideology and demolition of condemned property commenced in 1962. Due to the government funding provided by the Housing Subsidies Act (1956), it was envisaged that high-rise flats would be developed on the vacant sites. Section 5.3 will reveal, however, that the Hebden Royd Urban Council did not account for the problems of constructing high-rise development on the steep sided terrain of Hebden Bridge.

The local clearance and redevelopment policy gained greater ferocity in 1964, when the Hebden Royd Urban Council approved the spending of £3,500 on the research and preparation of plans for the wholesale clearance of Hebden Bridge town centre and its replacement with modern shops/maisonettes. The plans were institutionalised into the planning system via Amendment No.4 Hebden Royd Town Map (1964). The decision to instigate the wholesale redevelopment of the Hebden Bridge was greatly influenced by the Housing Act (1964), which encouraged local authorities to identify areas for comprehensive redevelopment.

### 5.2.1 False Promises and Failure

Although the creeping tide of dilapidated housing had been partially abated by the demolition programmes, the effectiveness of the redevelopment policy was fiercely debated. As a leading actor, involved in voluntary and local government institutions of the time disclosed:

“Plans for building new houses on the sites [of clearance] were increasingly becoming unrealistic. At that time there was a subsidy for new build, but there were cost yardsticks. *We could never meet the cost yardsticks because of the steep slopes.* There was a firm of architects who were taking the council for a ride, doing abortive scheme after abortive scheme... Nothing ever happened” [emphases added] (DEF).

The implications of the physical terrain and central government constraints for redevelopment are revealed in Table 5.6, which compares the extent of housing completion and demolition between 1961 and 1966.

**Table 5.6 - New Build and Demolition 1961-66**

	<b>New Build LA</b>	<b>New Build Private</b>	<b>Demolished</b>	<b>Net Additions</b>
Brighouse	334	1,171	1,505	1,090
Elland	257	373	630	315
Halifax	1,528	1,190	2,781	1,066
Sowerby Bridge	549	68	617	24
Ripponden	44	35	79	51
Hebden Royd	86	61	227	-80
Hepton	0	19	6	13
Todmorden	117	22	366	-227

source: Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board (1968)

It can be seen that in the Upper Calder Valley, where the topography of the valley is steep and narrow (Hebden Royd and Todmorden), levels of demolition had substantially exceeded levels of new housebuilding. This contrasts to the increasing housing stocks of the Mid-Lower Calder Valley (Brighouse, Elland and Halifax), where the topography of the valley is wider and the valley sides shallower. The differing levels of redevelopment associated with this time period are clearly reflected in the diverse contemporary landscapes of the Calder Valley, with high rise developments predominant in the Lower-Mid Calder Valley and absent in the Upper Calder Valley. Hence, the financial constraints imposed by central government slowed down the process of redevelopment in Hebden Bridge. The cost yardsticks had been introduced by the Housing Subsidies Act (1967) to limit the cost of building and finance. They replaced the fixed rate subsidy established under the Housing Subsidies Act (1956) (Smith, 1989).

The hindered redevelopment of cleared sites was exemplified by the “Bridge Lanes saga”, which ensued during 1966 and 1967. The matter received constant local media attention given an incessant feud within the Hebden Royd Urban Council. The major flux of the debate related to the Council’s inability to present feasible redevelopment proposals for Bridge Lanes to the public. According to a key actor of the time, this stemmed from the planning consultants requesting that the Hebden Royd Urban Council kept their proposals secret, in order to uphold the already low property values (DEF).

Although the reasons for the lack of public consultation were not clear at the time, there was constant dissatisfaction. The editorial column of the local newspaper declared that:

“This silly secrecy is causing nothing but suspicion and casting a blight over the whole area. Everyone is afraid to act and meanwhile the place becomes shoddier and shoddier” (*HBT*, 20/5/66).

Based upon evidence found in the local media, it appears this view was also held by the majority of local people. To quote one letter at length:

“Sir - Can anybody believe that the image of Hebden Royd and Hepton as pictured in the year 2000 in the prize winning essay in the competition sponsored by Hebden Bridge Rotary Club, is anything other than a fantasy. In my opinion, the facts only point to an area approaching that of a “ghost town” in that year. We have one of the highest death rates and lowest birth rates in the country. The births and deaths columns of this newspaper illustrate this every week without recourse to statistics.

Even in the council chamber of the town, our Chief Citizens are not able to make their minds up, or do anything tangible to solve the problems. They are all eager to demolish whole areas of Hebden Bridge but are not prepared to clear the eye sores up when they have been created. They tell us that one day we shall have a redeveloped centre of Hebden Bridge; new houses and perhaps dare I say, a swimming bath, but time is one thing that Hebden Bridge just has not got. They together with ourselves must get our fingers out if we are to save this area which is now our inheritance.

The picture of the district in the year 2000 can become a reality only if we start now, but as yet the signs do not point in that direction. If we delay then someone will suggest flooding the whole valley and not just Hardcastle Crag. While walking from the station along Commercial Road, last week, a friend of mine who has made a number of visits to the town in the last few years, summed the problem up in 3 words, where’s it gone?” (*HBT*, 7/1 66)

The feeling of dismay at the lack of redevelopment and secrecy of the Hebden Royd Urban Council, reached a peak when one local resident presented his own plan for the redevelopment of Hebden Bridge. Significantly, the plan introduced the notion of redevelopment without having to demolish large areas of property. It appears to have received the full backing of the media and dominated the front page of the local press, with the editorial column proclaiming:

“A local resident fed up with the delay in the production of a redevelopment plan for the district by a firm of planning consultants has evolved his own plan. He does not claim that the plan drawn up is the ultimate in town planning. What he does claim, and in fact what he does prove, is that there is no need for great ambitious schemes which are no more than planners dreams of Utopia. The scheme will allow the town to retain its identity and shape, and does not entail the pulling down of large areas of property and replacing them with ultra-modern building, which we cannot afford anyway” (*HBT*, 18 3 66).

Elements of dissatisfaction were also voiced from within the Hebden Royd Urban Council. A particular vocal critic of the secrecy was Councillor Crabtree, who stressed that the lack of redevelopment:

“.. leaves us free to speak against the proliferation of weeds we can see on our demolition sites. Our heritage has a seasoning of decay. Our neighbouring villages and hamlets, and our town, seem to have been afflicted with some peculiar malaise - an inertia which has led almost to the point of no return” (*HBT*, 13/5/66).



Importantly, Councillor Crabtree's comments highlight that decay was widespread throughout the Hebden Bridge district. Any measures to counteract this decline would, therefore, have to focus upon the urban and rural parts of the Hebden Bridge district.

### 5.2.2 An Alternative Manifesto

The local antagonism felt by the lack of redevelopment brought an alternative vision for the Hebden Bridge district. During May 1965, a group of individuals were encouraged by a local resident, David Fletcher, to join forces and form the Calder Civic Trust (CCT). Although the Civic Trust was called "Calder" it did not serve the whole Calder valley. Rather it was specifically interested with the districts of Hebden Royd and Hepton.

The following sections will reveal that David Fletcher became a pivotal and crucial agent of change during the re-making and promotion of the Hebden Bridge district. Initially as Chairman of the CCT and then as a Hebden Royd Urban councillor, he was highly influential in stimulating and nurturing the process of change.

Upon its official inception (registered with National Civic Trust during August 1965), the constitution of the CCT was established and based on the model outlined by the National Civic Trust (founded in 1957), located in London. Accordingly, officers were elected by members (who paid a subscription) and a committee was established (Bond, 1991). The composition of the "seedling" committee highlights a key characteristic of the CCT in its early days, namely the highly localised composition. This was noted by David Fletcher, who recalled:

"A committee was set up which had one mill manager, one local joiner, one local secretary, a petrol pump attendant, no professionals, no architects, no planners. There weren't any living in the town" (DEF).

Additionally, two delegates from Hebden Royd Urban Council and Hepton Rural Council were invited onto the committee. This facilitated immediate liaisons between the CCT and both councils, while allowing the councils to monitor the outcome of meetings.

The antipathy of the local population towards the Hebden Royd Urban Council, outlined in the previous section, prompted the CCT to become active in the Hebden Bridge redevelopment saga. As David Fletcher publicly stated:

“We are sure that the present residents will join us in our fight to ward off pressures from outside bodies” (*HBT*, 20/5/66).

In this context, the outside bodies referred to the external planning consultants employed by Hebden Royd Urban Council.

Without any visible elements of redevelopment, the CCT argued that the solution offered by Hebden Royd Urban Council was inappropriate for the revitalisation of Hebden Bridge. The CCT claimed that it was:

“.. far from certain the redevelopment will ever take place at all in this district, yet the piecemeal uncoordinated destruction of Hebden Bridge continues its aimless course” (*HBT*, 20/5/66).

The anti-demolition feelings which flowed from this statement, contrasted sharply with the proclamation by Councillor Crabtree the week before, that “the greatest need is for new housing development, both in new areas and on our demolition sites” (*HBT*, 13/5/66).

The CCT members were alarmed at Hebden Royd Urban Council’s vision for Hebden Bridge in the future. In response, they assembled an alternative remedy to counteract the conditions of decline. The CCT secretary made clear the remedial stance, saying:

“Rejuvenation - That should be our motto. Whatever the planners or their puppets say...that wholesale destruction followed by tons of steel and concrete would be almost as effective as the plague in Hebden Bridge” (*HBT*, 20/5/66).

Crucially, the CCT campaigned to stop the obliteration of the past and argued for its retention. They called for the rejuvenation of selective artefacts of the past, alongside a “disinfected” physical environment. Once repackaged these elements could then be promoted as the locational assets of the Hebden Bridge district. As David Fletcher recollected:

“We said no! There is another way, we will reclassify the assets of Hebden Bridge. Our resources are history, heritage, character and the Pennine countryside. These resources we can build upon to attract visitors and new residents, who will put some money in the pot and create some new jobs” (DEF).

In order to effect the rejuvenation of the past and physical environment, the CCT advocated the following objectives (Bond, 1991):

- i) To encourage high standards of architecture and town planning in the area;
- ii) To stimulate public interest in, and care for, the beauty, history and character of the area;
- ii) To encourage the preservation, development and improvement of general public amenity or historic interests; and
- iv) To pursue these ends by means of meetings, exhibitions, lectures, publications, instruction and publicity, and promotion of various schemes.

Gradually, as the impacts of the CCT became visible (i.e. improvement campaigns), its popularity grew and its work received acknowledgement from the local media. There appears to have been little conflict between the CCT and Hebden Royd Urban and Hepton Rural Council at this stage. It is possible that they did not perceive the CCT has a threat, given its non-professional localised composition.

With greater local media attention the CCT could more easily voice the alternative vision. The first intentional exercise to attract media attention was a protest made against plans to locate Supergrid pylons in the Hebden Bridge district. At the public inquiry held in London, the head girl of the local school represented the CCT. This attracted the attention of *The Daily Express* and an article stressed “School Girl Fights Giants On Moors”.

To strengthen the movement, the CCT campaigned for the wider support and involvement of the local population. Typical adverts placed in the local newspaper included:

“So much in this area that is dirty and drab could so easily be rejuvenated. So much of it is private property and its drabness is due to oversight. It is all too easy to become accustomed to the existing circumstances and to accept them and take them as normal, rather than seek ways to improve them. We become conditioned to them instead of trying to remedy the position. Then we need the co-operation of the whole population of the area to work together and help us improve its appearance. If everyone pulled together it would be so easy. We ask everyone to help and do their bit and we are always pleased to give whatever help and advice we can (*HBT*, 18 11/66).

Despite the calls for the “old community spirit” the local population remained relatively inactive. Rather, the local population ridiculed the CCT for the future vision of the Hebden Bridge district that had been put forward. According to David Fletcher, the local population thought “he had gone crackers” when he tried to market a new image of Hebden Bridge in the late 1960s; as a green oasis of high environmental quality within easy reach of the surrounding towns and cities. This relationship between the CCT and the local population has also been verified by many elderly interviewees. For instance, one long term resident made the point that:

“David Fletcher saved the chimney of Bridge Mill in the centre. Everybody thought that he was mad at the time. He was known as “Tree David” and was ridiculed for chaining himself to trees to stop them being felled.” (DH).

The local scoffing was even greater when David Fletcher proclaimed that the Hebden Bridge district was the “centre of the Universe”. Other publicity campaigns set the Hebden Bridge district at the core of the Lancashire and West Yorkshire conurbations. The Hebden Bridge district was described as the second largest city in Britain with a population of 2 million. It was labelled the first green belt city with “its suburbs having quaint names like Leeds, Bradford and Manchester” (DEF). These alternative representations of the Hebden Bridge district fulfilled the intention of the CCT; to attract media attention and raise the profile of the place.

The profile of the CCT as a rejuvenating force in Hebden Bridge (which Hebden Royd Urban Council should take seriously) was enhanced following a study in 1966 of the Yorkshire and Humberside region. The regional government institution responsible for the study, the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council, was highly sceptical of any future potential regeneration of the Calder Valley (not just Hebden Bridge). As David Fletcher recalled, they “virtually said write it off, don’t invest in the Calder Valley, it is a hopeless case”.

This pessimistic viewpoint was based on a belief that the topography of the Calder Valley was no longer favourable to modern economic activity and that the severe climatic conditions discouraged industrial expansion (*HBT*, 19 2/66). The Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council (1966) report concluded that it was necessary:

“.. to determine whether it will be possible to restore industrial and social vitality to these settlements. If this does not prove to be practicable, the valley bottoms, which are by no means unattractive, may have a future as residential areas, if the signs of industrial obsolescence can be removed in the course of redevelopment” (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council, 1966: 55).

Clearly, the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council were not proposing the elimination of the Calder Valley, on the lines of the D-village schemes (see Cloke, 1983). Rather they were questioning the viability of economic regeneration and the potential of its cultural, aesthetic and environmental capital for the establishment of a post-industrial function.

This appears to substantiate local suspicions that economic disinvestment in Hebden Bridge was part of an overall regional strategy for the Calder Valley. For example, according to one long term resident:

“My brother was a Councillor in the mid 1960s and he was summoned to London. When he came back he told us that the government had a long term plan for Hebden Bridge. It was for the well established industries to be phased out and Hebden Bridge was to become a commuter village” (BM).

Indeed, many locals felt “that there were things going on that people didn’t know about. It was almost deliberate” (DH). Elderly interviewees consistently claimed that mill worker housing and place of work were removed so that the textile manufacturing industry could not be revived. Typical remarks illustrating this belief included:

“There had been slumps before and they had always sheeted up the looms, so that when something came back they could start them up again. But in this case there was no chance of starting up again. They sold all the machinery off for scrap and sold the stone. There was no question of them coming back because there was nothing left” (FB).

Although the findings of the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council alarmed the CCT, in that they produced negative images which discouraged future economic investment, their recommendations were closely aligned to those of the CCT. In short, David Fletcher had also earlier contemplated - “what have we to offer new industries?” and made the conclusion:

“We have no really suitable sites where they could develop and expand. We have no surplus labour force to work for them. The days of a close knit community, all living and working together are numbered. We may not like it but we must face facts” (*HBT*, 30 6 66).

The facts were therefore clear according to David Fletcher; the future of Hebden Bridge was dependent upon a re-population of the area by commuters from the surrounding conurbations. This notion was also shared by the Hebden Royd Urban Council, who had earlier stressed that:

“Repopulation was the key to any prosperity the town may achieve. Our industry needs new workers, our shops desperately needs new customers and the town desperately needs new ideas for it to be a more attractive place in which to live” (*HBT*, 3/5 66).

The CCT diverged with the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Hebden Royd Urban Council with regard to their alternative plans to make Hebden Bridge “a more attractive place in which to live”. Both the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Hebden Royd Urban Council favoured the removal of the past to facilitate redevelopment. This stance was made very clear in the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council’s report which called “for the signs of industrial obsolescence (to) be removed in the course of redevelopment.” Likewise, Councillor Harrower stated the council’s preference very clearly:

“Times are changing and we have to keep abreast with the times. I hope the council will help the district to live in a new age and environment” (*HBT*, 28/10/66).

In complete contrast the CCT reiterated, the most effective way to attract a commuter population was to repackage the past and clean-up the physical environment. The CCT argued that the signs of industrial obsolescence should not be removed, but rather scrubbed and redefined for a “new age and environment”. The end goals of all three institutions were thus similar but the means to achieve those goals were different. Conflict between the CCT and the Hebden Royd Urban Council was expressed publicly during this period.

Conflict and differences of opinion are revealed in a retrospective publication titled “Calderdale: What Future?” (1972). The publication reviewed the responses favoured by all three institutions during the late 1960’s. Inevitably, it is fraught with many contradictory statements. For example, the Chief Planner for the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council recommended the replacement of older housing with good quality new houses (p.14). Similarly, the call for new build housing was paralleled by the Hebden Royd Urban Council, who issued the statement that:

“They welcomed the efforts that were being made to improve the general environment .. and above all... pleasant new houses - all of which will help to encourage people to stay in the area” (*ibid*).

In contrast, David Fletcher, in his role as Chairman of CCT, reiterated the link between rehabilitation and an influx of commuters:

“With sensitive treatment, such housing can be rendered excessively useful by providing accommodation for outsiders whose movement into the area would bring in welcome purchasing power and demand for local services”.

By the second half of the 1960’s David Fletcher had obtained a reputation as the spokesperson of the alternative manifesto. This reputation stemmed from a stream of articles and letters in the local newspaper. The content of the articles and letters openly conflicted with the strategies of the Hebden Royd Urban Council. As a result, David Fletcher was challenged, by a local councillor, to stand in the local council election of May 1967. This invitation was accepted (standing on an Independent Party label) and an overwhelming success (over 75% of the votes) was gained. In retrospect, David Fletcher claims that “I suppose I was the first Green Party”. The election of the “Green Party” indicates high levels of popular support for CCT’s “environmental and heritage” approach to the rejuvenation of the Hebden Bridge district.

The symbolic local backing (via the ballot box) gave the newly elected Councillor Fletcher a mandate to begin to institutionalise a new ideology in the local corridors of power. This is clear from his inaugural speech, which expressed a need to nurture the cocoon of the Hebden Bridge district:

“The valley is not dieing, but undergoing a period of transformation. No! metamorphosis must take its course. Does this mean that we can do nothing? Not at all. We can protect the cocoon and ensure its happy hatching and successful future. What future prospects then exist for our bright new butterfly. Here we are lucky. We have an head start - much magnificent and unusual countryside; a great deal of interesting local history; many ancient and pleasant stone buildings and an overall atmosphere of character and charm; almost unique in this country” (*HBT*, 30/6/67).

Backing for the new vision was also evident in the local press, with the editorial column claiming that:

“Seeds of ideas are germinating in the minds of men in the district who are looking to the future. They see a future different from the one we know today” (*HBT*, 30/6 67).

With the increased participation of the local population, the CCT planted over 10,000 trees between 1966 and 1968, cleared the rubbish out of the river and campaigned on atmospheric and water pollution. To further enhance its profile and gain further local support, “before” and “after” scenes of environmental improvements were displayed at a local gala (Bond, 1991).

It is essential at this point to stress the importance of wider structural changes in the form of the Clean Air Acts (1956; 1968), which were fundamental in transforming the image of the landscape and revealing the formerly hidden assets. As one respondent commented:

“When I first came here there was still a lot of pollution because the effects of the smoke legislation hadn’t really had an effect. So you couldn’t really appreciate the views across the valleys. But within two to five years it seemed clearer and you got better views all the time” (BL).

Without this legislation the “clean-up” actions of the CCT would have been pointless. It was necessary for the sanitised landscape to remain clean.

### **5.2.3 Institutionalising The Alternative Manifesto: The Battle Begins!**

In order to impose the alternative manifesto, the clearance and redevelopment policy had to be suspended and succeeded by a rehabilitation policy. This could only be achieved at an institutional level. Although the CCT had penetrated Hebden Royd Urban Council with the election of its Chairman to office, it was now essential to impregnate the wider ideological values and beliefs of the CCT into the

Hebden Royd Urban Council. This objective appears to have been quickly fulfilled given the immediate meshing of the CCT and Hebden Royd Urban Council with reference to the proposed demolition/redevelopment of the Buttress Brink area.

It is intriguing to note how the principles of the CCT were compromised regarding the demolition of the Buttress Brink area, once co-opted onto the Hebden Royd Urban Council. For example, prior to being elected councillor, David Fletcher had forecast that the next site of demolition:

“.. will probably be the Buttress Brink, Hebden Bridge, that dilapidated tumbled-down pile of absolutely unique old buildings. If they were in Amalfi or Sorrento thousands would come every year to stare at them” (*HBT*, 20/5/66).

Suddenly, from adopting this anti-demolition stance, the CCT were working in partnership with the Hebden Royd Urban Council to redevelop the demolished Buttress Brink site (*HBT*, 21/4/67). However, on a more positive note, the partnership had encouraged Hebden Royd Urban Council to seriously consider the consequences of demolishing old buildings. Perhaps, it was for this reason that the CCT compromised their anti-demolition stance. Indeed, there had been a recent catalogue of local fears voiced on the letters page of the local newspaper, regarding Hebden Royd Urban Council's lack of action for post-demolition sites. Typical anxieties relating to the Buttress Brink area included:

“Did anyone think seriously before agreeing the pull down old buildings, what was to happen to the site and do they still think beyond deciding to demolish old buildings what the consequences will be? Has anyone decided “what may happen if they decide to demolish the buildings included in the Buttress Clearance Order” I wonder!” (*HBT*, 11 2 66).

Henceforth, these local anxieties were partially alleviated by the CCT's collaboration with Hebden Royd Urban Council, but at what cost? At first, the Buttress Brink partnership appeared to suggest that the CCT's role as local “watchdog” had evaporated. However, appearances were deceptive and the CCT continued to adhere to its alternative manifesto.

Armed with increasing anti-demolition attitudes, expressed by local people on the letters page of the local newspaper (for example see above), Councillor Fletcher commenced with a strategy for change within the Hebden Royd Urban Council. He began to persuade other council members that the redevelopment policy and subsidies for new build were not appropriate for Hebden Bridge, due to the steep valley sides and lack of flat land. It was claimed that the *planning consultants had acted improperly*, and that they were responsible for the vast spatial vacuums within Hebden Bridge. They had been encouraging a clearance and redevelopment policy by proposing non-feasible schemes.



The task of reversing the redevelopment policy was made much easier in September 1967, when the Ministry of Housing and Local Government prohibited Hebden Royd Urban Council from going ahead with the redevelopment of Bridge Lanes (*HBT*, 1/9/67). The Ministry claimed that the tender accepted by the Council for 20 houses/garages at a cost of £4,695 each was not feasible. The planning consultants were eventually sacked as evidence against the viability of their proposals mounted.

Remarkably, the proven ineffectiveness of the redevelopment policy led to a renewed drive for clearance within the Hebden Royd Urban Council for demolition. A new demolition programme was announced in December 1967, which listed 202 houses “as unfit for habitation”. It was anticipated that 50 houses would be demolished every year over a phased programme of four years (*HBT*, 29/12/67).

The renewed drive for demolition was encouraged by the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council (1968), who recommended highly specific strategies for distinct parts of the Calder Valley. Significantly, the respective proposals for Hebden Royd reiterated the earlier proposals made by the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council (1966). It was suggested that large tracts of housing at Hebden Royd should be demolished to make way for an improved trans-Pennine road system. As the review stated:

“ The Council consider that the A646 which is at present the only all-weather route through to Lancashire needs to be greatly improved at the earliest possible date. This will not only bring an improvement in accessibility but also provide an opportunity to clear up the dilapidated buildings and sites which border the road” (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board, 1968 p.5).

The up-grading of the A64 was justified on the need for improved access to the Lower Calder Valley. This was necessary given that the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council claimed economic prospects were greatest in the Lower Calder Valley. In the context of the Calder Valley, it was argued that the Lower Calder Valley had favourable locational qualities which included the adjoining M62 motorway, a surrounding large population and less extreme physical conditions than the Upper-Mid Calder Valley. Consequently, Hebden Royd was once again written off by the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council. Rather than encourage the economic regeneration of Hebden Bridge, it was strongly stated that any attempts would simply “divert efforts from more hopeful lines” (p.5). Other than proposing the removal of property to enable people to travel to the Lower Calder Valley more effectively, no strategy was prescribed to halt the decline of Hebden Royd.

In contrast to Hebden Royd, a new commuter function was envisaged for Todmorden, although like Hebden Royd economic regeneration of industry was dismissed. As stated in “Halifax and Calder

Valley - An Area Study”:

“In the Council’s view the industrial prospects are limited and by themselves will not bring about a revived Todmorden. The town has its attractions; the countryside is fine, and may well attract people from both sides of the Pennines” (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board, 1968 p.5).

This vision was clearly contradicted by a later statement in the report which dismissed the commuter potential of the Upper-Mid Calder Valley:

“With the shortage of suitable building land, the poor quality of the stock of houses and the existence of well established commuter areas elsewhere, it is difficult to foresee the area attracting commuters in any great numbers - the one exception is Brighouse” (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board, 1968 p.89).

The regional framework established by the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council reaffirmed the structures of decline which engulfed Hebden Royd (and the Upper-Mid Calder Valley). However, this latest set-back did not deter Councillor Fletcher and supporters. They began re-imposing the alternative vision for the Hebden Bridge district in the local media and hi-jacked the commuter function which had been proposed for Todmorden.

Moreover, the influential role of the CCT became more prominent as central government introduced legislation which encouraged the participation of the public in the formal decision-making processes of local government. The Civic Amenities Act (1967) called for:

“All Local Planning Authorities to determine those parts of their districts having special architectural or historical character which should be retained and enhanced to designate them as Conservation Areas”.

Within this legislative framework, the call for consultation with the public and *civic societies* regarding planning applications, allowed the CCT to play an integral role in determining which parts of the Hebden Bridge district should be conserved (*financial assistance was not provided until provisions were re-enacted under the Town and Country Planning (Amendment) Act [1972]*). The introduction of the Town and Country Planning Act (1968) enabled the direct involvement of CCT in the planning process.

More significantly, central government assembled structures which provided financial incentives for local authorities to implement rehabilitation and improvement policy. The agenda for this change in direction was evident in the aptly titled 1968 White Paper “Old Houses Into New Homes” and the subsequent Housing Act (1969). The Housing Act (1969) encouraged local authorities to establish General Improvement Areas (G.I.As). The maximum discretionary housing improvement grant was

increased from £400 to £1,000 and grants were provided for environmental improvements.

By 1969, Councillor Fletcher (still the CCT Chairman) was Chairman of Development and Planning Committee/Acting-Chairman of Housing Committee. In these local positions of power he stressed to the “old guard” the benefits (i.e. financial incentives) which could be obtained by responding to the structural forces encouraging rehabilitation and conservation. The case for a rehabilitation policy was strengthened as other Hebden Royd Urban Councillor’s lost patience with the redevelopment policy. For example, one un-named Councillor commented:

“It is five years since the scheme was started, and we are ham strung by this silly plan. No one will clean up buildings when they do not know anything about what is going to happen. Hebden Bridge is becoming a dirty, scruffy hole and until the development plan is published nothing will be done” (HBT, 29/1/69).

Gradually, there was a shift in emphasis and the Hebden Royd Urban Council reverted to a rehabilitation policy instead of a redevelopment policy. As David Fletcher recounted:

“I persuaded the council to do a complete turn and we stopped knocking places down and began to improve them. I accepted the fact that many of the houses were unfit for occupation but the wording of the act said “unfit for occupation” and not capable of being made fit for occupation at a reasonable cost. The argument was all about the word “reasonable”. The word “reasonable” is a lawyers paradise. Because if a house is worth £100 and it costs £2000 to bring it up to modern standards, is that reasonable expenditure? Well the old guard would say no. I said yes!” (DEF).

In order to maintain the support of the “old guard” of councillors, it was essential to demonstrate that a rehabilitation and improvement policy would work in practice. So in April 1970 a pilot G.I.A was designated in Hebden Bridge. Quite symbolically, the first terrace of housing which received attention was Balmoral Street, known locally as “Immoral Street” for its appalling conditions. The transformations to the ten properties were dramatic and the “old guard” became less sceptical. According to David Fletcher:

“Councillor Barker did eventually change his mind once we had got a demonstration project going. But they just took it for granted. They had said we won’t spend £2000 on something that is only worth £100. But I pointed out to that it cost £8000 to build a new council house. So surely it was good value to spend £2000 on an old house” (DEF).

The completed project was highly publicised in the local newspaper, stressing “houses open for public viewing”. A full page advert claimed that the reconstruction provided an example of the type of improvements which could be made to individual houses (HBT, 23/1/73).

Despite the success of the pilot scheme the battle had not been fully successful. There was still internal resistance to the improvement and rehabilitation policy within the council from the “old guard”. Debating whether to extend the scheme to include 120 properties, Councillor Knowles opposed the initial pilot scheme and opposed this scheme (*HBT*, 2/3/73). This anti-rehabilitation stance was seconded by Councillor Barker. Perhaps Councillors Knowles and Barker were representing the views and interests of the local community who, as already observed, “wanted the old properties’ pulling down” (and did not share the CCT’s vision for Hebden Bridge).

Other efforts to remove the past from Hebden Bridge included the St.Georges Square redevelopment scheme. The beliefs underpinning the scheme were revealed by the project organiser, employed by Hebden Royd Urban Council, who proposed that Hebden Bridge should not stop in history and that a new form should be created in line with the present. Accordingly, it was envisaged that old stone properties would be demolished and replaced by modern prefabricated maisonettes(*HBT*, 24/12/71).

The divisions between the “old guard” and “new visionaries” had clearly not been obliterated. Two contradictory schools of thought were thus still evident in the early 1970s:

- i) A group which favoured redevelopment and the retention of a local population;
- ii) On the other hand, a group which favoured rehabilitation and the influx of relatively affluent in-migrants.

From the early to mid 1970s the influence of the proponents of redevelopment was undermined by the rehabilitation movement, who pointed to the shortcomings of redevelopment (i.e. the vacant cleared sites). Support for rehabilitation grew and the cultural values and beliefs of the rehabilitation movement were inscribed upon the landscape of Hebden Bridge, as the past was saved and rehabilitated.

The following section will explore the shift to rehabilitation. Central to the discussion will be the conditions which led to the proliferation of support for the rehabilitation movement in Hebden Bridge. To explain this phenomenon, it is necessary to interrupt the story of change in Hebden Bridge. Instead the focus of the chapter must be re-adjusted to the rural areas of Hepton, enabling an examination of a parallel process of rehabilitation which had re-made the rural landscape between the late 1960s and early 1970s. It will be shown that the transformation to the rural landscape of Hepton, brought about by the agency of in-migrant households, was a crucial precursor to the rehabilitation of Hebden Bridge. Moreover, it will be revealed that these households went on to play an active and pivotal role in the revitalisation of the Hebden Bridge landscape.

### 5.3 The Process of DIY Rural Greentrification

This section describes how, commencing in the mid to late 1960's, a wave of in-migrants purchased abandoned country property at Hepton and began a process of rehabilitation. This process of rehabilitation will be termed "DIY rural greentrification", in line with the "DIY rural greentrifier" label attached to individuals who rehabilitated the country property. The assignment of the term "DIY rural greentrifier" denotes an integrated self-production and consumption of a redefined rural package. In contrast to the urban areas of Hebden Bridge, the process of rehabilitation in the rural areas was initiated by the household agency of DIY rural greentrifiers. As one interviewee stressed:

"We [the DIY rural greentrifiers] stopped the demolition of the countryside. This is evident in all the trees and farmhouses that we saved. I think the majority of locals in the 60's weren't bothered" (DT).

Furthermore, the DIY rural greentrifiers were not attracted by promotional activities of institutional actors, but by their discovery of the rural areas through "word of mouth":

"We had a load of friends in Manchester who were students and very arty. My wife was at the Art College and she had a lot of art friends. She was a sculptor as well and so we got a load of craft based people coming here. They came to visit us and they thought that it was great and they said that they wouldn't mind living out here themselves. So they came to Hebden Bridge because of us" (PT).

It is important to stress here that the local indigenous population referred to the DIY rural greentrifiers as "hippies". However, since the DIY rural greentrifiers claim "we didn't call ourselves or use the term hippies" (CRAT), this ambiguous term will not be adopted in the thesis.

#### 5.3.1 DIY Rural Greentrifiers

The renovation of the rural properties and the desire of the DIY rural greentrifiers to reside in the rural areas emanated from a belief that rural space was endowed with certain idyllic qualities. This was closely linked to the ideologies of a "good-life" counter-cultural lifestyle. It was deemed that this alternative way of life was not possible in the modernist (sub)urban time-space contexts of the mid to late 1960s.

The pioneer waves of DIY rural greentrifiers who sought the idyllic rural lifestyle can be divided into two general groups. The first group were recent graduates from the surrounding academic institutions of

Manchester, Leeds and Bradford. According to one local mechanic who serviced the DIY rural greentrifier's vehicles:

"They had rejected the treadmill system, they had enjoyed the freedom and camaraderie of university and it was a natural progression from that. They were people with vision and skills. They were into the arts, craft people, sculptors, carvers, painters, potters and so on" (SM).

As will be shown below, the creative skills of this group were influential in enabling the replication of a Pennine aesthetic during the self-renovation process.

The second group were connected to a workers co-operative from Manchester, known as "On the Eighth Day". As a former member of "On the Eighth Day" highlighted, the group had been formed with the intention of discovering an "healthier approach to living":

"We got together and said "We have got to change the fucking world, man." We then said "Come on lets do something." There was the Vietnam War, there was nuclear this and nuclear that and so we conceived "On the Eighth Day". There was the acid and LSD. What the drugs thing did was to free our minds and allow us this different vision, which we then tried to live out on the tops of Hebden Bridge" (MS).

Clearly, the presence of the first group was important in attracting members of "On the Eighth Day". This was revealed by a member of "On the Eighth Day", who explained that the cult was attracted to the rural areas by the presence of like-minded people:

"There were people already there, buying flour together and growing vegetables together. That was very much the style of things. We could see that people were helping each other out in the countryside" (BL).

Despite the differences between the two groups of DIY rural greentrifiers, they were united by two key traits. Firstly, both groups ascribed to the counter-cultural values and beliefs of the "good-life". This was highlighted by one interviewee, who stressed that the people who had moved into the rural areas in the late-1960s to early-1970s shared the following beliefs:

"We were all vegetarians who cared about the environment and roads and development. We would have been supportive of the people who are trying to stop the bypasses now. Many of us were members of the CND and we were strongly opposed to the nuclear programmes. We were all free thinking people" (SM).

Secondly, both groups shared a 'desire to consume the rurality of an idealised version of the Pennine past', associated with the dual economy (farming and weaving) of the domestic system of textile production. In order to explain why the groups favoured this specific representation of the past, it is

essential to focus upon the economic and cultural constraints and choices of the DIY rural greentrifiers. Indeed, it was the convergence of these constraints and choices that underlay the influx of the DIY rural greentrifiers into the rural areas. The following discussion begins with an examination of the economic constraints and choices of the DIY rural greentrifiers.

The DIY rural greentrifiers were primarily attracted to the rural areas by the availability of *cheap* dilapidated country property. Plate 5.2 shows a typical example of the condition of the country property purchased by the DIY rural greentrifiers.

**Plate 5.2 - Dilapidated Country Property**



It can be seen in Plate 5.2 that county properties were little more than crumbling walls of millstone grit. This is hardly surprising given that many had been vacant since the localised rural to valley bottom movement of the late nineteenth century, associated with the shift of textile production (see Chapter 3).

The cultural desirability of the “dilapidated” country property will be dealt with below. It is important to stress that the residential options of the DIY rural greentrifiers were greatly constrained by their low incomes. The majority opposed paid employment since this was contrary to their philosophy of “dropping out of society”. As one DIY rural greentrifier recalled:

“We didn’t want to belong to the middle class of the suburbs but rather to the intelligentsia. We were poor because we aspired to an alternative lifestyle rather than a lifestyle of money” (LB).

However, the voluntary poverty coupled with the non-availability of mortgages (building societies would not lend money to buy “cheap piles of stones”) did not impede the DIY rural greentrifiers in their purchasing of country property. Access to mortgage finance was not necessary given the relatively low cost of the country property. Typical remarks highlighting this point included: “We didn’t need to borrow that much to buy a property, so you could always lend it off somebody (sic)” (LB).

Furthermore, many “vendors” were local hill sheep farmers who were wary of formal exchanges. Stated below is the recollective dialogue provided by one DIY rural greentrifier, relating to the point of purchase of a cottage from an hill sheep farmer:

““As far has I’m concerned we have shaken on it and any silly bits of paper are totally irrelevant. I’m a sheep farmer born and bred and my words my bond”. And he spat in the palm of his hand, held it out and we shook and that was it. He said “here you are, I have got keys for cottage somewhere, take it it’s yours, live in it from tomorrow as far has I’m concerned, that’s it”” (PT).

Given that “vendors” could scarcely appreciate why DIY rural greentrifiers wanted to live in the rural areas and/or held the derelict country property with low esteem (e.g. “fit for pigs”), they were very flexible regarding payment for property. To continue with the above dialogue:

“He said “It’s his and he can move in tomorrow and I don’t care when he pays me. It can be in a bloody years time, I don’t care. I’m not short of brass.” So I didn’t pay him until Christmas when I had got my money sorted out” (PT).

However, the economic constraints and local conditions provide only a partial explanation of why the DIY rural greentrifiers were oriented towards the rural areas. Indeed, there were many similar pools of cheap property in other locations which the DIY rural greentrifiers could have bought. Cheap country property at Hepton also satisfied their cultural predilections, which meshed with the economic constraints and choices. The following section will thus consider the cultural preferences of the DIY rural greentrifiers.

### **5.3.2 The Good-Life Counter-Culture**

The “good-life” counter-cultural label was cited by many DIY rural greentrifiers. For instance, a founder member of one “good-life” commune explained that it was adopted by the DIY rural greentrifiers:

“After the television comedy with Richard Briers, since it was a very good programme that captured the naivety and innocence of it all” (BL).



The basic tenets of “the good-life” concept, which underpinned the counter-culture, was the search for organic self-sufficiency. As one DIY rural greentriifier recalled:

“People were into keeping goats, chickens, ducks and growing vegetables. They really liked goats, it seemed to be a fad for everybody. We were all into the natural yoghurt culture and everything else like that“ (PT).

Parallels can be drawn here with earlier attempts to undertake an alternative self-sufficient lifestyle during the factory system of textile production. As outlined in Chapter 4, the advent of the factory system of textile production had resulted in a mass exit of the rural populations to the valley bottom, where factory based employment and housing were located. Those individuals who “dropped out” or rejected the factory system of textile production either stayed on or later gravitated towards the rural locations. This point was eloquently made by a local observer:

“What they [the DIY rural greentriifiers] did was what the people in these properties had done before. All they did was replace the trading style which had been the sustained way of life in the past. There had been two lifestyles. You either worked for pittance in the mill or you had your freedom and wheeled and dealed” (SM).

In this context, the DIY rural greentriifiers were unintentionally replicating the residual culture of an earlier “place-specific” counter-culture. The first wave of “self-sustainers” had maintained and protected, albeit to a very poor standard, the relicts of the domestic system of textile production, which the “good-life” counter-culture could then opt into.

The good-life counter culture shared a desire to “go back to the land” and seek liberty away from capitalism. The DIY rural greentriifiers sought a lifestyle that was not dependant on the technological luxuries of modern life. Typical remarks reflecting this point include:

“I lived here for ten years without gas or electricity. There was no loo... I used to dig holes but with seven acres of land there was plenty of places to dig holes. I suppose we were sort of going back to the land in the truest sense of the word. It was a lovely existence” (BL).

In addition to “going back to land”, the DIY rural greentriifiers aimed to “go back to the Pennine past” to seek stability and roots; qualities deemed to have been lost from urban space. Hence, the supply of traditional and distinctive Pennine country property in a rural environment was a key attraction for the DIY rural greentriifiers.

‘The desire to consume the past’ was demonstrated by the DIY rural greentriifiers penchant for the redemption of the “second hand” in the form of antiques, clothes and books. Typical comments made

by interviewees regarding a recycling of artefacts of the past included:

“We were all interested in antiques and the old country houses were a perfect setting for old furniture. It was cheap at the time and plentiful in Hebden Bridge” (PT).

Linked to the recovery of the Pennine past, the DIY rural greentrifiers also sought to rediscover egalitarian and “*gemeinschaft*” social relations. Interviews revealed that the DIY rural greentrifiers had constructed a socio-spatial dichotomy between sub(urban) and rural locations. This emerges in the following quote, which highlights a malevolence towards inauthenticity, conformity and homogeneity of suburban space. Rural spaces, on the other hand, are ascribed oppositional features:

“People were good mixers [in the rural areas], whereas in more suburban areas, where they all have their standard house, with their standard garden, with their standard cars and conservatory, it is much more class conscious. Whereas in the rural areas everybody was doing up their farmhouse and everybody had the same problem. There was a sort of camaraderie about it, there were no observable class divisions” (PT).

Indeed, authentic relationships were deemed essential for the fulfilment of an alternative communal lifestyle. Integral to this was the perception that “real people” lived in the “real spaces” of the rural areas of Hepton. In contrast, the view was held that “inauthentic people” lived in the “inauthentic (sub)urban spaces.” For example, when one DIY rural greentrifier was asked to explain what attracted him to Hepton, he fondly recalled that the local identity of individuals were attached to place:

“What impressed me when I first came to the area were that they were real people. I mean I was used to a place like Manchester and not knowing anybody. Here people had the same surnames like Greenwood and Sutcliffe. So there was no Mr Greenwood or Mr Sutcliffe because no one would know who you meant. So they gave everybody their full Christian names and where they lived. So for example, Eric Greenwood at Wood Top was **Eric at Wood Top**. People were real people with an identity that you could latch onto” (PT).

The realisation of the philosophy of a “natural” self-sufficient lifestyle was soon challenged with the failure to grow vegetables in the location. In short, the “good-life” counter-culture was undermined by the natural elements which had constrained the earlier waves of “self-sustainers”. The past was replicated when the DIY rural greentrifiers discovered:

“... that self-sufficiency at 1,000ft in the Pennines is just not on. They made the same sort of transition that the weavers had done, they entered into the dual economy. The weavers had been part-time farmers, the hippies [DIY rural greentrifiers] began to do the same” (DEF).

However, this did not lead to an abandonment of the values and beliefs of the “good life” counter-

culture. Rather, the “good-life” lifestyle was compromised as the DIY rural greentrifiers once again imitated the past and entered into a “dual economy”. This was superbly summed up by one DIY rural greentrifier, who recalled:

“We tried to be self-sufficient growing cabbages and cannabis plants, sharing our eggs, cheese and milk. But in the end it just wasn’t on, so we went on to become painters, builders, sculptors, carpenters, joiners.” (MS).

The origins of many DIY rural greentrifiers entering a dual economy are located in the cultural desire for the communal self-renovation of country property. It is important not to neglect the implications of economic constraints and choices here. Indeed, the need to self-renovate was forced upon them given the absence of capital to employ trades-people to upgrade the derelict farmsteads, barns and weavers cottages. However, the feasibility for each individual to self-renovate, given the spectrum of skills needed was limited. To overcome these problems the DIY rural greentrifiers shared their skills and swapped labour days. For example:

“We’d swap hours. I’d go down and do some varnishing for a joiner and he’d then come up and do some stuff here. No money ever exchanged hands” (BL).

It is questionable whether the DIY rural greentrifiers would have employed trades-people even if they had the financial resources required. The practices of self-renovation were influenced by an integration of economic constraints and cultural choices.

### **5.3.3 DIY Rural Greentrifiers and the CCT: Cultural Overlap**

As the “good-life” counter-cultural lifestyle was compromised, the DIY rural greentrifiers came out of their self-imposed isolation and began interacting with local individuals and institutions. This is clearly the case of the pioneer wave of DIY rural greentrifiers, who had established a commune in dilapidated weaver cottages at Foster Clough in 1966.

During 1968, the cottage properties at Foster Clough were condemned by the Local Authority, who claimed that they were unfit for habitation and should be demolished. The DIY rural greentrifiers were encouraged by the CCT to challenge this decision, formalise their communal self-renovation activities and form a builders co-operative. As David Fletcher, then Chairman of the CCT, recalled:

“I went up to see the folk who had moved in and said ”look there are grants for doing up properties. These properties are unfit as they stand.” There were no toilets, no hot water systems, no ventilation. I said to them “If you form a company and do the work yourself, bill yourself for the company and you can get a grant, they did just that” (DEF).

The creation of the Foster Clough Co-operative gave the DIY rural greentrifiers access to the home improvement grants. The appropriation of improvement grants inevitably shaped the form of self-renovation. The Hebden Royd Urban Council had the power to define the parameters of rehabilitation before supplying the improvement grants. If the DIY rural greentrifiers had not followed these codes the application for grant assistance could have been rejected or withdrawn.

As the DIY rural greentrifiers consolidated their position in the rural areas, they began to engage with the CCT. This provided an opportunity to inscribe the values of the good-life counter-culture within an active local voluntary institution. Two factors are important here. Firstly, many of the environmental values of the DIY rural greentrifiers coincided with the objectives of the CCT. This was manifest in the tree planting activities and the production of a “greener” landscape(s) by the CCT and the DIY rural greentrifiers. For instance, one ageing “hippie” recalled:

“I was interested in planting trees all around. I thought the sooner I get them up the sooner I can appreciate them. So once we got the shell of the house up, we spent 1969 and 1970 on the outside planting trees” (BL).

Secondly, the open membership of the CCT was crucial in enabling the DIY rural greentrifiers to play an active role. As Bond notes in a review of the CCT:

“To ensure that CCT was a broadly based organisation, membership was available to any person, whether local or from further afield who supported the objectives. CCT declared itself as non-party political and viewed itself as drawing its members from all social strata and political affiliations” (Bond, 1991 p.xxiii).

It was this convergence of the CCT and the DIY rural greentrifiers which was crucial in strengthening the rehabilitation movement in the Hebden Bridge district. The involvement of the DIY rural greentrifiers in the CCT provided a pronounced (pre-) professional composition and implanted skills and knowledge, enhancing the capacity of the CCT to influence change. This improved the effectiveness of the CCT’s promotion of a new image for Hebden Bridge and the rehabilitation “band-wagon” gained momentum. Hence, the following section returns to the process of change which set about the re-making of the urban areas of Hebden Bridge.

## 5.4 The Re-making of “Urban” Hebden Bridge

In line with the beliefs of the Yorkshire And Humberside Economic Planning Council, the local agency of Hebden Royd Urban Council and the CCT sought to transform the role of the Hebden Bridge in the early to mid 1970's. This involved a shift away from fustian production (albeit declining and decaying) to a vibrant commuter and tourist function. To achieve the vision, the Hebden Royd Urban Council and the CCT began redefining and re-making the Hebden Bridge landscape to manufacture a “rurban” package; qualities which they believed commuters and tourists would find enticing. The elements of the rurban package will be revealed in the following section.

Significantly, the local players were motivated by a belief that tourists and commuters would only be attracted once the place had been cleaned-up and re-presented. This was revealed by David Fletcher, in his role as CCT Chairman and Hebden Royd Urban councillor, who stressed:

“We have to give our district a new sense of purpose - a new image - to put it on the map” (*HBT*, 25 5 73).

### 5.4.1 Producing the Rurban Package

The decaying industrial landscape of Hebden Bridge was remade by a process of washing, burning and greening. It will be argued, that the “wash and burn” strategy sought to sanitise the negative industrial and urban associations tied to the factory system of textile production. The technique of “greening” sought to emphasise and instil images of the idyllic rural surroundings into Hebden Bridge. The DIY rural greentrifiers clearly played an enabling role in the recommodification of Hebden Bridge through their revitalisation of the countryside.

The support of the Hebden Royd Urban Council and the CCT for stone-cleaning symbolically expressed the future vision of Hebden Bridge. It washed away the dark polluted industrial past (i.e. the soot) to reveal sparkling jewels (i.e. the honey coloured millstone grit); a key foundation on which commuters and tourists would be attracted to the place.

The stone-cleaning of property at Hebden Bridge, encouraged by a central government initiative called “Operation Eyesore Scheme”, began in 1973. Under the initiative, an Environmental Assistance Grant could be obtained from the Department of the Environment (*HBT*, 23/3/73). The grant provided landlords and owner-occupiers of property with 75% assistance towards total stone-cleaning costs, with 50% and 25% from central and local government respectively (*HBT*, 27/7/73). When the scheme ended

in September 1973, 100 buildings in Hebden Bridge had been selectively stone cleaned during the duration of the scheme (*HBT*, 12/10/73). Indeed, the public response was so great that the Hebden Royd Urban Council had to increase its financial allocations for the grants (*Evening Courier*, 31/1/73)

Attention must be drawn here to the selective imposition of stone-cleaning by the Hebden Royd Urban councillors. Most significant was the internal resistance within the Hebden Royd Urban Council to stone clean the “Old Bridge”. For instance, Councillor Doyle commented: “I would hate to see it cleaned. I cannot see that, it would look out of place” (*HBT*, 27/4/73). Likewise, Councillor Fletcher wanted the “Old Bridge” leaving alone, since it was “the symbol of the town, the oldest building and listed as an ancient monument” (*ibid*). Resistance to the stone-cleaning of the “Old Bridge” demonstrates that the Hebden Royd Urban Council and the CCT were not discarding all of the industrial past. Specific artefacts such as this, stained by the industrial past, were deemed valuable and left unmodified to attract commuters and tourists.

Importantly, in the context of the Hebden Bridge district stone-cleaning activities were confined to Hebden Bridge. Hepton Rural Council were not in favour of stone-cleaning in the rural areas, arguing that this would destroy the “black-stone character” of the country property (*HBT*, 23/2/73). This further illustrates the different value attached to artefacts from the industrial past. In contrast to the general detrimental association in Hebden Bridge, “blackness” was viewed as a positive and “natural” characteristic of country property. Indeed, it will be shown in Chapter 9 that the black appearance of country property is a key attraction of the rural location for the greentrifiers. It is a central component of their representation of Pennine rurality.

Moreover, in the regional context of the Calder Valley, the stone-cleaning activities represented cultural values and beliefs that were specific to Hebden Bridge. The rest of the Calder Valley remained “black” during the early to mid 1970s, as David Fletcher recalled:

“The towns roundabouts thought we had gone crackers when we started stone-cleaning. They thought we were mad getting rid of the blackness since for them, it still represented industry and jobs. They were still saying “Where’s our industry, we want our industry, give us back our industry!” (DEF).

The concentration of stone-cleaning activities in Hebden Bridge is revealed in the Halifax Evening Courier. Highlighting the atypical experience of Hebden Bridge within the context of the Calder Valley, article headings boldly stressed: “Hebden Bridge is taken to the cleaners!” and “The War against grime in Hebden Bridge continues” (*Evening Courier*, 22/2/73). Interestingly, in the same edition there was a report on the development of a “New Halifax”, displaying examples of recently built high rise

developments which had replaced old housing. Therefore, the experiences of Halifax (and the rest of the Calder Valley) and Hebden Bridge contrasted in the early 1970s; Hebden Bridge was *cleaning* its past and Halifax (and the rest of the Calder Valley) was *clearing* its past.

The “burning” of the Hebden Bridge landscape refers to the mysterious fires which removed many mills in the mid 1970’s. There is a strong local belief that many mills were destroyed due to the tax rates imposed on empty industrial buildings in 1974. Indeed, the CCT feared:

“The introduction of the new rating surcharge may cause some owners to panic into demolishing buildings to prevent a massive rate bill” (*HBT*, 12/7/74).

The “greening” of the Hebden Bridge landscape sustained the earlier tree planting and preservation activities of the CCT and the DIY rural greentrifiers (in the rural areas). The importance of the Town and Country Planning Act (1971) should be noted here, given that it allowed local authorities to make tree preservation orders in the interests of amenity and provide grant-aid. A manifestation of this national sentiment was a local initiative established in 1973, called “Plant A Tree in 73”. As the Chairman of Hebden Royd Urban Council, Councillor Knight, made clear:

“This tree planting year is a government sponsored scheme and not the brainchild of our council or some particular councillors” (*HBT*, 23/3/73).

The “Plant A Tree in 73” scheme was implemented by the “Hebden Royd Tree Planting Association”, a collaboration between the Hebden Royd Urban Council and the CCT (*HBT*, 30/3/73). Local individuals were encouraged to donate a tree(s) “in memory” of a friend or relative, which the Association would then plant (*HBT*, 21/9 73). The success of the “In Memory scheme” led to vast numbers of trees being planted throughout the area. The measures were such, that Councillor Hubbard claimed: “Hebden Bridge had gone tree planting mad and I forecast that the area will soon look like Epping Forest” (*HBT*, 5/1/73). The intense scale of tree planting and preservation is revealed by the “wooded” periphery of the contemporary Hebden Bridge landscape.

In summary, through the process of washing, burning and greening, the blackened, abandoned and decaying industrial past of Hebden Bridge was repackaged but not completely retained. As already observed, the actions were highly selective with certain elements left unmodified (e.g. the Old Bridge), others preserved in a sanitised form (e.g. Bridge mill chimney) and others removed (e.g. warehousing). The industrial past of Hebden Bridge only became a valuable asset once the more detrimental parts had been removed and the retained parts hidden or controlled.

## 5.4.2 Protecting the Rurban Package

The conservation of the sanitised industrial past was institutionalised by the Hebden Bridge Conservation Area, as designated by the West Riding County Council in July 1973. As the following West Riding County Council quote reveals, it was a highly selective form of conservation, based on subjective interpretations of what aspects of the landscape were valuable:

“The considered control and enhancement of the inherent character of the area. In effect it means trying to protect those elements that contribute to the attraction and historical significance of place” (*HBT*, 27/7/73).

It is intriguing to note the similarities between the objectives of the Hebden Bridge Conservation Area and the earlier stated goals of CCT. This highlights the degree to which the historical significance of the Hebden Bridge district, as constructed by the CCT, had penetrated the corridors of power.

Indeed, the response from the Hebden Royd Urban Council to the Conservation Area reveals the imposition of the CCT beliefs within the council. The following comment from Hebden Royd Urban Council clearly parallels CCT’s vision of a future Hebden Bridge (and explains the justification for the designation of the Conservation Area):

“Hebden Bridge has been spared the large scale demolitions and twentieth century intrusions which have caused such environmental damage in so many towns. Conservation is not the same as preservation and it does not mean that there will be any attempt to fossilise the town and turn it into a museum, but instead to safeguard and enhance the character as a small and attractive industrial township. New development will need to be constructed in sympathetic style and materials” (*HBT*, 29 6 73).

At the same time, the quote illustrates the transformation of Hebden Royd Urban Council regarding the form of redevelopment. The call for new development constructed in sympathetic styles and materials contrasts with the high rise schemes that had been envisaged in the 1960s. Moreover, this reflects the ideological shift already observed at a national level.

In order to accentuate and conserve the artefacts within the cleansed Hebden Bridge landscape, the different local institutions which shared the desire to create and supply a new image for Hebden Bridge became intertwined. The interaction of individuals and/or institutions was manifest in the CCT joining forces with the Hebden Bridge Local History Group to list buildings on behalf of the local councils. The involvement of the Hebden Bridge Local History Group within the rehabilitation and conservation movement may represent a changing local attitude to redevelopment. As already observed, the local



population had been very critical of David Fletcher and the CCT for wishing to save and rehabilitate old buildings in Hebden Bridge.

Once again, this localised movement was greatly influenced by the structural conditions put in place by central government. The Town and Country Amenity Act (1974) had encouraged local groups to highlight buildings which they felt should be listed. Interestingly, prior to the listing of 20 buildings in July 1974, the “Old Bridge” was the only listed artefact of Hebden Bridge, (*HBT*, 12/7/74). This illustrates the change in the value attached to the old property in Hebden Bridge over time.

The designation of the Hebden Bridge Conservation Area and the listing activities of the early to mid-1970's highlight the particularly strong local political support for conservation and rehabilitation that had arisen at Hebden Bridge. Moreover, given that no other mill town in the Calder Valley was designated as a conservation area until Sowerby Bridge in 1984, Hebden Bridge appears atypical in relation to other mill towns in the Calder Valley. Hebden Bridge thus shows more similarity with the smaller rural villages and hamlets, since conservation areas were designated in Heptonstall (1971), Luddenden (1973), Millbank and Cottonstones (1976), Warley (1977) and Mankinholes (1980). The DIY rural greentrifiers were highly influential here in the designation of conservation status to the rural villages and hamlets.

### **5.4.3 Hebden Bridge: The Pennine Centre**

Running parallel to the re-making of the landscape, the CCT promoted Hebden Bridge as the “centre of a Pennine Park”. The CCT claimed that there could be no better advert than the Pennine Park to attract industry and people back to Hebden Bridge (*HBT*, 25/5/73). It was from this positioning within the regional context, that Hebden Bridge became labelled “The Pennine Centre”. As Plate 5.3 shows, the construction of this label drew explicitly upon the large areas of Pennine countryside which encircled Hebden Bridge, increasing its attraction for commuters and tourists. An integral part of the recommodification of Hebden Bridge was thus the revitalised Pennine countryside. Once again, the necessary actions of the DIY rural greentrifiers should be noted here.

**Plate 5.3 - Hebden Bridge: “The Pennine Centre”**



It is important to stress that the concept of the “Pennine Centre” was not formulated by the CCT. Rather it emerged from the Civic Trust for North West’s “Operation Spring Clean” campaign. The campaign sought to destroy the bad image which this part of the country evoked by constructing a regional recreation park (*HBT*, 15 12/67). The concept of the regional recreation park was regionally transmitted by Granada Television in a “free” advertisement. Significantly, reference was made to Hebden Bridge at the centre of the proposed recreation park.

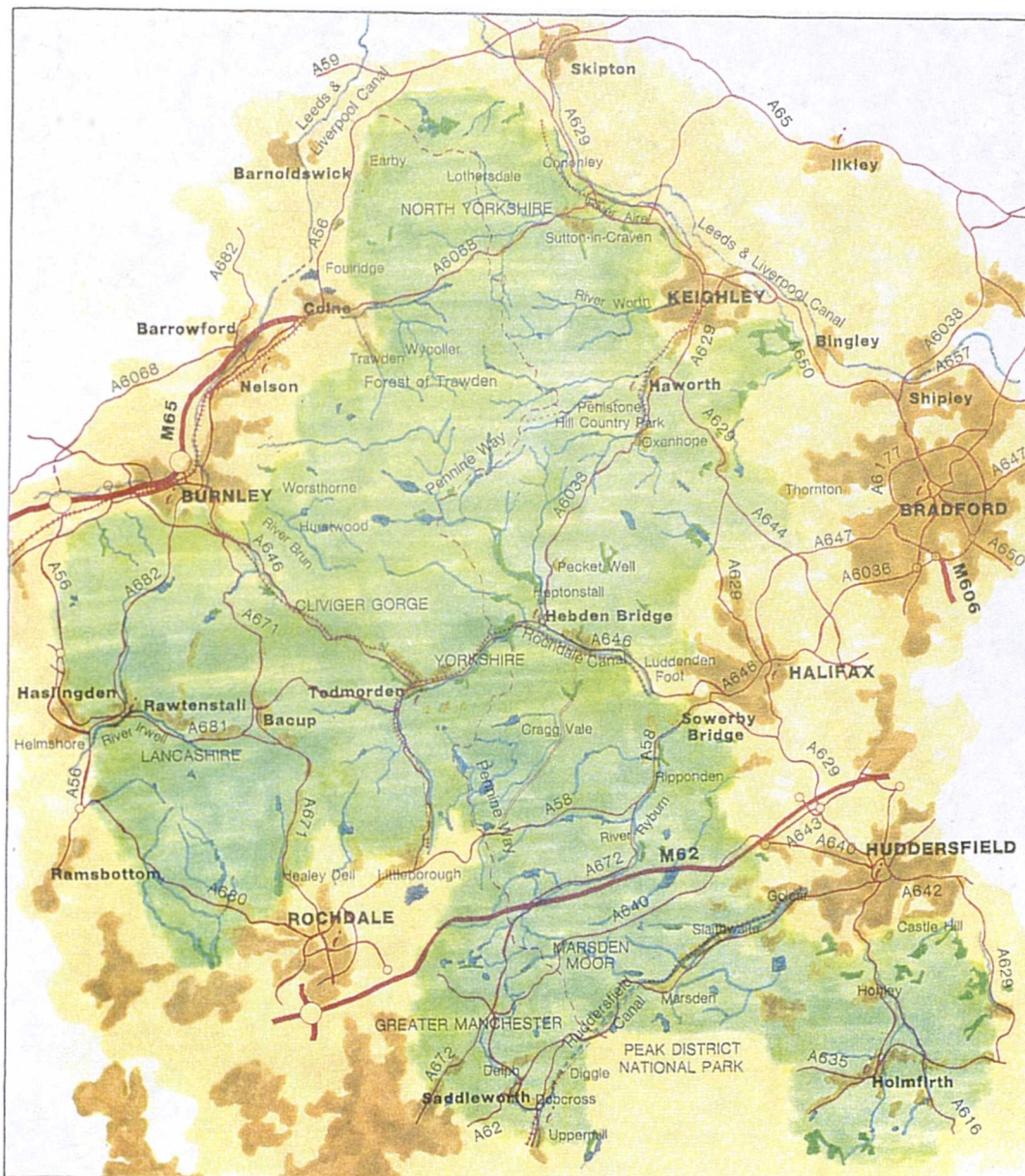
These ideas were adopted by the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board (1968), albeit on a smaller scale, in their study of Halifax and the Calder Valley. In their report they proposed that:

“Large parts of this area have outstanding potential for recreation. This potential should be realised; the Council recommend the establishment of a Country Park under the forthcoming Countryside Act, and suggest that the area designated should include Hardcastle Crags and the area north of Hebden Bridge“ (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board, 1968 p.5).

Although the proposals were never put into practice by the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council, they were developed and published by the CCT (1971) in a document titled “The

Mid-Pennines - A New Future?". The document argued for the development of a South Pennine Recreation Park, couched between the Yorkshire Dales and Peak District National Parks. Significantly, this construction informally assigned national park status to the Calder Valley, enhancing its imagery to commuters and tourists. At the physical centre of the South Pennine Recreational Park stood Hebden Bridge and hence its subsequent promotion as the "Pennine Centre" (see Figure 5.4).

**Figure 5.4 - The South Pennines**



The individuals responsible for the document, David Fitzpatrick (Stockport Town Planner) and David Ellis (Manchester Polytechnic Lecturer), clearly reveal the professional input now apparent within the CCT. It is clear that the CCT had itself (like Hebden Bridge) experienced dramatic transformations since its conception in 1965. From 1969, the actions had been well co-ordinated from the CCT headquarters (Stag Cottage) at Heptonstall. More importantly, as already observed in Section 5.4.3, by the early to mid-1970's the CCT comprised many well educated, articulate and politically active individuals, who had the power and skills to bring about change. The CCT was clearly a force to be reckoned with!

The CCT sought to attract visitors to the "Pennine Centre" indirectly, by exploiting and raising awareness of the tourist potential of the historic village of Heptonstall, which overlooks Hebden Bridge. To realise Heptonstall's tourist potential, the CCT created and published the "Heptonstall History Trail" in January, 1972. Copies were quickly purchased by prospective visitors to the historic village. The first 500 copies printed sold out within two days, the next 500 copies printed sold out within a week (*HBT*, 9/2/73). One year after its publication 8,000 copies had been sold. Clearly, visitors were being attracted to the rural areas surrounding Hebden Bridge. As the *Halifax Evening Courier* reported:

"The success of the CCT's "Heptonstall History Trail" reflects a real awakening of interest in the village. For many years historians and antiquarians have taken a deep interest in the ancient hilltop settlement but the public has in general been unaware of its fascination" (*Halifax Evening Courier*, 9/2/73).

To entice the visitors to Hebden Bridge, the CCT created and produced "Pennine Walks Around Hebden Bridge" (1973). This publication spread the repackaged image of Hebden Bridge to a wider audience. Following on from this, both Hepton and Hebden Bridge were quickly discovered by many visitors and walkers during the Easter weekend of 1973. The Hebden Bridge Times claimed that as a result of the "Heptonstall History Trail", visitor records had been broken with over 1,000 visitors inundating Heptonstall during Easter (*HBT*, 17/4/73). As a result of these growing numbers of visitors, Yorkshire Tourist Board included Heptonstall and Hebden Bridge in its new holiday guide for the first time (*HBT*, 9/2/73).

The concept of the Pennine Park was institutionalised by the West Riding County Council and the respective local authorities in 1973. A "Pennine Park Steering Committee" was formed to implement the concept, comprising delegates from the West Riding County Council, all seven local authorities contained within the Park and the CCT. The post of "Pennine Park Information Officer" was created and it was proposed that a Pennine Park Information Centre be established in Hebden Bridge (*HBT*, 2/2/73).

Furthermore, to cater for and encourage greater numbers of walkers, the CCT hosted proposals to create an 18 mile footpath which they termed the “Calderdale Way” (*HBT*, 13/7/73). Following the proposals, the “Calderdale Civic Trust Liaison Group” was established to plan the route of the “Calderdale Way” (*HBT*, 21/9/73). This group comprised delegates from all seven Civic Trusts in Calderdale and highlights the pivotal role now taken by the CCT in a regional context to promote a new regional image of the South Pennines. The co-ordinated regional stance was a key strand of the promotional strategy adopted by David Fletcher and supporters, for instance:

“We have something other areas have not - but we need to sell this idea, to change the image of our Pennine towns in the middle of those who do not know them as they are today. The Pennine Park concept could be the key to a changed image, the Pennine towns should cease to see themselves as being on the fringe, but unite in their efforts to put themselves at the centre of Northern England. A change of image does not happen overnight, so we feel that much could be gained by a co-ordinated approach to develop the concept of the “Pennine Ring”, the urban circle around the Pennine “Green”, where life and work can be satisfying” (*HBT*, 11/4/75).

#### 5.4.4 Local Resistance to the Pennine Centre

As Hebden Bridge was increasingly re-made to cater for commuters and tourists, the indigenous local population objected to the new function. The resistance to change, expressed on the letters page of the local newspaper, was based on claims that Councillor Fletcher and the CCT were not acting on behalf of local interests. Typical outbursts included:

“The majority of working people in the district are sick of reading week after week of nothing else but tree planting; stone-cleaning and flower power for a Pennine Centre. In all this time, I have not heard him [David Fletcher] giving his time as a councillor, to getting some good well paid employment into the area, to help real local people and not the visitor” (*HBT*, 2/3/73).

“To the council and to Councillor Fletcher in particular, I say, lets us have a fair deal for all, not trees and flowers all the way for visitors, while those who were born and bred here are forced to leave” (*HBT*, 6/4/73).

Given that Councillor Fletcher had earlier stressed the benefits of attracting a commuter population to the Hebden Bridge district, his response to these charges is surprising. For example, he commented:

“Commuterland is the last thing I want. Down with the live in a box, come home and watch the box mentality. Community action is my scene and in the absence of magical powers, flower power is better than no power at all - at least it grows” (*HBT*, 9/3/73).

Similar charges were voiced from within the Hebden Royd Urban Council, particularly by Labour

councillors (i.e. the “old guard”). Concern was expressed that the local indigenous people had not been consulted about the changing function and the promotion of Hebden Bridge as the Pennine Centre. As a result, a study group was established by the Hebden Royd Labour Party to examine various aspects of the proposals (*HBT*, 15/6/73). The position of the Labour councillors was made very clear by the Chairman of the Labour Party, Councillor Timewell, who stressed:

“We welcome the Pennine Park and we are not against it, but people are completely in the dark. There should have been more public participation from the beginning to have found out what the public would have liked to have seen” (*HBT*, 22/6/73).

Replying to these criticisms, Councillor Fletcher commented that he was pleased that a study group had been established. However, he refuted the claims that the local population had not been involved and drew attention to the fact that only 12 members of the public had attended a well publicised meeting. He concluded that the Pennine Park was essential, given:

“To catch people and jobs we need to bait the hook and the Pennine Park is the best bait we shall ever have. Do the Labour Party intend to unhook the bait and return to the bankrupt years?” (*HBT*, 22/6/73).

Councillor Fletcher refuted the charges made by the local indigenous population and Labour councillors. Once again, he reiterated that he did not intend Hebden Bridge and/or Hepton to become places for commuters, however, he did claim that it was in the interests of local people to encourage visitors. For instance, one speech claimed:

“There is a limit to the number of new residents who can live in the area, for we do not want our local community swamping **BUT** there is ample scope for an increase in the number of visitors. **THEY** are coming and **THEY** will come so **WE** must be ready for them and organise **OUR** Pennine Park to cater for them in ways which create minimal disturbance to **OUR** local life... **WE** must use **THEIR** presence to improve local conditions to help **US** to obtain the amenities which **WE** desire but cannot always afford“ [emphases added] (*HBT*, 25/5/73).

Inherent within this speech was the distinction between “us” and “them” and the manipulation of “them” for the good of “us”. Councillor Fletcher was emphasising this division to highlight that he was working in the wider interests of the indigenous population. Interestingly, parallels can be drawn here to Molotch’s (1976) growth machine hypothesis. This states that the dominant social group of a locality will foster a pro-growth ideology. To exercise ideological hegemony the dominant group will “sell” the notion that growth is in the best interests of the resident population. In line with the actions of the CCT movement, outlined earlier, the exploitation of local government institutions and local media is vital to this process (see Cox and Mair 1989; Bridger and Harper 1990 for fuller discussion). Clearly, the agency of the CCT movement fits into the framework of the growth machine hypothesis.

Despite renewed claims for a burgeoning influx of visitors, resistance from the indigenous population was perpetuated by a front page article in the local newspaper. Under the heading “*Tourists Make Life Unbearable At Heptonstall*”, the CCT were criticised for publishing the “Heptonstall History Trail” and destroying the village atmosphere. As the article stated:

“Before the book was published residents were able to sit out in their gardens, or outside their homes in peaceful tranquillity but now this is impossible as they are like “goldfish in a bowl” being stared at by tourists every weekend”.

This editorial view was verified on the letters page by local residents of Heptonstall, in strongly worded accounts of dismay:

“What gives CCT the right to try to change Heptonstall into another Howarth. Why should Heptonstall be flooded with tourists which is changing the whole character of life in the village just to satisfy the CCT’s project of a Pennine Park. They are staring to see what I am eating for lunch at the weekend. It was peaceful and tranquil before the trail was published, but it is now diabolical for residents who have to live here. We are like monkeys in a cage to be viewed every weekend” (*HBT*, 3/8/73).

In response to this local disenchantment, the CCT called a Pennine Park meeting, to “explain and alleviate people’s fears and reservations of the plan” (*HBT*, 28/10/73). Following this meeting, the CCT called for a “Pennine Park Organisation” comprising interested groups and individuals. To overcome local antagonisms, Councillor Fletcher stressed that actions should focus upon the management of the area and not its promotion. Likewise, the Pennine Park Information Officer, Ian Charlesworth, claimed that it was his job to de-promote the appeal of certain overcrowded areas and attract people elsewhere (*HBT*, 28 10 73). Although these promises were never fulfilled, it would appear that local resistance towards the Pennine Park was abated.

Indeed, the Pennine Park Association was inaugurated in April 1974. The West Yorkshire County Council implemented the proposals for a South Pennine Information Centre at Hebden Bridge. It was opened during April 1974 to cater for the Easter weekend rush of visitors (*HBT*, 14/12/73). Once again, Hebden Bridge Times claimed that visitor records had been surpassed, with over 7,000 visitors flocking to Hardcastle Crags (*HBT*, 19/4/74). The effects of the “Hebden Bridge History Trail” were also revealed as 400 visitors entered the South Pennine Information Centre during the weekend.

The concept of the Pennine Park was communicated to a national audience on 1st October 1974 in a BBC Television documentary, titled “A View Of The Upper Calder Valley.” In the documentary, the presenter, Professor Bernard Jennings (University of Leeds) stressed: “It would be a great shame if we

allowed any part of this unique inheritance to be damaged or destroyed.”

Similarly, once local resistance to the Pennine Park had been diffused, the CCT maintained the promotion of the Pennine Centre to encourage an influx of commuters and tourists. Typical promotional statements by David Fletcher included:

“The local district has always been attractive, full of character and one might say mystery and romance. The town is an enclave of variety protected by the surrounding hills, in today's world of over-standardisation. There is value in variety; it stimulates the mind and the biggest change of all, people are beginning to recognise that value. Our district is coming to life again” (*HBT*, 15/2/74).

A clear message was now being proclaimed that the Hebden Bridge district offered many positive residential and locational attributes within striking distance of Leeds, Bradford and Manchester. However, changes in local government structures introduced new pressures which were detrimental to recommodification. The following section will address this volatile period in the local politics.

## **5.5 Wave Two - A Renewed Call For Clearance**

Under the Local Government Reform Act (1972), Hebden Royd Urban Council and Hepton Rural Council were dissolved and amalgamated within a new Calderdale District Council, the headquarters of which were to be located in Halifax. David Fletcher reacted strongly to the loss of powers, commenting that:

“The coming of Calderdale is causing concern since local government is moving away from the people. How will a councillor from Brighouse know what is best for Hebden Bridge? He will not, so he must be kept informed. Who will inform him? We must more than ever more than ever before, remain vigilant and very active” (*HBT*, 16 2 73).

This call for vigilance was dampened by the results of the Calderdale District Council elections in May 1973 (*HBT*, 18/5/73). David Fletcher, now standing as a Liberal candidate narrowly failed to win one of three available seats on the Calderdale District Council. All three seats were gained by members of the Labour “old guard” section. It was these “old guard” councillors who had been opposed to the CCT’s alternative manifesto and the Pennine Park concept. The election results may indicate the resistance of the local indigenous population to the influx of commuters and tourists. By standing as a Liberal candidate David Fletcher’s political stance was contrary to the CCT constitution, which was supposedly “non-party political”. This may indicate that the beliefs of David Fletcher had been compromised by the formal local political process and/or the CCT had itself become party political in order to exert greater influence. Additionally, there may have been less viability of standing as an independent within the



larger political unit of the Calderdale District Council.

In a last bid to promote the alternative manifesto (before Hebden Royd Urban Council was abolished), Councillor Fletcher and supporters made numerous proposals for the rehabilitation of property, which the Calderdale District Council would have to consider. These suggestions were well publicised in the local press. For example, one front page article noted that:

“Hebden Royd Council is to ask Calderdale [District Council] to make a general improvement area of Eiffel Street, Edward Street and Chapel Avenue” (*HBT*, 30 11/73).

Another proposal called for an Environmental and House Rehabilitation Scheme for the Hangingroyd Area. Councillor Crabtree stressed that:

“This report is to be passed on to the Calderdale [District Council]. The life of this council is too short to implement any of these proposals. But it does go to them with a strong recommendation for them to proceed with vigour and enthusiasm, I hope we can see this part of Hebden Bridge change as we have seen the changes so far in the Stubbings area” (*HBT*, 30 11 73).

The overall response from the elected members of the Calderdale District Council was that some local councils had been irresponsible in committing the new Calderdale District Council to pay for projects which were not essential (*HBT*, 14/12/73). Councillor Crabtree, in turn, argued these comments were proof that some Calderdale District Councillors did not seem to be renovation-minded and preferred to demolish buildings (*HBT*, 25 1/74).

The view of those Hebden Royd Urban Councillors, who were elected to serve on the Calderdale District Council, is clearly revealed by the last major decision taken by the Hebden Royd Urban Council. Ironically, this decision relates to the Stubbings General Improvement Area (GIA), the area which Councillor Crabtree had hoped any future changes in Hebden Bridge would parallel. Debating whether to rehabilitate or demolish two blocks of terrace housing within the Stubbings GIA, Councillor Barker called for demolition, arguing that the council had bitten off more than it could chew (*HBT*, 12/10/73). Another “old guard” councillor (elected for the Calderdale District Council), Councillor Knowles, reiterated this viewpoint, stressing: “the figure of £47,000 was too high” (*ibid*). In opposition, Councillor Fletcher and Councillor Helliwell (Deputy Chairman of the CCT) called for the Council to advertise for people to suggest rehabilitation schemes for the property. It was argued that this alternative option would save the council £12,000. Despite these predicted benefits, the “old guard” won the Stubbings battle and Councillor Fletcher’s amendment was narrowly defeated by 8 votes to 6. However, a later statement issued by the Hebden Royd Urban Council, indicates once again the

influence of Councillor Fletcher and his supporters:

“The Council have turned down a £54,440 scheme to carry out improvements. It was decided to demolish the block, build a retaining wall and clear up the site at a cost of £11,500 but until the demolition contract is signed up anyone is to be allowed to investigate the property to put forward an improvement scheme” (*HBT*, 30/11/73).

Upon the inception of the Calderdale District Council (1st April 1974), the fears earlier outlined by David Fletcher and supporters were realised. Operating within the wider interests of Calderdale, decisions relating to Hebden Bridge were taken within the wider context of the Calderdale region. This is well illustrated in the Sub-Committee’s minutes regarding future development at Heptonstall:

“Heptonstall was now part of the much larger authority of Calderdale, which had broader responsibility of planning and controlling development in order to enhance and conserve the environment and use the existing urban investment for the benefit of the area as a whole (Development Services Area Sub-Committee, 19/12/74).

As a result of this policy (to constrain development in the rural areas of Calderdale) it was proposed that future development should be channelled into urban areas of the Calder Valley. It was argued that places, such as Hebden Bridge, already had the benefits of a service infrastructure which was capable of satisfying the needs of an urban population. Importantly, the Calderdale District Council stressed that sites for new build development would be made available in the urban areas, once older housing had been removed.

In response to these regional pressures for the renewed clearance and redevelopment of Hebden Bridge, the CCT carried forward their earlier rounds of contest. Significantly, objections were not raised by David Fletcher on behalf of the CCT. Rather, the spokesperson for the CCT was the future Chairman of the CCT, Councillor Philip Round (of Hebden Royd Town Council), who stated:

“If Calderdale [District Council] were reverting to a policy of demolition rather than improvement of building in the local area this is very disappointing and serious consideration ought to be given to fighting such schemes” (*HBT*, 4/4/75).

David Fletcher did remain highly vocal during this period, openly expressing his opinions in the local media, for example:

“Our district is still under threat, not by a major scheme, but by a process of creeping erosion, the removal of little bits here and there, a block of houses here, an old mill there. Flagstones are replaced by tarmac and great slab roofed dormers are placed on traditional sloping roofs” (*HBT*, 14/3/75).

In relation to pre-1975 comments, these comments made by David Fletcher were undertaken from a

differing perspective. Following the creation of the Calderdale District Council, he had “stepped-out” of the formal local political arena, ultimately resigning as Chairman of the CCT in August, 1975. His interests had widened, initially as Director of Advisory Services for the Civic Trust for the North West (HBT, 25/1/74) and later as Chairman of Pennine Development Trust (HBT, 21/1/79).

In the context of Hebden Bridge, it is possible that the proposal of the Calderdale District Council to demolish old residential property had been influenced by the in-migration of squatters into abandoned property. As the minutes of the Housing Committee of the Calderdale District Council stated:

“The Chief Environmental Health Officer reported on the occupation by squatters of certain dwellings which form part of a proposed clearance area at Queens Terrace/Albion Terrace and which property is now in deplorable condition” (Upper Valley Area Sub-Committee, 26/6/74).

In addition, strong pressures were being exerted upon the Calderdale District Council by the local population of Hebden Bridge to address the problem of squatting. For example, one local resident of Queens Terrace claimed “the squatters had been burning rubbish and it was time it was stopped” (HBT, 26 4 74). Likewise, the representative for Hebden Bridge on the Calderdale District Council, Councillor Barker, stated: “Something must be done. It is not fair to the other people who live there” (ibid). Similarly, the new spokesperson for the CCT, Councillor Round, objected to the influx of squatters from outside:

“I am concerned when I see people coming into the area from places like Cornwall and London and setting up home overnight in derelict or empty property” (HBT, 26 9/75).

There were great disagreement to the best solution to solving the problems of the squatters. The Calderdale District Council argued that the dwellings must be demolished. In contrast, the CCT argued that the dwellings should be rehabilitated to attract new residents to the area.

Running parallel to the squatter debate, was a battle that ensued between David Fletcher (acting as Chairman of the Nutclough Trust) and Councillor Barker. This carried forward the symbolic legacy of the “rehabilitation versus redevelopment debate” between these two key local actors. The Nutclough Trust wanted to convert the historic Nutclough Mill into an Industrial Museum. In opposition, the Calderdale District Council had earmarked the site for housing and subsequently they favoured demolition (HBT, 25/4/75). This viewpoint was clearly expressed by Councillor Barker who proclaimed: “I say pull it down” (ibid). David Fletcher believed that this inclination to remove the mills from the landscape stemmed from:

“A lot of councillors at that time were in their 70’s and 80’s. They would say “old mills, good god, dark awful holes. I remember having to work in the mill at the age of 12”. They were reminders of their past” (DEF).

Following on from the negative imagery of past mill space, the Recreation and Amenities Committee of the Calderdale District Council would not provide an assurance of financial assistance to the owners of the Nutclough Mill, (*HBT*, 7/12/73). The scene was set for renewed local political conflict.

### 5.5.1 Winning The Battle

Following the economic recession associated with the “oil crisis” of 1973 (see Dicken 1986; Harvey 1989, for fuller discussion), the vast majority of local and regional government institutions were encouraged to climb aboard the “rehabilitation band wagon”. In line with these national sentiments, the agenda of the Calderdale District Council clearly swung towards rehabilitation, with the suspension of the Bankfoot Terrace, Queens and Albion Terrace redevelopment schemes in Hebden Bridge (*HBT*, 18 4 75). The influence of wider economic forces is evident in the Calderdale District Council’s justification for discarding the schemes:

“The country is teetering on the verge of bankruptcy and this is not the time for schemes of this magnitude” (*HBT*, 27/9/74).

At the same time, it would appear that the decision to retain Queens and Albion Terrace signifies the informal influence of the CCT, despite having no formal representation within the Calderdale District Council. This is revealed by the respective minutes of the Housing Committee, which noted:

“A letter was submitted from the CCT expressing regret at the intention of the Council to purchase and demolish Queens Terrace and Albion Terrace, Hebden Bridge, and asking the council to respect the character of the town of Hebden Bridge, by retaining and encouraging improvement of this property” (Upper Valley Area Sub-Committee Housing, 25 9 74).

In response, the council action stated that the Chief Architect was preparing a report on the possibility of saving Albion Terrace together with the future treatment of Queens Terrace. Additionally, the minutes also express the participation and meshing of the CCT and the Calderdale District Council, given that the CCT were invited to send two representatives to the next meeting of this sub-committee to discuss the matter.

Perhaps the willingness of the Calderdale District Council to interact and consult with the CCT was a local manifestation of the national public participation ethic, as outlined by the Skeffington Report

(1969). As stated by Ratcliffe (1981), the Town and Country Planning Act (1971) had translated “the spirit of Skeffington” into the planning system. Local planning authorities in place after local government reorganisation of 1973 (i.e. the Calderdale District Council) were thus aware of the need for greater public participation in the planning system. Indeed, there was a national move to ensure that individuals and groups, who wanted an opportunity to voice their opinion, were made aware of their rights (Fagence, 1977).

There were other numerous interactions between the CCT and the Calderdale District Council during the mid 1970’s. For instance, the Calderdale District Council formally sought the highly localised knowledge of the CCT on many planning applications. For this task, the CCT established a Planning Sub-Committee. Every three weeks the CCT Planning Sub-Committee would examine planning applications submitted to the Calderdale District Council. Written comments were then made by the committee in line with the objectives of the CCT. They were subsequently sent to the Calderdale District Council, whose Planning Committee met every six weeks (Bond, 1991).

The growing ideological support for the conservation and rehabilitation of Hebden Bridge within the Calderdale District Council, can be exemplified with reference to the Stubbings G.I.A. As outlined earlier, members of the “old guard” (who had been elected for the Calderdale District Council) exerted pressures in October 1973, for 2 blocks of property within the designated area to be demolished (18-24 Balmoral Street/15-23 Osbourne Street). As a result of changing views regarding the conservation of the past, the demolition orders were amended in March 1974 and the Calderdale District Council deemed that the two blocks should be retained. The property was offered to private developers for a nominal fee of £100, provided an assurance of rehabilitation was given. However, the strategy of releasing the dwellings for sale to private developers proved unsuccessful. As a result there was no other option but to demolish the property (June 1976). It is ironic that actions taken to demolish property actually highlight a growing disposition for rehabilitation. For example, the respective Housing Upper Valley Sub-Committee minutes report a sense of regret:

“Although I would have preferred to see this block of property retained and improved I fully appreciate the difficulties involved” (Chief Town Planning Officer, Calderdale District Council).

A further influence upon the Calderdale District Council to halt demolition came from a commune of squatters who had invaded Queens Terrace. The squatters case had been strengthened by their creation of alternative plans for the retention of the condemned properties. The following section will focus upon these individuals and introduce the process of DIY urban greentrification.

## 5.6 The Process of DIY Rurban Greentrification

Commencing in the mid 1970's, waves of in-migrants entered Hebden Bridge and began rehabilitating abandoned residential property. This process of rehabilitation is termed DIY rurban greentrification after its initiators and participants, the DIY rurban greentrifiers. Like the DIY *rural* greentrifiers, the DIY rurban greentrifier label denoted a commitment to self-renovation and consumption of property in Hebden Bridge. The "rurban" description signifies that the in-migrants were attracted to Hebden Bridge for *both* its rural and urban assets.

The following discussion will show that through their self-renovation activities, the DIY rurban greentrifiers aided the re-making of the historical and rural aspects of the Hebden Bridge landscape. Moreover, to maintain their counter-cultural values and beliefs they instilled an "alternative" sense of identity for Hebden Bridge, based on artistic and creative non-conformity. It will be shown in Chapter 9 that this "alternative" dimension (alongside the redefined historical and rural associations) was later exploited by institutional actors and encompassed within a rurban package, to attract commuters and tourists to Hebden Bridge.

### 5.6.1 The DIY Rurban Greentrifiers

The DIY rurban greentrifiers shared many attributes and cultural predilections with the DIY rural greentrifiers. Interviewees recalled that they were young and well educated (recent graduates of the Arts and Humanities), non-conformist, rejected the "highly urbanised" lifestyle of large metropolitan areas and sought a location in which to live an alternative communal lifestyle. Given these parallels it is questionable why the DIY rurban greentrifiers were oriented towards the urban areas of Hebden Bridge. This was a residential option which the DIY rural greentrifiers had earlier rejected, favouring the more rural parts of Hepton.

Obviously temporal factors are important here. As described in Section 5.4.3, the majority of derelict country property had already been purchased and self-renovated by the DIY rural greentrifiers, prior to the influx of DIY rurban greentrifiers in the mid 1970's. The DIY rurban greentrifiers had missed the opportunity to move into the cheap derelict farmsteads, cottages and barns at Hepton. Constrained by low levels of financial power (as a result of "dropping-out"), their only option within the Hebden Bridge district was to move into cheap abandoned property at Hebden Bridge.

It would appear, however, that the DIY urban greentifiers were also culturally oriented to the urban areas of Hebden Bridge. The DIY urban greentifiers did not seek to replicate the “good-life” counter-culture which the DIY rural greentifiers had undertaken in the rural areas. Rather they coveted a differing sort of “good-life” without the problems associated with an isolated residence. This was especially true of the pioneer wave of DIY urban greentifiers, who squatted in abandoned property on Queens Terrace. As one member of the Queens Terrace commune stressed, when asked why the commune had not been established in the rural areas:

“Many of us weren’t prepared to isolate ourselves out in the countryside like the Foster Clough commune had done. Hebden Bridge was ideal because within five minutes you had the wonderful hills, fields and valleys and at the same time it had a little touch of something always going on” (CRAT).

The above quote excellently sums up comments made by individuals who participated in the process of DIY urban greentification. It was consistently stressed that the rural surroundings had been a fundamental attraction when they invaded Hebden Bridge, yet not for residential purposes. The DIY urban greentifiers consumed rural space for its recreational and inspirational qualities, for instance, one pioneer DIY urban greentifier stressed:

“People like myself, I am a carpenter, could suddenly draw upon the rural landscape for inspiration. We hadn’t been able to do this from the cities. But here we had the natural beauty of the environment on the door step. It was this that complemented the creative temperament of the arty people who moved in.” (DT).

The inspirational qualities associated with Hebden Bridge were clearly an attraction for the pioneer DIY urban greentifiers. Particularly important was the belief of the presence of “lay lines” at Hebden Bridge. As one DIY urban greentifier explained, when asked why the DIY urban greentifiers had been attracted to Hebden Bridge rather than other places in the Calder Valley.

“The original “hippies” always used to say that the reason why they came to Hebden Bridge was because of the lay lines. Lay lines are kind of ancient lines that are drawn, they are like spiritual lines of energy. It seems that certain places in Britain are on the meeting places of these lay lines and Hebden Bridge is such a place” (IOB).

To sum up, the pioneer wave of DIY urban greentifiers were attracted to Hebden Bridge by the supply of abandoned housing and the opportunity to interact with the surrounding rural environment for inspiration and recreation. But why were they and later waves of DIY urban greentifiers oriented specifically to the urban areas of Hebden Bridge? As already observed in Table 5.5, vacant and abandoned dwellings were also available in similar urban locations within the Calder Valley (e.g.

Todmorden, Mytholmroyd), but the DIY rural greentrifiers did not enter these places.

To answer this question, it is necessary to consider the unintentional effects of the DIY rural greentrifiers in-migration into the rural areas. As one pioneer DIY rural greentrifier recounted:

“There was a big drugs bust in the early 1970’s which attracted a lot of media attention. It really hit the headlines and Hebden Bridge got a real reputation as being the place to be for these kind of things. It really gave out signals to other similar types of people to come here. It helped perpetuate the influx of hippies” (CRAT).

As a result of this media attention, the Hebden Bridge district had gained a reputation as being a “place of difference” during the early to mid 1970’s. The imagery encapsulated within this place-specific non-conformity was highly attractive to other individuals seeking a location in which they could undertake an alternative and unconventional lifestyle.

The alternative place-specific reputation was further intensified by the unintentional consequences of the Calderdale District Council’s attempt to evict the squatters from Queens Terrace. The highly publicised confrontation between the squatters and the Calderdale District Council stimulated further waves of in-migrants who were seeking similar alternative lifestyles. As a member of the Queens Terrace squat recalled:

“They decided to evict us and there was a great uproar. It went on for ages, it got in all papers and it got on the television. There was a certain notoriety about it. Of course, this also attracted a lot more alternative people to the area. There was a feeling that this was where it was at, Hebden Bridge had gained a reputation” (CRAT).

A distinction must be made here between the pioneer wave and later waves of DIY rural greentrifiers. The pioneer wave of DIY rural greentrifiers had a predilection to squat. This trait is vividly expressed in the following quote provided by one pioneer DIY rural greentrifier, when asked to outline the difference between the greentrifiers in the rural areas and those in Hebden Bridge:

“All their [the DIY rural greentrifiers] houses on Foster Clough were all bought. We [the DIY rural greentrifiers] didn’t buy ours because we didn’t believe in the ownership of property. It sort of went against our communal share-everything philosophy” (CRAT).

The vast numbers of abandoned urban properties were thus an alluring proposition. In contrast, the later waves of DIY rural greentrifiers were not seeking to squat, they did not reject owner-occupation and purchased the cheap property. This clearly had major implications for the urban housing market of Hebden Bridge. Perhaps this demand for owner-occupation was the necessary precursor to property



price inflations in Hebden Bridge.

The agency of the Calderdale District Council is also important in this process. To counteract future waves of squatters entering abandoned property, the Council implemented a strategy of offering property in their ownership for minimal sums. This strategy was well publicised in the local press. For instance, in one article the Calderdale District Council made clear its stance:

“The only alternative is for the Council to sell or let the properties to people rather than be vandalised and entered by other people” (*HBT*, 26/9/73).

This strategy was successful in deterring squatters. At the same time, further waves of DIY rurban greentrifiers (with limited economic capital) were attracted by the supply of cheap urban property. It would, therefore, appear that the Calderdale District Council were not against the influx of DIY rurban greentrifiers into Hebden Bridge. Indeed, it appears that the Council actually encouraged the influx by providing council mortgages (with a £5,000 ceiling) for individuals wishing the purchase older property. Like the supply of cheap housing, the Calderdale District Council publicised the availability of council mortgages in the local press:

“Mortgages are available to council tenants, homeless, local authority staff and people wishing to buy older property and people who the building society’s might not consider” (*HBT*, 16/11/73).

These mortgages were well suited to the DIY rurban greentrifiers, who were homeless in many cases and/or could not obtain mortgages from building societies, due to their financial circumstances. In order to repay the mortgages, many DIY rurban greentrifiers “dropped back-in” and set up craft related businesses in Hebden Bridge, reinforcing the artistic and creative reputation of the place for tourists and other DIY rurban greentrifiers.

The availability of finance was highly significant given that the “double-decker” type of property had been “red-lined” by many building societies. The combination of upper and under-dwellings created numerous legal problems, regarding repair responsibilities. To overcome the absence of conventional mortgages, the DIY rurban greentrifiers took advantage of the localised system of private mortgages. As one interviewee explained:

“They used to have private mortgages here, where people who wanted to sell their house, well you would pay them a weekly amount as if you were renting it. But in fact you were buying it” (*IOB*).

A further factor which attracted DIY rurban greentrifiers to Hebden Bridge was a national campaign

which advertised that “Hebden Bridge Welcomes Hippies.” This had been initiated by the early waves of DIY rural greentifiers, who spread the message that Hebden Bridge was a place that was tolerant of difference. Moreover, the campaign was welcomed by the Vicar of Hebden Bridge, who stressed:

“You only have to glance up at the moors, and see how many houses are being renovated to see what is happening. The influx of new people is, I believe, very good for Hebden Bridge” (*HBT*, 7/6/74).

Indeed, it is clear from the interviews that some DIY rural greentifiers moved into Hebden Bridge after encountering violent opposition from a local population in Robins Hood Bay. For example, typical accounts included:

“They had come from Robins Hoods Bay and in Robins Hoods Bay they had been attacked. On a Saturday night when the pubs had been turned out there was a mob outside throwing stones at their cottages that they had rented. And this was happening to a lot of hippies who had moved into rural areas” (DEF).

The cultural differences between the locals and the DIY rural greentifiers was symbolically expressed in the respective dress codes. As one pioneer DIY rural greentifier recalled the “locals would all be wearing their dark northern dress” and the DIY rural greentifiers “would be walking around in multi-coloured kaftans” (CRAT). Any resentment felt by the local population could thus be easily targeted. However, the DIY rural greentifiers claim that the local population were amused by the colourful dress styles rather than outraged. For example, one typical account noted:

“... we wore very outrageous clothes. I was famous for around Hebden Bridge for wearing a full length leather coat, Doctor Who scarf that went all the way to the floor and a great big floppy hat. I used to travel on local transport and the local people would crack up. My wife wore bright colours and short skirts and dyed tights, she was very much the art student type with a quite colourful outlook” (PT).

Indeed, rather than create problems for the DIY rural greentifiers, the distinct dress styles created an affinity between the individuals coming into Hebden Bridge. The shared dress code helped to reinforce the social and cultural identity of the DIY rural greentifiers.

As well as being attracted by notions of a tolerant local population, the DIY rural greentifiers were further attracted by the “realness” of the local indigenous population. As one pioneer DIY rural greentifier gleefully recounted:

“They talked so freely to me. They would just come in. As soon as the sun shone you would have your front door open and people then just popped in and out. They would tell you everything, no holes barred. I was just enraptured. It was a real eye opener. Although I was an outsider really, I was included in other peoples lives in a way which I had never been before” (IOB).

However, the belief that the local indigenous population were telling the DIY rural greentrifiers everything appears to be false. It has emerged from interviews with elderly locals that a sense of resentment of the DIY rural greentrifiers was evident. This was sometimes covert, as a local observer stressed when prompted:

“The locals would smile at the hippies and be ever so pleasant. The local shopkeepers would be very nice towards them and quite happily accept their business. The moment they had left the shop they would turn round and say to another local “bloody hippies, hope they don’t come in here again!” (SM).

Given that the resentment was not visible, those original DIY rural greentrifiers who remain fail to stress any resentment in their recollections. Rather they express the complete opposite, citing the gratitude that local people communicated to them, for instance:

“I didn’t encounter any resistance from the locals. On the contrary, they thought that we were bringing new life into the town. People generally accepted off-cumdens [local term for outsiders]” (BL).

In contrast, interviews with elderly locals have clearly highlighted a deep-seated resentment felt by the local indigenous population. This viewpoint is also revealed in the letters pages of the local newspaper. Quoted below is a full length letter which captures the deep-seated resentment and perhaps hatred felt towards the DIY rural greentrifiers by particular local individuals:

“Sir - Last week in the Yorkshire Post an article appeared extolling the virtues of the hippie communities which have sprung up in the Hebden Bridge district. In the article, Mr Kaberry, Clerk of the Council, was quoted as saying “Jolly good” when asked what the local inhabitants thought of the towns new ‘hip’ status. Perhaps if My Kaberry lived in close proximity to a hippie community he would not be saying “Jolly good” quite so quickly.

Speaking about the particular community of which I feel qualified to speak, namely the group at Lumb Bank, Colden, and knowing the feelings of others in the immediate vicinity, I and my family would be heartily glad if they take their philosophy elsewhere.

Since their arrival on the scene and subsequent take-over of cottages, etc the surrounding fields and woods have been regarded as out of bounds as regards walks with pets, children playing etc due to the possibility of being set upon by the varied selection of dogs (and unlicensed) which they keep, or worse still, knowing that having no adequate toilet facilities they use the woods and surrounding countryside instead. Add to this the complete disregard of public footpaths and deliberate shortcuts taken over private walls and fences which are inevitably damaged, not to mention bottles of milk disappearing from door steps, dustbins gone through and contents left scattered. When they disagree with each other there is some of the foulest language shouted and screamed. One wonders how My Kaberry is qualified to say “Jolly good”, thereby risking the influx of more of this type” (HBT, 2/3/74).

Rather than being grateful for the DIY urban greentifiers entering and bringing new life into the Hebden Bridge, many elderly local respondents have therefore claimed that the DIY urban greentifiers have driven out the “past lifestyle”. Clearly, comments such as: “when the hippies started moving in the decent people started moving out” (DH), are off the mark. As Section 5.2 outlined, the local population moved out prior to the arrival of the DIY urban greentifiers. In addition, elderly long term residents claim that the influx of DIY urban greentifiers was detrimental to the landscape of Hebden Bridge:

“They lived like they were in a field. There were no slums but there are slums now. They made them into slums. Windsor Road used to be kept very clean. It isn’t like that anymore.. We were so used to having everything so clean and tidy” (DH).

The indigenous population also resented that they had to work very hard to make a living, while the DIY urban greentifiers lived on “hand-outs”. Other objections included the charge that the DIY urban greentifiers have “made Hebden Bridge the drug capital of the North” (SJ). In response, the pioneer DIY urban greentifier refute this charge, claiming that the drug capital of the north tag is a nonsense (see White, 1998 for fuller discussion).

By the mid-1970s Hebden Bridge was firmly established as a place where the demands of individuals seeking an alternative lifestyle could be satisfied. This message was well documented in “Alternative England and Wales” (1975), an informative text written by “alternative people” for people seeking an alternative lifestyle. The first chapter of the book provided a concise geography of places which were deemed compatible with an alternative lifestyle. Significantly, the book was highly complimentary to the small mill towns of the Pennines:

“These towns carry the stigma of the bad old days of the industrial revolution - so that locally brought up people can see no good in them. But to outsiders they’re compact towns built of cut stone with open countryside only a few yards away, often in view: there’s no sub-urban sprawl” (Alternative England and Wales, 1975 p.9).

More importantly, the “alternative” status of Hebden Bridge within the Pennines was heightened, with the book emphasising that:

“Houses are probably cheaper here than in any other part of the country - from £200 in a bad state to £2,000 newly modernised, and there’s plenty to let at under £5 a week. The possibilities of freak settlements are wide open and Hebden Bridge already has a large population” (Alternative England and Wales, 1975 p.9).

As the alternative reputation of Hebden Bridge was promoted, greater numbers of DIY urban greentifiers were attracted specifically to Hebden Bridge. The scale and pace of the revitalisation of the Hebden Bridge landscape accelerated. As alternative counter-cultural values and beliefs were inscribed

within the landscape, the alternative reputation of Hebden Bridge was imposed by the agency of the DIY rural greentrifiers. The artistic and creative cultural elements were increasingly inscribed within the landscape. For example, citing the opening of an art studio by Arthur Nightingale, the local newspaper claimed that the reputation of Hebden Bridge as a cultural and tourist centre was growing (*HBT*, 16/11/73). Other examples which reinforced this reputation included the creation of the Northern Centre of the Arvon Foundation at Lumb Bank (*HBT*, 12/10/73). The foundation moved into the former home of Ted Hughes and subsequently provided residential courses for poets. Given that Arvon Foundation was initially founded in Todleigh, Devon, this may highlight the link between Hebden Bridge and Devon and Cornwall. Later artistic and creative developments included the Albert Street Workshop. This project was opened in 1975 and included shared studio and gallery space for artists. The workshop later became a fully fledged gallery in 1978 after obtaining financial aid from Yorkshire Arts Association.

Perhaps the greatest development at that time was the renovation of Bridge Mill, which provided retail space for the craft and art trades. The first craft trader was a DIY rural greentrifier from Blackshaw Head. Like many other DIY rural greentrifiers, this individual had obtained a degree in art and design at Manchester College of Art and moved to Hebden Bridge because the town was central for distribution to the towns of the north (*HBT*, 31/5/74). Additionally, a studio cafe was introduced into Bridge Mill, which attracted the art and craft people and gave them somewhere to interact. A further meeting place was created with the development of Aurora Wholefood shop. As one interviewee stressed:

“It wasn’t just a Wholefood shop, people used to sit in the back for hours talking. The hippies who lived in the hills came down and made contact with us” (CRAT).

A connection can be made here with the DIY rural greentrifiers. Alongside the DIY rural greentrifiers who supplied and sold hand-made crafts, some DIY rural greentrifiers also opened antique/junk shops, craft shops and health food outlets in Hebden Bridge. The cultural preference of the DIY rural greentrifiers for “second hand” and “natural” products was thus inscribed within the Hebden Bridge landscape. This reflected the cultural dismissal of inauthentic synthetic materials and additives. This form of retailing avoided the mass merchandising seen as prevalent in urban locations. Counter-cultural consumers thus became counter-cultural retailers and producers in Hebden Bridge, increasing the attraction of Hebden Bridge for the DIY rural greentrifiers who shared similar cultural consumption tastes.

Moreover, the growing concentration of retail outlets selling antiques, second hand books, hand-made crafts and works of art aided the remaking of Hebden Bridge as a tourist destination and its promotion as the Pennine Centre. As the number of tourists discovering this new image of Hebden Bridge increased,

so too did the number of people appreciating the residential qualities of Hebden Bridge. The identification of Hebden Bridge (as a residential option) via tourism is thus vital to understanding the emergence in the 1980s of an increasing demand for residence in Hebden Bridge. This will be examined in greater detail in the following chapter.

## 5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has documented the processes of change witnessed in the Hebden Bridge district between the early 1960s and early 1970s, starting with a contextual account of the social, physical and economic decline of the Hebden Bridge district and the Calder Valley. In line with the dynamic process of gentrification outlined in Chapter 2, it was clear that during the 1960s the Hebden Bridge district (and the Calder Valley) had become a “zone of discard”. Importantly, the chapter has highlighted considerable geographic differentiation within the Calder Valley. In terms of the potential for regeneration, regional government institutions were more optimistic regarding places in the Lower Calder Valley. It is clear that if the decline of Hebden Bridge was to be abated, revitalisation would have to be brought about by the agency of local institutions and local individuals.

It was observed, however, that the strategy of the Hebden Royd Urban Council and Hepton Rural Council reflected the structural framework imposed by central government, which encouraged the removal of the past and its replacement with new and modern (high-rise) development. The agency of local government institutions during the early 1960s was thus an expression of national sentiment and thereby reproduced the structural conditions established by central government.

Significantly, the chapter has emphasised the challenge imposed by the local agency of the CCT movement, who questioned the viability of the structural solution. It was argued that in the context of the steep-sided terrain of the Hebden Bridge district, the (high-rise) redevelopment schemes were not feasible. From this localised contest, an alternative manifesto emerged which advocated that selective artefacts associated with textile production and the rural landscape should be saved, redefined and exploited to attract commuters and tourists. As demolition sites remained vacant, support for the alternative manifesto proliferated and the strength of the CCT movement grew.

Indeed, during the early 1970s the CCT movement gradually gained power in the Hebden Bridge district, as the alternative manifesto was institutionalised into the local political institutions following the election of its spokesperson, David Fletcher. This enabled the CCT to gain access and control of local resources which were necessary for change (e.g. improvement grants). More importantly, it provided

the CCT with the capacity to influence the rules which governed the transformation and form of the landscape of the Hebden Bridge district (e.g. planning policy).

Two factors were crucial here in facilitating the “naturalisation” of the alternative manifesto. First, the structural conditions imposed by central government to tackle physical, social and economic decline underwent a transition in the late 1960s; redevelopment led policy was replaced by a rehabilitation led policy. Importantly, the CCT movement was in a position of power to fully exploit this new structural framework to achieve its aim of revitalising the Hebden Bridge district without clearing away the past. Second, the CCT movement within the Hebden Bridge district was strengthened and ‘professionalised’ with the influx of DIY greentrifiers into the rural and urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district. Importantly, the DIY greentrifiers played a crucial role through their household and collective agency in the revitalisation of the landscape(s) through self-renovation activities. The participation of the DIY greentrifiers in the early phases of change gives credence to the stage model of gentrification, outlined in Chapter 2, and highlights the key role of counter-cultural practices within the early stages of the greentrification process.

At a time when the rest of the Calder Valley was clearing away its past, the amalgamation of the CCT and the DIY greentrifiers into a collective force enabled the remaking and redefinition of the Hebden Bridge district. The uniqueness of the Hebden Bridge district in the context of the Calder Valley thus highlights the important role played by local agency in producing and redefining the district. Moreover, it is perhaps the absence of influential agents of change in places such as Luddendenfoot and Mytholmroyd, which explains the continued decline of these places.

Hence, the pivotal agents of change in Hebden Bridge established the foundation for the promotion of Hebden Bridge as the “Pennine Centre” and its new role as commuter and tourist destination. Without doubt, the *collective* nature of local agency was a necessary precursor to the process of institutional greentrification which is examined in the following chapter. Indeed, David Fletcher made such a point when explaining the initial period of transformation: “this is not all our doing and the CCT are not claiming all the credit, but likewise, it has not happened by accident. It has happened by joint action by all” (*HBT*, 15/2/74). Significantly, the joint actions of the CCT and the DIY greentrifiers were motivated by cultural inclinations. It would appear that although economic factors were important (i.e. the availability of cheap property), these were of a secondary nature. Hence, it can be argued that the initial transformation of the Hebden Bridge district was undertaken to fulfil cultural aspirations rather than financial considerations. It is appreciated, however, that many of the early agents of change did obtain substantial financial rewards at a later date (i.e. when property prices escalated).

To conclude, the transformation of the Hebden Bridge district from a decaying textile town in the 1950s to a vibrant commuter and tourist destination in the 1970s, was the culmination of local agency transforming the structural and contingent conditions which had been manifest in the zone of discard. Moreover, the local agency of the CCT and the DIY greentifiers was a necessary prerequisite for the revalorisation of the Hebden Bridge district by commercial institutional actors, which emerged from the mid 1970s. The following chapter will examine this institutional-led phase of greentrification, stressing the dynamics of the greentrification process in the Hebden Bridge district and highlighting the profit motivated strategies of the commercial institutional actors.



## *Chapter 6*

### *Institutional Agency*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter examines the reformulation of the role of commercial institutional actors within the greentrification process. The chapter is divided into six sections. Section 6.2 will set the scene for the discussion, reaffirming that commercial institutional actors played a secondary role to the key agents of change (the DIY greentrifier households) during DIY greentrification in the late 1960s to early 1970s. Sections 6.3 and 6.4 will reveal that as DIY greentrification became in-grained in the Hebden Bridge district, commercial institutional actors became aware of its potential for profit and institutionalised the processes of change. These institutional led phases of greentrification will be termed “institutional *rural* greentrification” and “institutional *rurban* greentrification” respectively. Greentrifiers associated with the institutional stage of greentrification will be labelled “*client greentrifiers*”; given they are pure consumers of packages which are produced and supplied by commercial institutional actors.

Section 6.5 will focus specifically upon the role of estate agents within the Hebden Bridge district. It will be shown that estate agents have manipulated the supply and tapped the demand for country and urban property, in turn excluding greentrifiers from participating in self-renovation and production activities. As a result, it will be argued that the estate agents have created and maintained a geography of greentrification within the Hebden Bridge district. Section 6.6 will show that this geography of greentrification has been “naturalised” into the local planning framework by the Calderdale District Council. Finally, Section 6.7 will conclude that the consumption of property in the Hebden Bridge district has become an inclusive practice, limited to the relatively affluent client greentrifiers. Consequently, the less affluent indigenous households have been displaced and/or marginalised to the less desirable parts of the Hebden Bridge district. It will be argued this is a culmination of the profit-motivated strategies of the commercial institutional actors to instigate an escalation of country and urban property prices.

In line with the previous chapter, any understanding of the greentrification process must begin with a rural focus (Hepton), given the process was initiated in these parts of the Hebden Bridge district. Indeed, it will be shown that the dynamics of institutional rural greentrification were fundamental in stimulating institutional rurban greentrification.

## 6.1 The Role of Institutions in the Rural Housing Market

It was argued in Chapter 5 that commercial institutional actors did not manipulate the rural housing market of Hepton during DIY rural greentrification (late 1960's to early 1970's). As the semi-structured interviews revealed, DIY rural greentrifiers purchased country property directly from the vendor. For instance, one interviewee recalled:

“We came across this place on the tops at Blackshaw Head, which was derelict. It was a farmhouse with a row of four cottages, which had been used as pigsties by the farmer. The agents didn't open on Sundays like they do now, but (we, well) someone told us who owned the place. We went to see her and ask her if we could look around and we agreed, that day, there and then, to buy it” (LB).

Moreover, the property section of the local newspaper shows there was no conspicuous advertisement of country property by estate agents. This point was verified by the majority of interviewees. For example, one pioneer DIY rural greentrifier recounted:

“You didn't look in an estate agents. You couldn't, there weren't any estate agents in Hebden Bridge or any derelict country properties for sale” (BL).

It would appear that commercial institutional actors were unaware of the potential of the rural housing market of Hepton. The only form of institutional involvement was an informal list of country properties, assembled by the CCT. This was presented to DIY rural greentrifiers searching for country property. As the Chairman of CCT asserted:

“There were no estate agents selling rural property in Hebden Bridge, so we [the CCT] set up our own kind of estate agency. We set up a list of available properties with a guide price at the side of them and the name and address of the owner, usually a farmer. Then we got the owners to list their properties, the derelict farms and barns. We would give the list away, free of charge, to anybody who was interested in living here” (DEF).

Significantly, it would appear the involvement of the CCT in the rural housing market was not motivated by direct financial rewards. Rather it represented the cultural aspirations of the CCT, to revitalise the historical aspects of the Pennine landscape of Hepton. The enabling role played in stimulating the rehabilitation and/or conversion of country property was central to the implantation of the CCT's cultural values within the rural landscape, via the agency of the DIY rural greentrifiers.

Once settled in the rural areas of Hepton, some DIY rural greentrifiers replicated the enabling role played by the CCT. In order to reinforce the counter-cultural movement within the rural areas, property was identified which owners were prepared to sell. As one active DIY rural greentrifier recounted:

“On one occasion one of the local farmers, who had a house that was derelict, asked me if I knew of anybody who wanted to buy one. I was regarded as some strange exotic, a posh git with a posh accent. So I put an advert in the Manchester Evening News at the weekend. I couldn’t get away from the telephone that weekend. So I contacted every other person that I knew, who had a derelict building in the valley (Colden) and within one weekend I had sold five, but I didn’t get anything for doing it. I just wanted to see the place revitalised by the right type of people” (JW).

Importantly, the quote reveals that the DIY rural greentifiers were highly selective in encouraging distinct types of individual to the rural areas of Hepton (i.e. had to share their counter-cultural values). This point was further endorsed by the above interviewee, who stressed: “We made sure we got buildings taken over by people with our sort of imagination” (JW).

Other examples of the enabling role played by pioneer DIY rural greentifiers include the actions of a commune member at Foster Clough. Motivated by the need to constitute and maintain counter-cultural identity, one particular individual from the Foster Clough commune sent a letter to a Commune magazine (Community Press). The letter highlighted the presence of a friendly commune living in the Pennine countryside above Hebden Bridge, where there was a plentiful supply of cheap housing. More significantly, the letter informed individuals with similar counter-cultural aspirations: “If you want to come, you will be welcome” (JMAC). Once again, this strategy of attraction emphasised the supply of cheap housing and was non-profit motivated.

To sum up, early participation in the rural housing market of Hepton was facilitated by non-profit motives. Involvement was initially motivated by the cultural aspirations of the CCT, to protect the historical aspects of the rural landscape. As a result of the CCT’s collective local agency, the pioneer waves of DIY rural greentifiers were able to identify and purchase country property. Once established in the rural areas, the DIY rural greentifiers also began to identify and encourage rehabilitation and/or conversion of country property. This was motivated by a desire to maintain and reinforce the counter-cultural ambience of the rural areas. It is hardly surprising, given the consensus regarding the future vision of the rural landscape, that some DIY rural greentifiers joined the CCT. Indeed, it was these shared ventures which resulted in the colonisation of Hepton by further subsequent waves of “outsiders”, who held similar counter-cultural values to the DIY rural greentifiers.

The process of rehabilitation and conversion of country property enabled the colonising DIY rural greentifiers to symbolically inscribe cultural meaning upon the rural landscape of Hepton. Importantly, the redefined rural landscape reinforced the historical connotations associated with the rural landscape, as promoted by the CCT. Hence, the productive role played by the “sweat equity” of the DIY rural

greentrifiers must not be under-estimated. It was only following these production oriented activities that a specific type of location and dwelling(s) could be offered, which potential residential counter-urbanites (commuters from Leeds, Bradford and Manchester) found attractive propositions during the mid to early 1970's. As this latent demand for the repackaged rural Pennine commodity was acknowledged, the role of commercial institutional actors was reformulated. Local commercial institutional actors viewed the manipulation of the rural housing market as an increasingly attractive proposition, awaiting exploitation.

The following section examines the origins of commercial institutional exploitation of the rural housing market of the Mid-Upper Calder Valley. This will uncover how the production and supply of the repackaged rural commodity were deliberately entangled with the latent demand for its consumption.

## 6.2 Institutional Rural Greentrification

Commencing in 1973, the production activities inherent in DIY rural greentrification were gradually institutionalised by an estate agent, Dennis Rose; thus “institutional *rural* greentrification” was born. Significantly, Dennis Rose removed the necessity for potential consumers to seek out available country property (and at a later stage finance) for themselves. Playing a mediating role between the vendor and the consumer, there was now a conscious manipulation of the supply and demand of country property.

Although Dennis Rose was simply institutionalising the enabling role played by the CCT and DIY rural greentrifiers, an important distinction must be stated at this point. As a local commercial institution, Dennis Rose's involvement was financially motivated. This contrasts sharply with the cultural motivations of the CCT and particularly the DIY rural greentrifiers, outlined in the preceding section.

### 6.2.1 Exploiting the Rurality of the Upper-Mid Calder Valley

Dennis Rose Estate Agency was formed in May 1963 and operated from premises in Todmorden. When the opportunity to manipulate the rural housing market emerged, Dennis Rose was in a favourable position. As Dennis Rose recalled:

“When I started operating for the first five years, the only competition I had was from a very old man who worked from his front room in Wellington Road. There was also an old guy called Crossley in Hebden Bridge. He also operated from his front room” (DR).

By the early 1970's, the business was well established and had obtained a specialised local knowledge of the housing market. This knowledge of the housing market was not confined to Todmorden, as its trading name "The Property Centre" suggests. Indeed, the company emblem portrayed a sub-regional sphere of activity, encompassing the Upper and Mid Calder Valley. This was confirmed by Dennis Rose, when prompted to highlight the area within which the estate agency operated:

"It wasn't just above Hebden Bridge, it was all over the moor tops and edges. You have got the hamlets of Lumbutts and Mankinholes above Todmorden, then there is Sowerby village and all those in and above Luddenden Brook. But I didn't go down to Sowerby Bridge, that was outside my territory" (DR).

It is important to note that Dennis Rose was not orchestrating the demand for selective parts of the Calder Valley. Rather his estate agency initially responded to the demand and then sought to manipulate the demand for country property. As Dennis Rose disclosed:

"These types of folks were coming into our offices and enquiring, they were asking for country housing. So we thought, right then, lets exploit it. That is how we knew there was a demand. It was a pretty safe thing to do" (DR).

Dennis Rose began manipulating the rural housing market by encouraging relatively affluent professionals from Leeds and Manchester to purchase country property of the Upper-Mid Calder Valley. The viability of the campaign was tested by targeting the expanding employee bases of academic institutions in Leeds and Manchester. This was achieved by advertising country property on University notice boards.

It is important to stress that the expansion of educational establishments in the mid-1960s may have been a necessary pre-condition which enabled the process of institutional rural greentrification in the Calder Valley. In addition, the ability to quickly commute to these educational establishments from the Upper Calder Valley was equally important. A further pre-condition was thus the presence of the Trans-Pennine railway line, which had survived the "Beeching culling" (*HBT*, 12/3/65). The earlier influence of the "Calder Valley Line Defence Committee" should be noted here (*HBT*, 8/1/65). As Dennis Rose strongly asserted:

"It was only when the railway line had been saved that I could even start to think about selling housing to people in Leeds and Manchester. The railway line was crucial because it is the quick lifeline through the Calder Valley to Leeds, Manchester and Bradford. If it hadn't been for the foresight of a few local people the line would have closed and that would have been the end for Hebden Bridge and Todmorden" (DR).

To perpetuate the scale and pace of the process, Dennis Rose extended its advertising focus and directly took the country property commodity to the “out of town” consumers of Leeds, Manchester and Bradford. Properties were advertised in the *Manchester Evening News* and the Leeds-based *Yorkshire Post*. This advertising focus suited many of the hill sheep farmer “sellers” of country property. As one early in-migrant made clear:

“They didn’t want anyone in Hebden Bridge to know that they were selling some property. It is a sort of local attitude, typical of Yorkshire hill sheep farming folk. They don’t like their neighbours sticking their noses into their affairs. They don’t like other people knowing their business. So they would not advertise property locally, they would only advertise it out of town. So that is why they advertised it in Manchester and further a field, well the estate agent did it for them” (RM).

The adverts selectively promoted the unique and exclusive aspects of Pennine country property. Dennis Rose was appropriating and reinforcing the positive images and meanings of place which the CCT and supporters had earlier promoted. The recommodification of historical place-related images included housing form, landscape and location imbued with exaggerated aesthetics. Key elements of the adverts included country property, Pennine stone, big open fires, cosy living rooms, ceilings with oak beams, mullion windows and village community life with good access to the cities and towns. As the estate agency stressed:

“This is what they wanted so this is what we gave them. So we were supplying the houses in the locations which they were demanding” (DR).

The market for country property was enlarged following these adverts in Manchester and Leeds. Dennis Rose successfully tapped the wider regional audience within commuting distance of Leeds, Bradford and Manchester.

The promotional strategy highlights Dennis Rose’s manipulation and invigoration of the demand. Indeed, to enhance the saleability of country property, the availability of home improvement grants became a central feature of the country property adverts, for example:

*“Sedhill, Rowlands Lane, Hebden Bridge*

Delightfully situated detached country property requiring complete renovation. This property will convert into an excellent period house, with **the availability of Local Authority Improvement Grants**. Original plans of proposed improvements will be available for inspection at this office” (HBT, 5/10/73).

In addition, Dennis Rose advertised the presence of planning permission for the conversion of country property. Dennis Rose was clearly exploiting local institutional frameworks and structural guidelines to

enhance the attractiveness of his commodity (i.e. the country property) and secure the wider market. As he stressed, when quizzed about this practice at a follow-up interview:

“We knew which houses would be eligible for assistance. Also, the mechanism for getting grants was quick in those days, so we would have been idiots not to make it clear when a grant was available” (DR).

As the potential value of country property began to be realised, *both* the practices of Dennis Rose and the attitude of owners of derelict and abandoned country property (the majority were hill sheep farmers) were transformed. During the initial stages of its campaign Dennis Rose had encountered problems of identifying vendors willing to sell country property. Local hill sheep farmers did not want “outsiders” living on their land. For this reason, Dennis Rose placed advertisements in local newspapers, prompting owners of country property to sell to “out of town buyers” and making them aware of the potential value of derelict property on their land. Typical calls for country property included:

“Required for out of town buyers. Country cottages up to £9,000, detached farms up to £11,000 and semi detached properties up to £8,500” (HBT, 5/1/73).

Subsequent advertisements, placed in the local newspaper, reveal a rapid escalation of comparable “country property” prices. For instance between January to September 1973, the country cottage prices that potential purchasers were willing to pay increased from £9,000 (HBT, 5/1/73) to £15,000 (HBT, 14 9 73). Similarly, the respective farmhouses valuations rose from £11,000 (HBT, 5/1/73) to £20,000 (HBT, 24 8/73) to £25,000 (HBT, 14/9/73) within this nine month period. The effects of the housing market boom of 1971-1973 should be taken into account in these inflations (Hamnett, 1993).

To “cash-in” on the revalorised Pennine rural commodity, the attitude of vendors changed and they contacted Dennis Rose. This change is evident in the property section of the local newspaper, which reveals that from 1974 Dennis Rose stopped advertising for sellers of country property. The interaction and eagerness of “suppliers” and “consumers” enhanced Dennis Rose’s capacity to intensify the scale and pace of institutional rural greentrification, giving rise to escalating property prices. However, changing institutional frameworks emerged which dampened the scale of in-migration into the Upper-Mid Calder Valley and encouraged Dennis Rose to re-adjust its focus.

## 6.2.2 Exploiting the Rurality of the Upper Calder Valley

In October 1973 Dennis Rose established a “Property Centre” in Hebden Bridge. The venture was a combined effort with the Bradford and Bingley Building Society, with Dennis Rose claiming to provide

a “speedy mortgage service” (*HBT*, 26/10/73). There was a high profile launch of the operation, with a colourful double page spread in the Hebden Bridge Times. An estate agent had finally landed in Hebden Bridge, who supplied both country property and finance. The following discussion will reveal that the decision to open a branch in Hebden Bridge was motivated by emergent conditions, which had undermined Dennis Rose’s control of the wider rural housing market of the Upper-Mid Calder Valley.

Following the initial phase of institutional rural greentrification, Sowerby Bridge Urban Council openly objected to the consumption of country property by affluent “outsiders”. To discourage the in-migration of “outsiders”, Sowerby Bridge Urban Council removed the availability of improvement grants to out-of-town buyers. As Councillor Brewer of Sowerby Bridge Urban Council, argued:

“Grants should only go to those people who want to improve their own home for their own benefit - not to subsidise the wealthy” (*HBT*, 16/11/73).

This stance was justified by speculations about future economic, social and cultural harm. It was argued that the colonisation of the rural areas above Sowerby Bridge would have detrimental implications for the local population. For example, it was anticipated that property prices would rise above the means of local people if the affluent “outsiders” continued to invade the rural areas. It is important to stress that these fears were not confined to Sowerby Bridge, they were a regional phenomenon, for example, one Hebden Bridge resident stressed:

“We are now seeing in our area the start of properties as they come onto the market being taken up by outsiders at inflated prices. This has got to stop. Local people will no longer be able to afford to buy houses in the future and will have to leave” (*HBT*, 6 4 73).

In contrast to the Sowerby Bridge Urban Council, these fears did not deter Hebden Royd Urban Council and Hepton Rural Council from encouraging the in-migration of “outsiders”.

To mitigate the influx of relatively affluent “outsiders”, Sowerby Bridge Urban Council also instigated a strict anti-development strategy for high-cost housing in the rural areas. This was well expressed by Councillor Sim of Sowerby Bridge Urban Council, regarding a proposed development in Midgeley. Contesting the development proposals, Councillor Sim commented:

“This is green belt area with fields that we want to look at, [they] want to turn it into a concrete jungle. There should be more consideration of the Midgeley people. They will not be able to afford these £10,000 plus houses” (*HBT*, 9/2/73).



Inevitably, pressures for new build development and the rehabilitation of country property by “outsiders” increased in the rural areas of the Upper Calder Valley (Hebden Bridge and Todmorden), as a direct result of Sowerby Bridge Urban Council’s stance.

Further forces which undermined Dennis Rose’s manipulation of the rural housing market came from the individual agency of potential country property purchasers, who began to advertise for country property in the local newspapers. Typical adverts included:

“Farm or smallholding required for Yorkshire Businessman for family residence. Any condition. Prepared to convert if necessary. Cash purchase” (*HBT*, 30/11/73).

Additionally, prospective buyers of country property speculatively approached owners of country property. In many cases the owners were DIY rural greentrifiers, who had made visible improvements through their self-renovation activities. For example one DIY rural greentrifier, still residing in the property which he renovated in early 1970’s, recalled that:

“In about 1974 somebody came knocking on our door one Sunday morning and asked if the house was for sale. I said “no it isn’t”. So he said “would you be interested in selling it”. He then said “can I come in and have a look around.” So I said “I don’t know who you are!” Anyway, he said he was the Clerk of Works for Cleckheaton County Council and he showed me his ID and so I let him in. He came in and had a look around and offered me £8,500 on Monday morning, cash in my hand.” (PT).

It would appear that the promotional campaigns of Dennis Rose halted prospective purchasers finding their own country property. The success of Dennis Rose’s efforts was expressed in the “items wanted” section of the local press. Intermingled with adverts of demand (i.e. “items” wanted) was an advert of supply by Dennis Rose (i.e. “items” available). The advert informed readers:

“We have a selection of Country Cottages in the Upper Calder Valley. Details will be supplied on request” (*HBT*, 31/8/73).

Not surprisingly, there was a complete absence of adverts in the “items wanted” section of the local newspaper by seekers of country property purchasers during 1974. This contrasted with the proliferation of country property offered for sale by Dennis Rose in the property section of the local newspaper. In summary, Dennis Rose had clearly gained a significant stranglehold on the supply of country property and was the key “rural gatekeeper” of the time.

### 6.2.3 Producing the Contemporary Rural Landscape

As the rehabilitation of country property accelerated from the mid-1970s, the revitalisation of the rural landscape (as championed by the CCT) became widely entrenched in the Upper Calder Valley. However, the historical representation was somewhat diluted by the supply of “ready-made” country property; an element necessitated by the actions of Dennis Rose. The rural landscape which emerged was, therefore, very different to the one which the CCT and DIY rural greentrifiers had envisaged.

The production of new build developments in the rural areas had been encouraged by the local institutional framework. The “Hebden and Hepton Town Map” (1963), established as a joint venture by Hepton Rural Council and Hebden Royd Urban Council, introduced relaxed planning guidelines in the rural areas. As discussed in Chapter 5, the ideology which underpinned this framework stressed “the old should be cleared away to make way for the new to attract people to stay in the area” (DEF). This key motive was well summed up by a local architect:

“In the mid to late 1960’s and early 70’s there was a great fear that some of the rural villages would disappear. Heptonstall is a good example, it was a ghost town. So the Council were pretty liberal in their granting of planning consent in the greener areas. You could build anything more or less, as long as it brought new life and people into the village. It was all because the Council were so concerned with the trend of depopulation and if the look of the place suffered, well so be it!” (RM).

These enabling structures were mirrored at a regional scale by the West Riding County Council. In both the 1966 and 1969 reviews of the County Development Plan, the West Riding County Council had encouraged development in some rural areas, stressing that adaptations of the West Riding green belts would be needed in a few places to accommodate larger urban units. This view was reinforced by the West Riding County Council in the “County Strategy for Development” (1970).

At the local level, adaptations to the green belt were specifically targeted by the West Riding County Council to enable the village expansion of Heptonstall. The justification for new build development in villages was derived from Rural District Policy Reports and Maps, established between 1965-69. Although only Heptonstall was deemed suitable for expansion in the Hebden Bridge district, these comments were indicative of the underlying regional beliefs and values of the West Riding County Council in relation to their vision of future green spaces.

Similarly, the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council argued that the designation and retention of green belts should not stifle potential economic regeneration. As stated in “Halifax and Calder Valley - An Area Study” (1968):

“Due weight must be given to the limited but specialised needs of industry for flat, level sites - otherwise the full retention of the green belt could prove to be at the expense of the economic development necessary to prevent decay in the area” (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and Board, 1968 p.3).

In this relatively flexible planning context, local developers were quick to seize the opportunity for new build development. This was manifest in the housing section of the local press, with the advent of new build property being advertised. Prior to this only older property had been advertised in the housing section. Typical offerings of “ready made” packages included:

“Hebden Bridge: superior building plot in rural position overlooking Hebden Bridge. Site eminently suitable for bungalow, £12,000-£15,000 and we can offer full package deal to include design to personal requirements and, building to complete within six months” (*HBT*, 30/11/73).

The role played by Dennis Rose in activating new build development is important here. As revealed by the housing section of the local newspaper, Dennis Rose was clearly the facilitating “link in the chain” between land owner, developer and consumer. For instance, in collaboration with local developers, Dennis Rose advertised that local developers were seeking land and/or property for development. At the same time, on behalf of land owners, Dennis Rose identified suitable plots of land for development.

The production of new build property was also stimulated by the conditions imposed upon borrowers by mortgage lenders. The market (not necessarily the demand!) was greater for new build property because mortgage lenders were more willing to lend finance on new build developments. Individuals wishing to renovate and/or convert old property could only obtain mortgages if they adhered to the strict conditions imposed by the lender. In most instances these conditions conflicted with the cultural values of the individuals wishing to renovate and/or convert. As the Chairman of the Ecology Building Society (EBS) recounted when he tried to obtain a mortgage for an “old-run down property” in 1974:

“There was never any question of getting a mortgage on it. If I had pulled down and raised all the ceilings, ripped out and enlarged the windows, asphalted the floors, re-timbered and re-tiled the roof in modern materials, installed a damp-proof course and carried out woodworm treatment - necessary or not - and constructed a septic tank big enough for a small village, and completely ruined its character in the process, then I could have applied for a mortgage - and probably been turned down because of the access” (GS).

Indeed, access to mortgage finance is fundamental in explaining the transformation from DIY to institutional rural greentrification. As noted in Chapter 5, due to relatively inexpensive country property prices in the late 1960s and early 1970's, DIY rural greentrifiers were not dependant on mortgages to finance self-renovation. Following the revalorisation of country property in mid-1970's, mortgage finance became a necessary prerequisite for self-renovation. However, building societies severely limited access to mortgage finance for the self-renovation of abandoned or dilapidated country property. As one institutional actor made clear:

“Building societies would only lend when all the work had been completed. This pushed borrowers into having to obtain expensive short term finance to get the work completed. They were also pushed into having to hire tradesmen when they would have preferred to do the work themselves over a longer period of time. It all added to the cost of renovating and it pushed people away from the lifestyle that many were trying to find. It forced them to go back to the lifestyle that they were escaping from” (PE).

As a result of these lending conditions, many households were thus excluded from partaking the self-renovation of country property. The consumption of country property became an inclusive practice undertaken by households who had the financial ability to afford the “produced” commodity.

The style of new build developments, which followed, contravened the structural guidelines established by *both* the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and the West Riding County Council. First, the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council (1968) stated that local character was a social and economic asset of considerable importance which should be exploited to regenerate old villages. Second, the West Riding County Council stressed in the County Structure Plan (1969) that development control would be enforced to ensure the retention of essential village character.

New build developments paid little reference to the local character of the rural areas. Developments were not sympathetic and contrasted with the styles of farmhouses, cottages and barns, the essential characteristics of the rural areas. There was little architectural reference made to the past time-spaces of the domestic system of textile production, such as mullion windows.

The presence of institutional “swiss-style” dwellings alongside the rehabilitated farmsteads, cottages and barns, suggests that Dennis Rose was catering for a gulf of cultural values. On the one hand there were client greentrifiers who wished to reside in dwellings of the past while living in the present (“touchers of history”). On the other hand, there were client greentrifiers who wished to live in their new build dwellings of the present alongside the context of the past. In this sense, the latter group of client greentrifiers were living close to history; they were “browsing not touching history”. They were

consuming the type of property normally prevalent in suburban areas, but now available in the rural context of the Upper Calder Valley.

In most instances the property section of the local newspaper suggests “ready-made” packages offered by Dennis Rose catered for the “touchers of history”. It must be pointed out here that the term “ready made” is somewhat of a contradiction. Many of the renovated and/or converted cottages, barns and farmhouses had been produced by the DIY rural greentrifiers and were partially rehabilitated and/or converted. This was the result of two important factors previously identified in Chapter 5. First, the dilapidation of country property was very severe in the late 1960’s. Second, the disintegration of the “good-life” counter-culture had slowed the pace of self-renovation. The important point to stress is that DIY rural greentrifiers had set the transformation of the rural landscape in motion, but they had not produced the finished product.

Consequently, many country properties purchased by client greentrifiers required further improvement or conversion. As their label suggests the client greentrifiers (consumers of the produced) did not continue the self-renovation activities initiated by the DIY rural greentrifiers. Rather, given the time constraints imposed by commuting and the availability of greater economic capital, they employed trades-people to complete the necessary renovation and/or conversion. Significantly, many client greentrifiers employed DIY rural greentrifiers, who had entered a dual economy after the modification of the “good-life” counter-culture. This may explain the proliferation and replication of specific styles of improvement (i.e. historic references) and subsequent Pennine housing forms in the rural areas. The form of these renovated and/or converted packages adhered to the West Riding County Council’s and Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council’s objective of retaining the local character.

Moreover, the financial power of the client greentrifiers enabled a conspicuous exaggeration of Pennine rural aesthetic features (see Plate 6.1). This is evident in many interviews, where respondents referred to the “regentrified” transformation of country property based on forms adopted by initial master clothier gentry in nineteenth century. Superimposed upon these historical connotations was a “sense of playfulness and grandeur”. This expressed the artistic and creative input of the DIY rural greentrifiers during the renovation stages. Typical comments illustrating this point include:

“They were converting two or three cottages to one house and restoring the open hall idea and putting galleries back in. Very much a gentrification of building that hadn’t seen the like since the seventeenth century.... I had a sitting room lined with 5000 books, a great big library open to the roof with great big roof trusses (PT).

### Plate 6.1 – The Revitalisation of Country Property



The preceding discussion has highlighted that the country property of the Upper Calder Valley had been recommodified by Dennis Rose. The changing role of the DIY rural greentifiers in the later stages was made clear. Despite the withdrawal of consumption by later waves of DIY rural greentifiers (due to the disintegration of “good-life” counter-culture, limited access to mortgage finance and economic constraints imposed by rising property prices), the earlier waves of DIY rural greentifiers were still playing a productive role as trades-people. Meanwhile, the patron greentifiers synonymous with institutional rural greentrification were solely consumers. They were consuming the country property supplied by Dennis Rose and the labour and styles of many DIY rural greentifiers. However, the rural product which emerged clashed with the rural construct envisaged by the CCT and DIY rural greentifiers. The affluent commuters were culturally less “centred”. In other words, the rural areas did not symbolise a location to “drop-out” and escape [sub]urban space and lifestyles. Rather the patron greentifiers continued to work in metropolitan areas while residing in the rural; they were residential counter-urbanites but not counter-urbanising.

By the mid 1970’s the reservoir of demand for the consumption of the rural areas had been widely acknowledged. The conditions were now ripe for greater levels of capital accumulation. As indicated

by the property section of the local newspaper, a number of estate agents entered Hebden Bridge and participated in the promotion of the rural areas. Crabtree Estate Agency, for example, offered:

“Midgehole - semi-detached country cottage situated close to the National Park in magnificent position. Comprising: entrance porch, lounge, beamed ceiling, mullion windows, etc” (*HBT*, 4/1/74).

Other adverts offered: “period cottages in the centre of olde world village” (*HBT*, 3/5/74). Clearly, the estate agents (and local developers) were supplying mythical representations of the rural areas, based on their perception of what the client greentrifiers were demanding.

#### 6.2.4 A Changing Institutional Framework

During the mid 1970’s the enabling institutional framework, which Dennis Rose and local developers had exploited, was transformed by changing regional structural frameworks. This inhibited local developers from producing new build developments in the rural parts of the Upper Calder Valley and imposed tighter guidelines upon the rehabilitation and conversion of older country property.

The origins of the shift were officially documented by the Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council and the Standing Conference of Local Planning Authorities (1972), in their joint review of the Green Belt policy. Although parameters were suggested that would constrain and control development in rural areas, recommendations were formulated with the intention of protecting urban areas. The report noted that Green Belts should be defined to preserve the special character of a **town**, to prevent neighbouring **towns** from merging into one another and provide a sense of identity and to encircle **built up** areas to control their size and shape. The review went on to stress that Green Belts should not be designated to protect areas of natural beauty and high amenity. Rather, it was argued these areas should be protected by other planning powers at the discretion of the Local Planning Authority. This is hardly surprising given the input of the Local Planning Authorities in the Green Belt policy review. These findings were integrated by the Yorkshire And Humberside Economic Planning Council in the “Yorkshire and Humberside Regional Strategy Review: The Next Ten Years” (1975).

In conflict, and running parallel to the publication of the Strategy, was the position of the West Yorkshire County Council regarding development in rural areas and Green Belt policy. On 1st April 1974, the West Yorkshire County Council had replaced the West Riding County Council under local government reorganisation. As Chapter 5 has already observed, the reform had profound effects at both the regional and local levels. In the “First Annual Statement - West Yorkshire Structure Plan” (1975),

the West Yorkshire County Council made its stance clear regarding Green Belt policy and development in rural areas. In the statement, the West Yorkshire County Council introduced “Green Belt and Interim Unallocated Land Policy”. This policy advocated that:

“.. predominantly rural areas appear vulnerable; because it is here that quite small changes in the amount of land released could change the shape and pattern of the urban areas and may cause communities to loose definition and identity” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1975 p.36).

The West Yorkshire County Council argued that any development should be resisted that was not an official and acceptable Green Belt activity. Other constraints included the belief that County Councils and District Councils should continue to treat “white land” like “Green Belt” for the purposes of controlling development. This stance was further reinforced a year later in the Second Annual Statement of the West Yorkshire County Council (July 1976), which noted that “the interim policies on unallocated land and Green Belt remain the policy of the County Council” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1976 p.73).

The Second Annual statement also reviewed the problems that the West Yorkshire County Council felt had to be addressed in the Structure Plan. Six themes (A-F) were presented to tackle these problems, each theme underpinned by a distinctive planning philosophy (see Appendix 6.1). The Metropolitan Borough Councils of West Yorkshire were asked to examine the themes and provide comments with regard to their favoured vision. In response, the Calderdale District Council made clear its preference for the future of rural space, claiming:

“The Green Belt needs to be safeguarded from the pressures for urban expansion in order to maintain the County’s attractive open character. In particular, protection is required to prevent the coalescence of the towns” (Calderdale District Council, 1976 p.128).

However, the Calderdale District Council were not advocating the need for strict planning guidelines in the Green Belt. On the contrary, they claimed that:

“Pressure for large scale erosion of the Green Belt should be resisted **but** some modification will be required to allow a more rational pattern of land use, to meet the need and to ensure a modest amount of housing development to satisfy local housing requirements” (Calderdale District Council, 1976 p.128).

The beliefs of the Calderdale District Council conflicted with the West Yorkshire County Council’s report of the “Structure Plan Survey” (1977) which was critical of Local Planning Authorities former Green Belt policies. The West Yorkshire County Council commented that:



“They [Green Belt policies] had not been accompanied by a clear statement of those types of development which are acceptable in Green Belt areas. This has led to a variety of interpretations over, for instance, the conversion of farm buildings to residential use, and the rehabilitation of derelict dwellings on the countryside” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1977 p.xx).

Following on from this critique, the West Yorkshire County Council’s “Written Statement for the West Yorkshire County Structure Plan” (1978) clarified Green Belt policy. The West Yorkshire County Council stressed that the Green Belt would have a significant degree of permanence and would not be frequently eroded to meet development needs. To ensure this would be achieved the West Yorkshire County Council asserted that it would:

“.. limit the scale of development in the 5-10 mile rural margin of the county within which commuting pressures are considerable and where the character and identity of many smaller settlements are at risk” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1978 p.89).

By the mid 1970s, the Hebden Bridge district was an example of such an area. As a result, the following guidelines were highly relevant to the rural parts of the Hebden Bridge district:

“Planning permission will not be given within the “West Yorkshire Green Belt”, except in very special circumstances, for the construction of new buildings or for the change of use of buildings or land for purposes other than agriculture, forestry, sports and recreation, cemeteries, institutions standing in extensive grounds, or other uses appropriate to a rural area”” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1978 p.89).

However, the Calderdale District Council’s call for the retention of spatial identity was represented in the Structure Plan. The West Yorkshire County Council envisaged that the permanence of the Green Belt would stop towns and villages from merging and protect their distinct local character and community identity.

Constraints upon development in rural areas were reinforced with the designation of “Special Landscape Areas”. In line with the recommendations of the Standing Conference of South Pennines Authorities (SCOSPA), Hebden Bridge was included as the hub of the South Pennine area. Accordingly, the West Yorkshire County Council stipulated that:

“Development or change of use will normally be accepted only if it will not adversely affect the visual character of the areas and if so, the siting, design and materials must be sympathetic to such character”” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1978 p.94).

The designation of the Special Landscape Area was based on the educational, cultural, recreational and amenity value of the historical, architectural and archaeological heritage of the area. The specification of

“Special Landscape Area” status aided the efforts of the CCT and SCOSPA to promote the natural and historic assets of the Hebden Bridge district, as discussed in Chapter 5. Indeed, the West Yorkshire County Council specifically mentioned that facilities for informal countryside leisure activities, such as walking, cycling, fishing, camping, caravanning and pleasure motoring, would be supported in the Pennine area. Hebden Bridge’s status as the centre of the South Pennine Recreation Park had thus been officially institutionalised and protected within the Structure Plan.

Other constraints imposed by the West Yorkshire County Council halted the development in the Green Belt. For example, the designation of “Urban Priority Areas” in Todmorden and Sowerby Bridge had an indirect impact. The Structure Plan asserted that:

“Residential development proposals in local plans in locations on or near to the edge of a built up area included within a Urban Priority Area should not lead to the physical coalescence of distinct and separate communities” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1978 p.53).

This once again highlights the institutional belief in the maintenance of distinct spatial identities throughout West Yorkshire. Inevitably, in the Mid to Upper Calder Valley this safeguarded the rural areas which separated Todmorden from Hebden Bridge and Sowerby Bridge from Hebden Bridge. Indeed, Green Belt designation was encouraged around Urban Priority Areas to prevent peripheral sprawl on the edges. A prevalent theme running throughout the written statement was the encouragement of a policy of urban concentration. This emphasised the need to make use of existing services in urban areas, promoted the development of neglected land and sought the improvement and selective redevelopment of obsolete residential areas.

In summary, this section has outlined the impact of the constraining institutional frameworks of the West Yorkshire County Council and the Calderdale District Council from the mid 1970’s. A further factor is important here and requires discussion; the anti-development pressures frequently exerted by the client greentrifiers.

From the late 1970’s, client greentrifiers contested developments which they perceived would destroy their idyllic image of the rural areas. For this reason, pressures were placed upon the Calderdale District Council to introduce stricter planning controls, especially in the Green Belt areas. As one former local councillor made clear:

“By the late 1970’s Heptonstall had become a precious little home to lots of affluent professionals, defensive and parochial people. The last thing these people wanted was more planning consent for lots of small houses in their rural paradise” (RM).

There are numerous cases which exemplify the client greentrifiers objections to new build development. One particular development which was well documented by the local media, related to a proposal for a mini-holiday village at Hardcastle Craggs. This example illustrates the motives and well organised vocal efforts of the client greentrifiers:

“Mrs Dunleavy (the Protest Group Leader) said she had come to live in the Lee Mill area because of the peace and quiet in the countryside and she did not want it spoiling” (*HBT*, 9/3/79).

Indeed, comments made by the Protest Group Leader demonstrate the articulate form of the anti-development movement. For example, it was claimed that the mini-holiday village would:

“.. destroy the delightful and tranquil wooded enclave located on the river bank, part of the Hardcastle Craggs area which is of outstanding natural beauty” (*HBT*, 16/2/79).

Similarities can be made here to the terminology above and the scripts adopted by estate agents when promoting the rural location, as outlined in Section 6.3. Moreover, this suggests that the estate agents were supplying the rural imagery which the client greentrifiers were seeking.

The coming together of anti-development pressures in the late 1970s, from institutional actors of local and regional government and client greentrifiers, slowed down the pace of institutional rural greentrification. In response, developers redirected their attention to Hebden Bridge and a parallel process of recommodification was instigated in Hebden Bridge. The origins and transformation which accompanied this transition will be examined in Section 6.4. As a prelude to the discussion, the following section will examine a further significant stage of institutional rural greentrification, the influx of eco-renovators.

### **6.2.5 The Re-emergence Of Self-Renovation**

As local developers began redirecting their efforts to Hebden Bridge, a new wave of households began to self-renoate and/or convert country property in the early 1980's. It is important to stress here that these households were confined to the more dilapidated country property, which the earlier DIY and client greentrifiers had rejected or missed.

The re-commencement of self-renovation activities by greentrifier households was not directly linked to the withdrawal of local developers from the rural areas. Rather, self-renovation was facilitated by the

Ecological Building Society (EBS), based at Cross Hills, Skipton; through its promotion of “eco-renovation”. This, as defined by the EBS, is concerned with:

“... saving energy and other scarce resources while creating a healthy environment to live in. We seek to recover the energy costs locked up in a building during its construction. That why we’re happy to lend on derelict and older buildings” (EBS promotional literature).

Founded in 1981 by four DIY rural greentrifiers, the EBS was labelled the “hippie” Building Society by the media, reflecting the “green” beliefs on which it is based. The green ideological underpinnings were verified by the Chairman of the EBS, who stated that “projects must contribute towards:

- i) The saving of energy and non-renewable resources,
- ii) The preservation of buildings and communities; and
- iii) The promotion of self-sufficiency and the most ecological use of land’ (GS).

Parallels can be drawn between the practices of the EBS and the cultural traits of the “good-life” counter-culture, as outlined in Chapter 5. For instance, promotional literature claims that the EBS support “lifestyles that have a low impact on the planets resources, whether it be the pursuit for self-sufficiency, tele-cottaging or co-operative living”. Indeed, the “good-life” counter-culture origins were noted by the Assistant General Manager of the EBS, who proudly asserted:

“The initial thrust was connected with the beginnings of the Green movement in the early 70’s. At that time quite a few people came together through the Ecology Party. There was a lot of people from the Hebden Bridge area who were looking to renovate older properties, but who were finding the attitude of conventional building societies very unhelpful” (PE).

It was these barriers to finance imposed by conventional building societies, which acted as the primary catalyst for the creation of the EBS. At the same time, the founder members clearly acknowledged the demand from households who wished to self-renovate country property.

The constraints upon self-renovation encountered by the founder members, were excellently illustrated in *The Sunday Times*. The article describes how Tony Dyter, a cabinet maker from Hebden Bridge, placed his house on the market in 1987 to use as collateral to obtain an overdraft from a bank, thus enabling the conversion of a disused chapel into an home and studio. The chain of events which followed included:

“Dyter’s bank gave him an overdraft of £40,000, but after five years of renovation work he found that the overdraft had stretched to £60,000, incorporating £20,000 in charges and interest. Dyter sold his home and paid off all but the £20,000 of the overdraft, and asked his bank to convert the remainder into a mortgage. “They came and looked the property over and started demanding certain work was completed before they would convert the debt into a mortgage”” (*The Sunday Times*, 21/5/95).

To overcome these typical experiences, the EBS contemplate lending money on derelict property based of current valuation. Consequently, this form of mortgage lending eradicates the need for borrowers to obtain expensive bridging loans before being able to obtain a mortgage. As the General Manager of EBS stressed in *The Sunday Times*, the EBS “will lend up to 80% of the purchase price up-front so there is no need for a bridging loan and people can get on with the renovation work straight away” (*The Sunday Times*, 21/5/95).

The facilitating role played by the EBS is fundamental in explaining the re-emergence of greentrifiers in the production stages of the greentrification process. To a certain degree it redressed local developer domination of the production process. This was clearly a key motive for the EBS, as the Assistant General Manager emphasised:

“We have always had a slight mistrust of developers just wanting to renovate, make a quick buck and run off with the profits. We would rather lend to individuals who care for the property and appreciate its history” (PE).

The changing structural framework discussed in the previous section, which discouraged local developer involvement in the rural areas, must be taken into account when considering the opportunity for greentrifier households to self-renovate. Perhaps if the relatively open institutional framework had remained in place, local developers would have renovated and/or converted the entire country property housing stock.

As a result of the EBS’s favoured approach for self-renovation by households, parallels can be drawn here with the integrated production and consumption role of the DIY rural greentrifiers in the early 1970’s. However, households borrowing finance from EBS cannot be defined as DIY rural greentrifiers. They are clearly involved in a process which is instigated and directed by the institutional actions of the EBS. For this reason, households obtaining finance from the EBS to self-renovate must be subsumed within the client greentrifier label.

Therefore, the creation of the EBS has enabled the founder members to institutionalise the production activities, associated with DIY rural greentrification, into institutional rural greentrification. Additionally, the EBS have the power to direct the form of production via self-renovation. This power

is exercised through the environmental and historically specific of the EBS's lending policies, which mirror those of the DIY rural greentrifiers. These were clearly identified by the Assistant General Manager, who noted that the EBS stipulate to borrowers:

“They must preserve the historical character of the building and always use traditional techniques. This works in their and our favour because we consider traditional techniques to be better in an ecological sense” (PE).

In conclusion, the establishment of the EBS has been fundamental in reproducing and replicating the form and shape of the rural commodity begun by the CCT and the DIY rural greentrifiers in the late 1960's. Importantly, the EBS has enabled the DIY rural greentrifiers to institutionalise the cultural values of the “good-life” counter-culture and inscribe their beliefs upon the rural landscape. As outlined in the previous section, these beliefs have been naturalised into the wider institutional framework, imposed by the Calderdale District Council. Evidence identified suggests an overall institutional consensus to preserve nature and the past through self-renovation and selective new build development in the rural landscape.

### **6.3 Institutional Rurban Greentrification**

This section will introduce the process of institutional rurban greentrification, examining the increasingly active role of institutional actors in Hebden Bridge. Central to the discussion will be the institutional actor's recommodification of Hebden Bridge and subsequent reproduction and promotion of a rurban package. As already outlined in Chapter 5, the rurban package is tied to Hebden Bridge and is based on mythical representations of Hebden Bridge's urban and rural past.

As we have seen, prior to the mid 1970's the recommodification of property by commercial institutional actors had been confined to the rural housing market. The urban property of Hebden Bridge was predominantly purchased by indigenous local households. Accordingly, it had not been recommodified and was sold on functional qualities. Estate agents did not manipulate the locational assets or dwelling characteristics of urban property in local newspaper advertisements.

Clearly, no acknowledgement was evident that urban property was a valuable commodity which could be repackaged and marketed for the newcomers. The problem had been compounded even further by the “red-lining” of property in Hebden Bridge by building societies, as Dennis Rose made clear:

“All the building societies looked down on Hebden Bridge in the 1960s. It had a bad reputation, it was seen as a shabby run down mill town. Building societies saw it as a dangerous proposition on which to lend money. Almost everyone thought it was going to go one way - down!” (DR).

In a similar vein to the rural areas, the initial promotion of Hebden Bridge was instigated by the CCT and the DIY rural greentrifiers. Like the DIY rural greentrifiers, the pioneer DIY rural greentrifiers selectively promoted Hebden Bridge at a national level, to maintain and reinforce counter-cultural socio-spatial identity. For example, one interviewee recalled:

“They [the DIY rural greentrifiers] got wind of it in St Ives of all places. A local minister from Hebden Bridge put up a placard down there, which said “*Hebden Bridge Welcomes Hippies*”. My sister saw it in St Ives at the time and told me. We thought there must be another place called Hebden Bridge. We couldn’t understand why anyone would want to come to Hebden Bridge, but they did, they came like swarms of bees” (DH).

At the same time, the CCT exploited the influx of DIY rural greentrifiers in the attempt to redefine the symbolism of the place (from decline to revitalisation). For instance, David Fletcher claimed that the “winds of change had blown” over Hebden Bridge. Citing the physical rejuvenation of the landscape, he commented:

“For the first time in over 60 years the population has not fallen. People want to live here and stay here. We are no longer a declining community and the advantages of life in Hebden Bridge and district are recognised and will continue to be so” (*HBT*, 15 2 74).

As this forecast was borne out with the continued influx of DIY rural greentrifiers, Hebden Bridge began to receive widespread local media attention. The influx was such that one local article claimed that the trend of depopulation had been abated. The front page article boldly proclaimed “The Away Drift Has Been Reversed”, emphasising a population increase from the 1971 census (12,008) to the then (1974) count of 12,474 (*HBT*, 19/10/74).

As DIY rural greentrifiers settled in Hebden Bridge, they began the rehabilitation of the urban property. Importantly, self-renovation activities were partially financed by home improvement grants provided under the Housing Act (1974). Owner-occupiers could obtain a 50% grant towards rehabilitation costs, provided that they occupied the dwelling for five years. In the General Improvement Areas of Hebden Bridge, owner-occupiers could receive a grant of 60% towards improving the standard and condition of housing. Significantly, the home improvement grants were made available at the discretion of the local authority. Access to home improvement grants was a key attraction for the in-

migrants. In order to explain the willingness of the local authority to provide home improvement grants to “outsiders”, it is necessary to take into account the wider regional institutional pressures.

The initial regional institutional statement which encouraged the influx of “outsiders” into Hebden Bridge was made by the Yorkshire And Humberside Economic Planning Council. In the “Regional Strategy Review - The Next Ten Years” (1975) it was noted:

“The West of the [Calderdale] district has increasingly benefited from people working in Manchester settling here” (Yorkshire and Humberside Economic Planning Council, 1975 p.24).

Similarly the West Yorkshire County Council, in its Second Annual Statement, specifically called into question previous attempts to revitalise the declining economic bases, loss of population and deterioration of facilities in the Upper Calder Valley. The West Yorkshire County Council stressed that the Upper Calder Valley is not the problem, but “the problem is whether their economy can be restored or whether their future role must change” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1976 p.81). Adopting the latter strategy for change, the West Yorkshire County Council therefore opted for a valid new role. They did not have to search far; the benefits of an influx of commuters were already becoming manifest in Hebden Bridge. Commuters were increasingly being made aware and discovering Hebden Bridge through media attention, which documented the revitalisation associated with the DIY suburban greentrifiers.

All efforts thereafter concentrated on encouraging the repopulation of Hebden Bridge by commuters rather than redressing the depopulation of textile workers. This is clear from the written statement of the West Yorkshire County Structure Plan (1978), which dismissed the industrial role of the Upper Calder Valley. For example, the West Yorkshire County Council stated that the:

“... topography and the legacy of urban development seriously restrict the availability of industrial sites.. The scope for new (industrial) allocations is very limited; in the Upper Calder Valley, any development will, of necessity, be small scale” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1978 p.28).

At the local level, these views were later reinforced by the Chief Town Planning Officer for the Calderdale District Council, who commented that Hebden Bridge:

“... is proving to attract a commuter population. It is anticipated that Hebden Bridge could increasingly become a dormitory town for the surrounding centres of Lancashire and West Yorkshire” (*HBT*, 20/4/79).



Clearly, the vision of a vibrant Hebden Bridge with affluent commuters was becoming institutionalised at a local and regional level. Thereafter, a consensus prevailed that an influx of commuters from the surrounding conurbations was the solution to the problems of the Upper Calder Valley.

However, this vision was only realised in Hebden Bridge. All estate agents noted during the interviews that Todmorden did not experience an influx of commuters during the 1970s. Clearly, the absence of DIY rural greentrifiers undertaking self-renovation activities in Todmorden was influential here. Todmorden was still associated with negative imagery and was not an attractive proposition to commuters. In contrast, the demand to reside in the revitalised Hebden Bridge was spiralling upwards. It was not only the institutions of local and regional government which were aware of this trend.

### 6.3.1 The Origins of the Plotters

A group of DIY rural greentrifiers joined forces in the late-1970's to exploit the mushrooming demand from a commuter population. Given that the group of DIY rural greentrifiers were plotting a strategy of capital accumulation, they will be termed "plotters". The label is not meant to imply any illegal overtones. Rather, it is based on the derogatory comments provided by *both* indigenous and in-migrant individuals during semi-structured interviews. Typical accounts of the group included:

"Duncan, Bull and all the rest of them are a shower of bastards. They had a plan and didn't give two pennies who would suffer. As long as they filled their pockets full of gold it didn't matter what happened. They had one thing on their mind, to make lots of money by buying up cheap property and selling it for more" (65).

It will be shown that once established, the plotters began a process of recommodifying the urban property of Hebden Bridge. This involved modifying the supply of cheap urban property by producing and promoting a redefined Hebden Bridge package. The relationship between the plotters and the wider local and regional institutional framework will be taken into account, given diverging and dynamic vested interests.

The impetus to establish a collective web was based on the perception of a demand and the capability to supply a commodity which would satisfy the demand. When joined collectively the group embraced the professional skills required to exploit the housing market of Hebden Bridge. Crucially, the financial backing provided by a local millionaire was fundamental in facilitating the group's exploitative strategy.

The group of plotters initially comprised an estate agent (practicing in Heywood, Lancashire), a builder and three architects. In the early 1970's, the group had purchased a derelict farmhouse and five cottages

at Blackshaw Head. These were collectively self-renovated, split into three country properties and inhabited by the households.

Clearly, their movement into Blackshaw Head was not dissimilar to many other DIY rural greentrifiers in the early 1970's. However, their motives did contrast with other DIY rural greentrifiers. Despite being at a pre/early professional stage when they entered Hepton, the group had "an interest in property; there was also an interest in development" (LB). For instance, the estate agent amongst them had previously initiated a residential development project at Littleborough, Rochdale.

The development-motivated move into the derelict country property at Blackshaw Head, was therefore intentional. Indeed, one member admitted:

"We sat down in my house one night in Littleborough and divided up the spoils. We identified the plots of land that weren't of particular interest to anyone. We decided that we would try to do something ourselves with the land" (RM).

When asked if the other two members had also moved to Hepton with the intention of development, he replied: "I don't know what Duncan and Lucy's intention were. But they are both wheelers and dealers in their own ways, so I suppose that is what they had in mind in the back in their minds" (RM).

Following the self-renovation of the derelict property, the group developed two detached properties on the "unwanted land". These developments marked the origins of the plotter institutional web, as informal associations were transformed into professional relationships. Significantly, the profit-motivated development contrasted with the culturally-motivated self-renovation activities of other DIY rural greentrifiers. Frictions emerged with the other DIY rural greentrifiers, who openly contested both the form of rehabilitation and new build developments. Examples provided by interviewees include:

"What Duncan Douglas has done is disgraceful. He has no ethics. He develops for development sake. To make money that is all. He doesn't care about the look of the place. There is one barn up on the Wadsworth hillside and he has destroyed it. So don't ask me about Douglas" (PT).

Significantly, the local millionaire who provided the financial backing to exploit the urban housing market was a highly respected local mill owner. His involvement gave the plotters an immediate sense of credibility, when setting up their practice in Hebden Bridge.

The collaboration of a respected and powerful "local" inhabitant (with financial and political power) and "outsiders" (with professional and entrepreneurial skills), resulted in a very localised and specific group of individuals controlling the urban housing market.

### 6.3.2 The Plan: Capital Accumulation

The following sections will document the two general stages of the plotters' strategic manipulation of the supply and demand of the urban housing market. It will be shown that a first stage endeavoured to remove the supply of cheap urban property. Once this had been achieved, a second stage then sought to augment a demand for a declining supply of repackaged urban property. The plotters anticipated that this approach would lead to increased urban property prices and greater levels of profit. As one key plotter stated:

“They started by renting it out as cheap property and soon as you know it the rents start to escalate. Soon as you have a town centre that is full, the one person that comes in, the one house that becomes available, you have ten people after it. So for example, instead of £5,000 a year it becomes £10,000 a year and so on” (DD).

Thus, the agency of the plotters primarily focused upon modifying the supply of cheap urban property. The extent of abandoned residential property is well revealed by a local newspaper article, which noted that 428 (8%) houses were classified as “empty”, out of a total housing stock of 5,348 (*HBT*, 19/10/79). Therefore, the task facing the plotters was immense. However, with the significant finance of the mill owner, the plotters began to purchase the large pool of cheap urban property. These were then rehabilitated and converted into the type of urban residential commodities which (the web deemed) would be attractive to professionals of Manchester, Bradford and Leeds. This included converting and “knocking-through” two dwellings into one larger dwelling and modernising interiors (e.g. central heating). Externally, the urban dwellings were stone cleaned (“honey-coloured”) and re-pointed to enhance the Pennine millstone grit stonework. Local traditional and architectural references were also inscribed upon the dwellings, such as mullion windows, panelled doors and stone slate roofs.

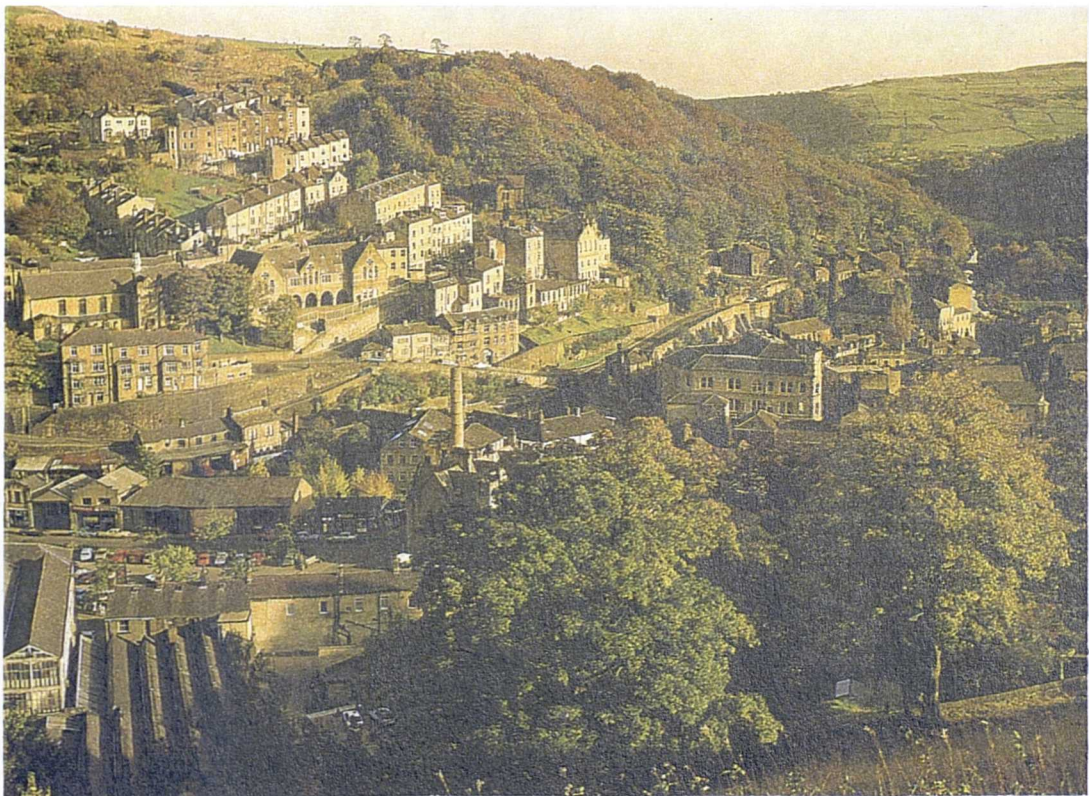
As well as manipulating the supply side of the urban residential property market, the plotters also began to manipulate the supply side of the retail property market. These actions were based on the belief that “the more shops that close, the less attractive a place becomes” (GT). This negative symbolism was in part due to insurance companies, who insisted that shop windows were boarded up when empty. In order to create a positive image of Hebden Bridge, it was therefore necessary to reverse the trend of shop closure and window boarding.

Additionally, an attempt was made to attract particular types of retailer. The plotters postulated that by supplying specific retail services, which they felt the anticipated incoming pool of professionals would desire, the outside demand to reside in Hebden Bridge would increase. As one key actor stressed:

“Well you have to give these people somewhere to shop. They don’t want white bread with chicken pate, they want granary bread with smoked salmon pate. So that’s why there is three delicatessens in Hebden Bridge” (DD).

At the same time, the introduction of shops, such as “Countrystores Delicatessen”, “Farmstores Delicatessen”, “Pennine Provisions” and “Countrywear”, reinforced the rural elements of the “honey-coloured” urban package.

**Plate 6.2 – The Repackaged Urban Landscape of Hebden Bridge**



Given the need to purchase the cheap residential and retail urban property, it is important to strongly reiterate the fundamental necessity for easy access to private capital for the venture. Indeed, an original member of the plotters claimed in an interview that “it is sheer private capital that has regenerated Hebden Bridge” (DD). Going one stage further he added “there have been no developers in Sowerby Bridge or in Todmorden who have had the bottle of those in Hebden Bridge, so this is why there is the difference between the places.” Although private capital has been crucial to the revitalisation of Hebden Bridge, such accounts are obviously one-sided. Capital cannot be given precedence over other crucial elements such as consumer demands and choices .

To produce “desirable” residential and retail urban commodities, the plotters manipulated the system of government grants for rehabilitation of urban property. As stated earlier, housing improvement grants

were extended under the Housing Act (1974) and provided private landlords with a 50% grant towards the cost of rehabilitation. The private landlord had to give an assurance that on completion of improvement, the dwellings would be let for five years.

The availability of housing improvement grants provided an opportunity for the national subsidy of private capital accumulation. The grants enabled the plotters to rehabilitate large numbers of urban properties in Hebden Bridge. For example, the architect amongst the plotters recalled:

“There was also grants available for doing up residential property. So you have a residential developer who does up half of the street down here. So he gets £10,000 for every flat of his property which is done up. He rents it off for 5 years, gets the rent off his tenants, pays it back and sells them and makes a £50,000 profit on each one” (DD).

The West Yorkshire County Structure Plan (1978) also provided an enabling framework, which encouraged the plotters to follow a rehabilitation led strategy. In the written statement of the Structure Plan, the West Yorkshire County Council fundamentally advocated housing improvement in preference to redevelopment. Indeed, the West Yorkshire County Council specifically called for a reduction of redevelopment in Calderdale, especially in the Upper Calder Valley, based on the premise that output would be above the highest level of need in the area.

The plotters were also encouraged to follow rehabilitation strategies given that Hebden Bridge was not designated an “Urban Priority Area”. The West Yorkshire County Council commented that priority should be given to bringing land forward for development, within and adjacent to the following existing built up areas in Priority Urban Areas. Thus, in the Mid to Upper Calder Valley redevelopment was selectively encouraged in the designated Urban Priority Areas of Todmorden, Sowerby Bridge and Halifax. It was openly asserted that in the case of Todmorden, designation had been made to reflect the importance of the town as the main focus of the Upper Calder Valley. In the context of Hebden Bridge, guidance therefore stressed that developments should:

“... take the form of a **natural infill** to the existing settlement or intensification/redevelopment of an existing residential use, in both cases small in size in relation to the surrounding development and in a manner which would not set a precedent for further development on adjacent or nearby land” (West Yorkshire County Council, 1978 p.54).

Once again, it was reiterated that development should not materially affect the character or seriously detract from the environment.

The constraints imposed upon the plotters by the West Yorkshire County Structure Plan therefore directed them towards housing rehabilitation and small scale infill development in the small towns. The ideologies of the Calderdale District Council do not appear to have conflicted with this approach. As the Calderdale District Council had earlier officially stated:

“Priority (should) be given to improving the quality of housing stock through housing refurbishment, selective redevelopment and new infill development rather than the spread of housing development (Calderdale District Council, 1976 p.127).

A clear enabling and constraining framework had thus been set for the plotters by the state institutions. This inevitably encouraged the rehabilitation led strategy of the plotters.

Consequently, through these strategies of rehabilitation the availability of cheap urban property in Hebden Bridge was abated. The outcome was the production and supply of “sought after” Pennine residential commodities in Hebden Bridge. It was now time to commence with stage two of the plan; the stimulation of the demand which the plotters had anticipated for the Pennine residential product.

### **6.3.3 Selling The Repackaged “Urban” Commodity**

In the early 1980’s, the plotters purchased a vacant site from the Calderdale District Council and built office premises in Hebden Bridge. The three architects set up practice in the upper floor. The estate agent, Lucy Bull, relocated her practice from Heywood and traded as Aldersons Estate Agency on the lower floor. Following this collaboration, the plotters began a strategy of reproducing and promoting repackaged urban property from the Hebden Bridge office.

Driven by the strong conviction of a huge demand from professionals in Manchester, Bradford and Leeds, Lucy Bull speculatively raised urban property prices. This belief was based on the knowledge of comparative property valuations in the Manchester area, obtained through her previous branch in Heywood. Hence, it was deemed that the risk of raising property prices was minimal. As Lucy Bull stated: “I realised that people were in fact wanting to move here and were prepared to pay more than a lot of properties were on the market at” (LB).

In accordance with the profit-maximisation ideology of the plotters and the philosophy that: “it’s an estate agent’s job to get the best possible price for the house” (LB), urban and country property was revalorised to exploit a “rent-gap” between current and potential valuations. As the estate agent commented:

“When I first tried to get properties, when I did valuations, people were staggered by the values I was giving them. By advertising in Manchester and Leeds I was getting them. There was no difficulty in it” (LB).

To manipulate the demand, Aldersons joined the burgeoning number of estate agents promoting the Pennine country property of the rural environs. In Hebden Bridge, however, the relative absence of serious and innovative competition gave Aldersons a virtual monopoly of the local urban housing market. The other estate agents (Dennis Rose, Crabtree and Harrison) all promoted urban property in a standard non-innovative manner. There was no exaggeration of the dwelling attributes or the locational qualities of Hebden Bridge, no stressing of the relatively low house prices and no use of photographs. It is questionable why Dennis Rose had not used its rural strategy to promote urban property. When quizzed at a follow-up interview about this point, Dennis Rose claimed:

“Well, I suppose we had already set out our stall to sell country property. To be honest I didn’t like selling terraced housing, it’s all the same. Plus we had got a reputation for selling country property and were good at it!” (DR).

In contrast, Lucy Bull astutely replicated Dennis Rose’s earlier strategy which had stimulated institutional rural greentrification. The repackaged urban property of Hebden Bridge was promoted via advertisements in the *Manchester Evening News* and the Leeds-based *Yorkshire Post*. The Pennine urban commodity was taken to the consumers of Manchester, Bradford and Leeds. This approach was hardly surprising given the claim that “if you put an advertisement in the *Manchester Evening News* for a beamed cottage with the original features it would immediately sell” (LB).

Additionally, for the first time, there was a distinctly different approach to the form of advertisement with the clear notification of the asking price and the use of photographs. An overt formula was adopted which exaggerated the local historical assets of the repackaged urban property (e.g. double-deckers). In addition, the advertisements emphasised the type of location that commuters were demanding. This reinforced the rural aspects of Hebden Bridge. There was a clear exploitation of the surrounding rurality when marketing urban property. As Lucy Bull disclosed during an interview:

“I used to sell the urban property by playing upon the small moor-edge hamlets, like Heptonstall. I mean Hebden Bridge itself wasn’t that pretty, it was industrial and urban. Yes, it’s certainly the outlying places that give Hebden Bridge its image, you know, the quaint farmhouses, weavers cottages and green fields” (LB).

It is this link which emphasises the complementarity of institutional rural greentrification, when considering the process of institutional rural greentrification. Indeed, this point is well illustrated by Aldersons' initial advertisement, which offered:

“1 Shroggs Lane, Woodley Lane, Wood Top, Hebden Bridge  
A late seventeenth century stone built cottage in a rural situation enjoying superb views over Hebden Bridge yet within 10 minutes walking distance of the station (£18,500)”

As substantial numbers of urban and country property were promoted and sold to affluent commuters of Manchester, Bradford and Leeds during the early 1980's, there was dramatic escalation of property prices in the Hebden Bridge district. The speculative manipulation undertaken by Lucy Bull to raise property valuations proved fruitful.

As a result of instigating property price escalations, *Lucy Bull was criticised for not acting in the interests of local people*. Fears were expressed that the rising property prices would exclude the local population from competing in the local housing market. As Lucy Bull recalled:

“There were all these skits in the local press. There was a picture of an hen hut valued at £90,000. You can imagine what the text said. So I put it in my window and I laughed with them. Because let's face it, what they were saying was true in the sense that property prices had risen because of my influence” (LB).

Importantly, the undercurrents that surfaced were aimed directly at Lucy Bull. It is useful to note that the local population did object to the in-coming greentrifiers. Resentment was not, however, stimulated by the rising property prices. Rather it was caused by feelings of cultural difference, which were expressed on the letters page of the local newspaper. For instance, one letter claimed a connection between drug use and the influx of greentrifiers:

“People born and bred in this area regard the taking of drugs as part of the make-up of the typical newcomer to the area... While there is a certain amount of prejudice among local people against the newcomers it is undeniably true that the increased circulation of drugs in the Calder Valley has occurred since Hebden Bridge became a trendy place to live” (HBT, 29/1/82).

Local resentment and antagonism was partly alleviated when Lucy Bull sold Aldersons to Adamsons of Rochdale in 1982. Lucy Bull remained as Manageress of Adamson's new branch in Hebden Bridge. Adamsons issued a statement that the decision to move to Hebden Bridge had been motivated by the need to exploit the country property market:



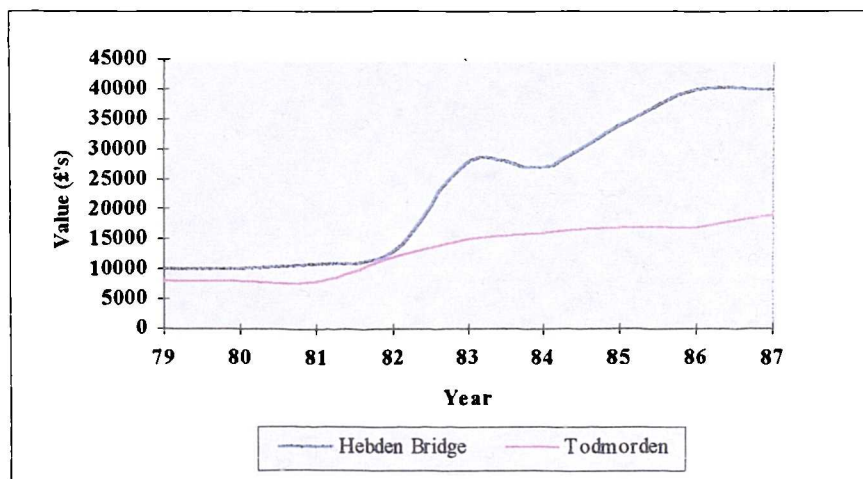
“It will fill a void which we have so far been unable to fill successfully, that of the great demand for converted farm buildings and stone cottages in the Hebden Bridge area. There is great demand in the Rochdale area because of the easy commuting distance” (*HBT*, 29/1/82).

Significantly, the change of trading name partially alleviated local fears. The new position did not, however, transform Lucy Bull’s professional beliefs, as she recalled:

“I continued to do what I had done previously. People who eventually sold their own house didn’t complain when I sold their house for an higher price. Everybody wants the highest price for their house, you wouldn’t sell your house for less to help somebody else” (LB).

Figure 6.1 illustrates the continuation of rising property prices during the early to mid 1980s, showing the mean July market valuation (established by estate agents) for a modernised three bedroom terrace property, as advertised in the property section of the Hebden Bridge Times. As the graph shows, between 1980-82 property valuations remained relatively stable in line with the depressed national housing market of Britain. More importantly, between the 1982-1987 period, when property prices doubled nationally, the average valuation of a modernised three bedroom terrace exceeded the national trend and increased approximately four fold in Hebden Bridge. The increased average valuation of a modernised three bedroom terrace in Todmorden doubled during this period and thus appeared to follow the national trend. These findings must be cautiously accepted given they are based on market valuations and do not signify actual sale prices

**Figure 6.1 - Average Market Valuation of 3 Bed Terrace (1979-87)**



source: Hebden Bridge Times

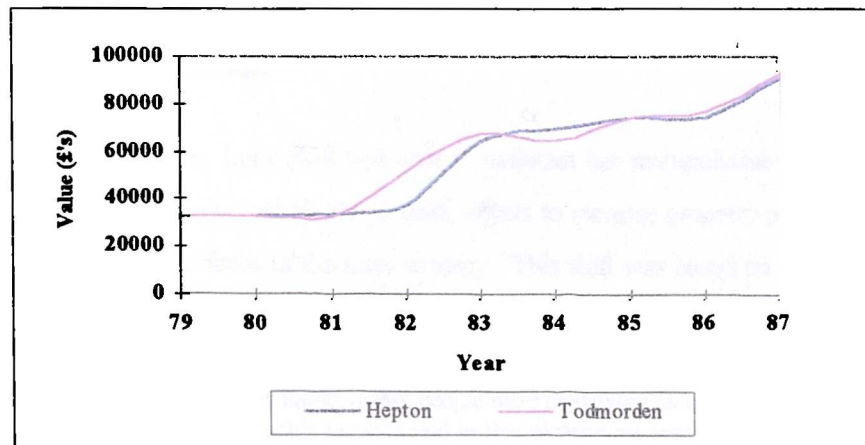
Although these data have many limitations (i.e. it does not represent the actual sale price or take into account the diversity of terrace property), they provide a useful means of comparing the local housing

markets of Hebden Bridge and Todmorden. This is vital to establish the extent of the process of greentrification in the Upper Calder Valley and assess the uniqueness of Hebden Bridge within this context. Indeed, the agency of Lucy Bull can be clearly seen in Hebden Bridge, with average asking prices rising from £13,000 to £37,000 between 1982-1984.

When placed in a national context, it would appear that Lucy Bull's campaign to inflate urban property prices was enabled by a booming national housing market. Indeed, the experiences of Hebden Bridge (and Todmorden) appear to correlate with the national house market trends, as outlined by Hamnett (1993).

The impact of Lucy Bull's campaign to increase property prices is revealed in Figures 6.2 and 6.3, which compare the experiences of the rural areas of the Hebden Bridge district (Hepton) with the rural areas of Todmorden. Once again, the data have been extracted from the Hebden Bridge Times and signify the mean July valuation for renovated farmsteads (with four or more acres of land) and modernised two bedroom country cottages, respectively.

**Figure 6.2 - Average Market Valuation of Modernised Farmhouse (1979-87)**



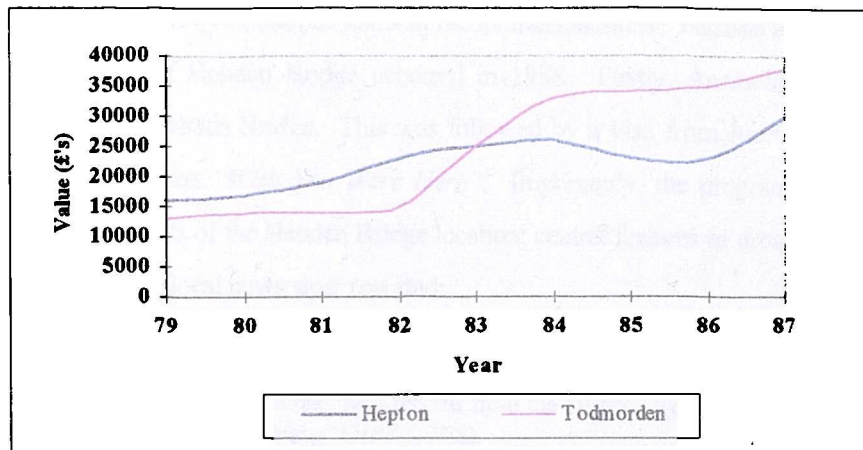
source: Hebden Bridge Times

Figure 6.2 shows remarkable similarities between Hepton and Todmorden between 1979 to 1987, endorsing the point made in section 6.3.1, that institutional rural greentrification is a regional phenomenon of the Upper Calder Valley. This highlights the very select housing market of the Upper Calder Valley, in terms of its Pennine location and millstone grit country property.

Figure 6.3 shows significant differentiation between the market valuations of country cottages at Hepton and Todmorden. Interestingly, country cottage valuations appear to have escalated earlier at Hepton. However, it can be seen between 1982 to 1987 the increase was most marked at Todmorden.

Indeed, between 1982 to 1984 the mean cottage value decreased at Hepton. Perhaps this signifies an over-inflation of country cottage property valuations at Hepton in the preceding period. Alternatively, the sharp increase at Todmorden may reflect the promotion of exclusive country cottage property found at Mankinholes and Lumbutts, on the moor edges above Todmorden. This property is extremely attractive to greentrifiers working in Manchester, given its closer proximity to Manchester than similar moor edge location within the Hebden Bridge district.

**Figure 6.3 - Average Market Valuation of Country Cottage (1979-87)**



source: Hebden Bridge Times

As Manageress of Adamsons, Lucy Bull was able to maintain her manipulative stranglehold on the urban housing market during the mid 1980s. Indeed, efforts to increase property prices were extended through a modification of the focus of the sales strategy. This shift was based on the recognition of a new demand for repackaged urban and country property. As Lucy Bull stated:

“Higher values were inevitable. More people were contacting us from the South. They wanted housing in this location and in this picturesque setting. They came up from London and they had twice as much money in their pockets, from the house they had sold in London. They could afford higher property prices and as an estate agent you didn’t send them away” (LB).

In accordance, Adamsons cast its advertising net wider to cater for the new demand. The concentrated focus of attracting professionals from the ring of large cities within a one hour travelling radius time of Hebden Bridge was extended. It began to advertise both repackaged urban and country property at a national scale. As the estate agent made clear:

“In the mid 1980’s we started to advertise property in London papers. That was the boom, that was the start of the time when values doubled, when people from the South came up” (LB).

The rapid influx of affluent households from the South of England transformed the housing markets in two major ways. Firstly, Hebden Bridge was labelled the “Yuppie Centre of the North” by the national media (see below). This connotation provided a new asset which estate agents could manipulate when selling urban and country property to a national audience. As Lucy Bull commented:

“It became known as the *Yuppie centre of the North*. At one stage somebody wrote on the welcome signs as you enter Hebden Bridge, “You are entering Hebden Bridge - the yuppie centre of the North”. This really did sell Hebden Bridge to a wider audience (emphases added)” (LB).

By the late 1980’s, the efforts to promote the repackaged urban and country property to a “Southern” audience had been aided by numerous national media transmissions. Perhaps the two most significant national promotions of Hebden Bridge occurred in 1988. Firstly, Anaka Rice aptly undertook a “*Treasure Hunt*” in Hebden Bridge. This was followed by a visit from Judith Chalmers, who quite symbolically told viewers “*Wish You Were Here*”. Importantly, the programme focused upon the historical and rural assets of the Hebden Bridge location; central features of urban and country property advertisements. As the local newspaper reported:

“Driving a borrowed 1935 Morris 8 the crew took off for a picnic, complete with hamper and a gramophone, with records from the 1930’s... (then) legged through canal on horse drawn barge” (*HBT*, 1/7 88).

These signals were received and the weekend following the programme, a record number of visitors swamped Hebden Bridge. National media attention and Royal approval was also evident when Prince Charles visited Hebden Bridge, in relation to a National Civic Trust project (*HBT*, 17/2/89).

The yuppie connotations associated with Hebden Bridge have been constantly reinforced by widespread national coverage. For instance, in a book review of “*Travels Beyond the Watford Gap*” (by Charles Jennings), reference is made to the author’s comparison of Hebden Bridge with Hackney, Battersea, Kilburn, Clapham and Bethnal Green in London. In this company, Hebden Bridge is held up as an extreme example of a place where the middle-classes have “found themselves colonising areas which their parents would have run screaming from” (*The Sunday Times*, 21/1/95). Another key national promoter of Hebden Bridge, resident Martin Wainwright, has referred to Hebden Bridge as “*Yorkshire’s Hampstead*”. However, he is quick to maintain Hebden Bridge’s parochial and non-conformist image, noting that:

“Although there are plenty of media and university types in these parts - plus a fascinating fossil life of ex-Sixties hippies - a genuine Hampstead intellectual would be somewhat at sea” (*The Guardian Weekend*, 13 1/96).

More importantly, during the late 1980's (and in line with a national restructuring trend), local estate agents in Hebden Bridge were taken over by larger regional and national estate agents. This trend is reflected in the local newspaper. For example, in 1984 there were four estate agents advertising property (Adamsons, Dennis Rose, Harrisons, Crabtree). In 1988 there were six estate agents advertising property; Prudential, Eddisons, Philip Ryley & Co, Phillip Schofield & Co, Brearley Greens of Halifax and J Kendall Lindley.

As the larger estate agents introduced professional and competitive strategies into the former conservative local estate agencies, Lucy Bull's domination of the urban housing market was challenged. In this competitive arena, Adamsons struggled and was sold to a regional estate agent. Lucy Bull relinquished her role in the local housing market.

Significantly, the regional and national estate agents replicated the rural and urban promotional scripts created by Dennis Rose and Lucy Bull respectively. The duplication of Lucy Bull's scripts are clearly evident in the housing section of the local newspaper. For example, a typical advert for urban property by Phillip Schofield Estate Agency read:

"12 Melbourne Terrace, Hebden Bridge  
A substantial late Victorian town house of very deceptive dimensions offering many attractive period features carefully retained and highlighted. A real hidden gem of a property situated within the centre of Hebden Bridge. (£59, 950)".

Additionally, all urban property advertisements stressed the virtues of the surrounding rural environment. As a presently active estate agent divulged:

"We have always used Hardcastle Crag, that it was near to the wooded beauty spot of "Little Switzerland". So yes, you have to exaggerate those sort of positive things. For all town property, we would say with views looking up to the historic Pennine village of Heptonstall" (RYB).

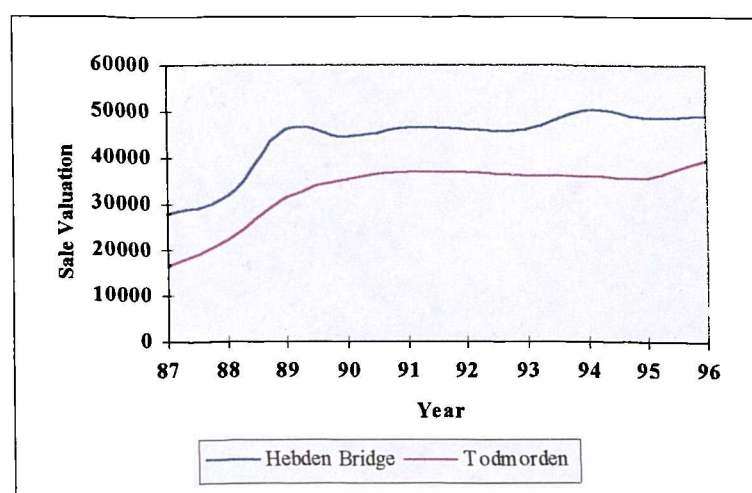
Likewise, the promotion of rural property emphasised the assets of the rural environment. In addition, the estate agents began to manipulate contemporary associations with the rural areas. Typical remarks by estate agents illustrating this point include:

"It's like Heptonstall, we say whatever the type of property, that it's situated in the medieval village of Heptonstall. We then take it further and say, former home of the Poet Laureate, Ted Hughes and Sylvia Plath. We flower it all up, as much as possible" (RR).

The incentives for the reproduction of these promotional scripts and the participation of regional and national estate agents to become involved in the Hebden Bridge district were high, given the atypical nature of the housing markets of the Hebden Bridge district, in the context of the Upper Calder Valley.

Housing market data obtained from the Halifax Building Society reflects the property price inflations of the late 1980s. Figures 6.4 and 6.5 compare the mean sale price of terrace and detached properties for the whole of the Hebden Bridge district and Todmorden. These data cannot be compared with Figures 6.1 to 6.3, given they represent different variables, i.e. market valuation set by estate agents and sale price, and a different spatial focus. Importantly, these housing market data were presented to estate agents at follow-up interviews, who confirmed the accuracy of the trends shown in Figures 6.4 and 6.5.

**Figure 6.4 - Mean Sale Price for Terrace Property (1987-1996)**



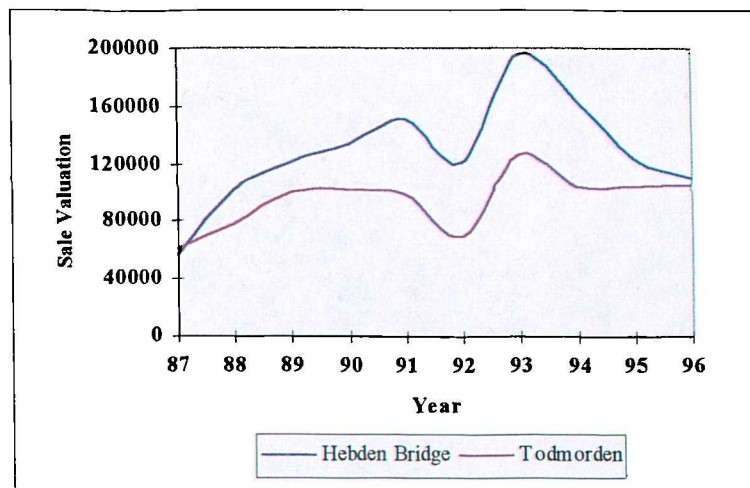
source: Halifax Building Society

It can be seen in Figure 6.4 that the mean sale price of a terrace property between 1987-1996 was approximately £10,000 higher in the Hebden Bridge district, than at Todmorden. On the one hand, this is perhaps a result of the nature of the terrace housing stock in Hebden Bridge, which is generally larger and more exclusive than in Todmorden. This is a direct consequence of commercial institutional agency “knocking-together” and recommodifying the double-decker properties, as described earlier in the chapter. On the other hand, higher mean sale prices reflect the positive imagery of Hebden Bridge and the demand from greentrifiers to reside in the Hebden Bridge district. For instance, according to one local actor:

“When the property explosion happened down South, we got loads of people coming up from London. They found out that housing was dirt cheap up here. So they sold their house in London for a crazy price, got rid of their mortgage and bought an house up here for a lot less. It was obvious that house prices up here would go through the ceiling” (BL).

Figure 6.4 shows the dramatic price inflations of terrace property in the Hebden Bridge district in 1988-1989, in line with the regional housing boom of the North and North-West identified by Hamnett (1993). Similarly, property prices also rose sharply between 1987-1989 at Todmorden. Indeed, it can be seen that terrace property price trends were generally similar in the Hebden Bridge district and Todmorden, suggesting an Upper Calder Valley housing trend for terrace properties. In addition, it is interesting to note the decrease in prices in the Hebden Bridge district in 1989-1990, which contrasts with the regional trend outlined by Hamnett (1993). It is likely that this characteristic is a result of the over-inflated property valuations, initially engineered in Hebden Bridge by Lucy Bull. In contrast, mean sale prices remained stable at Todmorden during the late 1980s and early 1990s and appear to conform to the regional trend of the North and North-West.

**Figure 6.5 - Mean Sale Price for Detached Property (1987-1996)**



source: Halifax Building Society

In line with Figure 6.4, Figure 6.5 illustrates that mean sale prices for detached property in the Hebden Bridge district were consistently higher than at Todmorden between 1987-1993. Although *both* the Hebden Bridge district and Todmorden conformed to the regional trend for the North and North-West, it can be seen that between 1987-1991, the mean sale prices for detached property in the Hebden Bridge district and Todmorden diverged. It will be shown in a later section, that it was between this period that local unrest surfaced regarding rising property prices in the Hebden Bridge district (see Section 6.7).

Figure 6.5 also reveals that mean sale prices for detached property in Hebden Bridge and Todmorden re-converged in 1995-1996. This was a culmination of dramatic decreases in 1991-1992 and the subsequent peaking of mean sale prices in 1992-1993. Since 1993, the mean sale price of detached property in Hebden Bridge continued to decrease, whilst at Todmorden mean sale prices stabilised. It is

interesting to note the trough experienced in Hebden Bridge and Todmorden between 1992-1992 and the peak of sale prices in 1993. These trends were strongly confirmed by estate agents at follow-up interviews. For example, one estate agent disclosed: ‘it was like someone had waved a magic wand, between 1990-92 prices fell through the floor but in 1993 they hit the ceiling’ (HAL).

In summary, this section has shown that promotional scripts used to sell the Hebden Bridge district have been naturalised by the estate agents, becoming both a medium and end result of their agency. The promotional scripts highlighted (and reproduced) the diverse geography of the Hebden Bridge district to a differentiated greentriener demand. As the variations in greentriener tastes were fulfilled by this diverse geography of greentrification, the numbers of greentrifiers settling in the Hebden Bridge district increased and property prices escalated. The diverse geography of greentrification will be examined in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 in terms of the consumption of place and location.

#### 6.4 The Power of the Estate Agent

‘I think that the Hebden Bridge district has an image, well two, three or even more images. That’s why it attracts different people who have sympathies with different lifestyles and different parts’ (BL).

This section focuses upon the strategic practices of estate agents in the Hebden Bridge district to construct and maintain the geography of greentrification, outlined in the previous section. It is contended that the agency of the estate agents is both a medium and end result of the geography of greentrification.

The pivotal role played by estate agents in the process of greentrification is illustrated in Table 6.1, which shows how client greentrifiers discovered their present property. These findings are taken from an household survey which will be examined in greater depth in Chapter 8.

**Table 6.1 - How Respondent Discovered Present Property**

Location	Client			
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban
n=	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)
	%	%	%	%
Contact with Estate Agent	60.0	63.8	54.5	43.5
‘For Sale’ Sign of EA	26.9	9.4	7.3	0
Newspaper Advert of EA	3.8	8.8	17.3	13.0
Family/Friends	9.2	15.6	10.0	30.4
Local Authority	0	0	3.6	13.0
Newsagents Window	0	3.1	7.3	0



Most notably, it can be seen that in the remote, village and rural locations, estate agents were responsible for over 80% of client greentrifiers discovering their present property. Although less marked in the urban location, estate agents still played a significant role. Without doubt, the estate agents are influential facilitators of greentrification throughout the Hebden Bridge district.

More importantly, other data sources revealed that the estate agents have the capacity to influence the form of greentrification. It was identified that estate agents in the Hebden Bridge district are urban and/or rural gatekeepers, with the power to maintain and develop segmented urban and rural housing markets. Based on the estate agents representation of difference within the Hebden Bridge district, greentrifier types are matched with location types. The role of greentrifier household agency in the social and spatial connections will be assessed in Chapter 9.

The semi-structured interviews revealed that distinct types of household are steered by estate agents to specific types of dwelling and locations within the Hebden Bridge district, based on the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the potential purchasers. For example, one estate agent claimed:

“Having been in the area for a while you know roughly which part will suit which person. This knowledge helps us to direct customers and sell the housing quicker.”  
(RR).

This suggests the geography of greentrification is not simply a product of a greentrifier demand for certain types of dwelling and location, to which estate agents are simply responding and supplying compatible packages. Rather, the geography of greentrification is a product of the agency and practices of the estate agents. However, this argument provides a partial explanation of the geography of greentrification. As the following discussion will show, the factors which underpin the geography of greentrification involves a complex relationship between the manipulative supply of dwellings and location by estate agents in line with a well defined greentrifier demand.

The power of the estate agent to direct the housing search is evident in all stages of the process. The estate agents not only direct potential purchasers to specific areas of the Hebden Bridge district, but they strategically determine the route which viewers take. This was made clear in all interviews. An example includes:

“There would be no need for people to drive near the Dodd Naze council estate. It is hidden and out of the way. Anyway, we would make sure that they didn’t drive past it. All prospective lookers would get precise directions to the property they are going to view. There is also the council housing on Fairfield, this can also have a negative effect. People don’t for whatever reason want to live next to council housing. It goes back to the snob status thing” (RR).

In order to exploit greentriever demand, the Hebden Bridge district has been segmented by the estate agents at a number of different levels. The base of the segmentation of the wider housing market is an urban-rural distinction. This is probably at its most clearest in the following:

“If they said they wanted a town house then they get sent to look around Hebden Bridge town centre. If they said that they wanted a country property we would offer them something from the semi-rural or rural areas” (HAL).

Importantly, the rural and urban facets have been further sub-divided by estate agents specialising in particular dwelling and location types. For instance, Anthony Turner Estate Agency commented that they specialised in selling country property in two particular rural locations above Hebden Bridge; the remote moor top areas and the moor edge village areas. Anthony Turner claimed they are responding to a well defined greentriever demand, rather than manufacturing greentriever demand. As the owner of the estate agency stressed:

“The people who buy moor top and village property. They have already made up their mind that they want to live somewhere, where they have got a view and a country position. It is not so much that we are selling because they arrive knowing what they want to buy” (ANT).

When asked to explain why some greentriever households want a moor top and others a village residence, Anthony Turner cited the cultural aspirations of the greentriever households. Significantly, the following quotes (emphases added) reveal that Anthony Turner is indeed steering households to particular locations, which the estate agency deem will satisfy the cultural aspirations of the greentrifiers.

“If they want to find solitude and the countryside, we will direct them to the moor tops. They won’t mind the fact that they have to go three miles down an unmade road. If they use vehicles it’s usually a 4x4 and this will get them in and out winter and summer. They won’t claim that they want to go back to subsistence farming, but they will want to grow their own vegetables and enjoy the **country life**” (ANT).

“If they want the countryside all around them and a community life, then we send them to the villages. If they go into any cottage they will all enjoy the buildings, the mullion windows, the old stone flagged floors, open fires and they will enjoy the **community life**” (ANT).

These quotes highlight the key role played by estate agents in the reproduction of the geography of greentrification. Additionally, the quotes illustrate that the estate agent’s segmentation of the rural housing market is based on their representation(s) of greentrifiers’ cultural predilections. The validity of these representations will be assessed in Chapter 9, when the cultural motives underpinning client greentriever household agency will be examined.

Although the urban housing market has also been segmented by estate agents, based on their representation(s) of greentrifiers' cultural predilections, the underlying cleavage is based on a socio-economic differentiation of relatively affluent greentrifiers and less affluent local population. This segregation is fixed by the estate agent's perceptions of a "Dark-side" and "Sunny-side" division, formed by the east-west axis of the Upper Calder Valley. Typical comments which highlight this distinction include:

"Fairfield doesn't get much light because it is north facing. So everything on this side is much harder to sell and obviously the price of property is much cheaper on the dark-side. This is not the case on the sunny-side" (RR).

Based on the premise that "professionals want to be on the sunny-side and not on the dark-side of Hebden Bridge" (RR), the estate agents are producing and maintaining greentrifier territorial enclaves on the "Sunny-side". As a result, the local population are increasingly marginalised on the "Dark-side" of the valley by the practices of estate agents. Indeed, when asked where the local population lived in Hebden Bridge, one estate agent revealed:

"Well these people have less cash and they are obviously more constrained. So they will want the cheaper and smaller terraces. So we send them to what we call the College Streets. They are called things like Oxford Row, Cambridge Row, Eton Row and so on. People coming to Hebden Bridge don't want to live there because the sun never shines on that side of the valley. It is a dark corner of Hebden Bridge" (RR).

The estate agents further segment the "sunny-side" based on their representation(s) of greentrifiers' cultural predilections, producing and reproducing distinctive socio-spatial enclaves. For instance, an enclave associated with an unconventional lifestyle has developed in the Windsor Road area. The practice of estate agents has clearly been influential in creating this non-conformist territory. For instance, one estate agent asserted:

"If I get the arty or hippie types looking for an house in Hebden Bridge, I always send them up there (Windsor Road) if an house was available. It's best to keep all of them together" (RR).

At the same time, a professional enclave has developed on the Birchcliffe slope, which contains a substantial number of double-decker properties. Once again, the practice of estate agents has been fundamental in assigning professionals to this area. Typical remarks illustrating this finding include:

"The knocked-through double-deckers are much bigger, with 3-4 bedrooms, so they are wonderful for the teachers and the civil servants with families. If they are still split into upper and under dwellings, we would show these to the younger professionals, possibly the first-time professional buyer" (RR).

Clearly, this quote expresses that the estate agent's segmentation goes beyond the locational level on the "sunny-side", carving up the internal space of the double-deckers based on life-stage cycle.

This section has examined the role of estate agents in establishing distinctive socio-spatial identities within the Hebden Bridge district. It has been argued that the estate agents play a major role in establishing a geography of greentrification. Caution must be noted here, however, in many of the conclusions that have been drawn. Obviously the estate agents do not have unbridled power when directing greentrifiers. As Chapters 8 and 9 will reveal, the household agency of greentrifiers is fundamental in explaining the distribution of distinct types of greentrifier within the Hebden Bridge district.

The power of the estate agent to direct potential urban and country property buyers is not uniform. All estate agents revealed an awareness of this point, noting that they have greater power to influence households who do not have an high knowledgeability of the Hebden Bridge district.

Indeed, all estate agents made a distinction between knowledgeable and unknowledgeable households. The knowledgeable households' decision to settle in the Hebden Bridge district is based on their awareness of the location. As one estate agent revealed: "People who come from Manchester know they want to live here because they have seen the place" (RR). In contrast, households with a limited knowledge of the Hebden Bridge district are attracted by its reputation. This is the case for many households in-migrating from the South of England. Accordingly, the estate agents stressed that they have to "manage the expectations of the southerners when they come up looking for a house" (RR).

In summary, this section has shown that the estate agents are key players in the production and reproduction of the geography of greentrification. Through intentional promotional and steering practices, the estate agents have produced and maintained distinct socio-spatial identities within the Hebden Bridge district. The following section will now reveal that the reproduction of the geography of greentrification is also aided by the legislative power of the Calderdale District Council.

## **6.5 Protecting "Disneyland" in Hebden Bridge**

Since the early 1980's the Calderdale District Council has adhered to a restrictive ideology of preservation in relation to the rehabilitation and development in the Hebden Bridge district. This section will reveal that this stance has reinforced the socio-spatial identities within the Hebden Bridge, thus reproducing the diverse geography of greentrification.

Moreover, charges made by local architects will be presented; that the foundation of the Calderdale District Council's preservationist ideology is based on a mis-representation of the Hebden Bridge district's past. Accordingly, the architects claim a **"Disneyland"** reworking of the past is being inscribed upon the landscape of the Hebden Bridge district. There is a pronounced literature which argues that such a "Disneyfication" is typical of the post-modern architecture of gentrified landscapes; see Ley and Olds (1988), Mills (1988; 1993) and Zukin (1991) for a fuller discussion.

It is important to acknowledge that in the regional context, the Calderdale District Council are imposing planning policy with varying degrees of stringency. For example, one local architect highlighted that the Calderdale District Council insisted on a natural stone built Health Centre at Hebden Bridge, but allowed the construction of a timber prefab at Mytholmroyd. This highlights the different values which the Calderdale District Council attach to different locations. Clearly, Hebden Bridge's perceived role as the "Centre of the Pennines" is important here in explaining the need to protect the history of the urban, village and moor top areas.

As noted in an earlier section of this chapter, the Calderdale District Council's stance has been structured by wider institutional pressures imposed by central government. In addition, elements of the structural framework discussed in Chapter 5, most notably the designation of conservation areas and listed buildings, have greatly influenced the planning ideology of the Calderdale District Council. In this sense, the Calderdale District Council has maintained the wider structural forces through legislative power, exercised in the planning system. Like the estate agents, the agency of the Calderdale District Council is both the medium and end result of the structures of the geography of greentrification.

This point is well illustrated by the Green Belt Subject Local Plan (1989), produced by the Calderdale District Council. The Plan introduced additional green belt areas to specifically protect and maintain village and remote moor top identity. For instance in the written statement, the Calderdale District Council (1990) stated the need to conserve the special character of Heptonstall village by preventing its extension into the surrounding countryside. Similarly, it was highlighted that the isolated character of the moor tops would be protected:

"This community (Old Town) is situated high on the valley sides above Hebden Bridge. In contrast to Heptonstall the existing development is not tightly knit and the area is more remote and generally rural in character. In these circumstances it is proposed to include this community in the green belt which will prevent intensive infilling and the extension of developing areas into the adjoining countryside" (Calderdale District Council, 1990 p.16).

To maintain and reinforce local character, the Calderdale District Council have naturalised an underlying vernacular style into the planning system. According to local architects there is no need to ask the planners of the Calderdale District Council for guidance. Rather, it is necessary to follow the rules which the planners of the Calderdale District Council specify for all development proposals. For example, one local architect commented:

“There is a Calderdale District Council notion of what a building should like in Hebden Bridge. That is mullion windows, natural coarse stonework and pitched roofs that are either blue or stone slates. So we just follow these rules” (JT).

Importantly, this style is not just replicated in the rehabilitation of older dwellings. It is a significant feature of all new build developments in the Hebden Bridge district. For instance, citing a recent development of semi-detached housing at Cragg Vale, one architect sceptically revealed:

“The developers will not have had too much trouble getting planning permission. At the end of the day they have done all the right things to ensure that they have not stuck their head above the parapet, as far as the local authority are concerned. The local authority will be pleased that they are built of natural stone, they have got blue slate roofs and the windows are dark stained timber. They don’t offend the eye, well the eye of the Calderdale planners” (MC).

The ideology of the Calderdale District Council has clearly become the “norm”. This is a manifestation of the power exercised by the Calderdale District Council and the role of the social structure at work (Giddens, 1984). Through the specification of the vernacular style founded on local historical references, the Calderdale District Council are homogenising the varied geography of the Hebden Bridge district. Coarse stonework, mullion windows and blue slate roofs are increasingly imposed upon the landscape of Hebden Bridge and Hepton.

Significantly, the vernacular codes are not undermining the historical divisions inherent in the geography of greentrification. Rather the vernacular codes are incorporated in line with the replication of locational dwelling types, associated with particular parts of the Hebden Bridge district. For instance, any development on the remote moor tops is respective of the farmstead and/or barn characteristics. Similar processes of replication are evident in the village and urban location.

The protection of these historical divisions within the landscape is vividly illustrated by the Calderdale District Council’s conversion of barns policy. For instance, strict conditions are placed when planning permission is granted for the conversion of a barn. As one architect stated:

“They have this insistence that it retains a visual identity of a barn. To my mind that really restricts barn conversion. For example I did that one over there [points out of window]. It had very few windows on that side and they would not let us put anymore windows in it. That meant that you had to put in roof lights instead of windows. I know why they do it though, it is a simple way of making sure they don't get converted into mock Georgian mansions or something like that. But there is a very easy middle ground to be had, where you end up with a building that is very clearly a converted barn. It can then stand up in its own right as a converted barn rather than looking like a barn that just as smoke coming out of its roof. Even then, if you are going to have an open fire you can't have a chimney you have to have a pipe” (RM).

Thus, underlying the planning framework is the Calderdale District Council's own specific representation of the past. All architects were extremely critical of this representation. Indeed, one architect referred to the Calderdale District Council's vision of the past as a “parody of what existed rather than what actually did exist” (JT). To demonstrate the validity of these professional beliefs, another architect provided the example of shop frontage at West End:

“There are those brass lights that are arranged in a horizontal line. They look absolutely disgusting! That is what the planning department suggested, thinking that it was like that in the past but those sort of light fittings weren't available in the past. It is just a **Disneyland fantasy** of what Hebden Bridge might once have looked like. The fact is it never looked like that. They would have been much better with neat unobtrusive modern lighting.” (JT).

Additionally, one architect was sceptical of the Calderdale District Council's ideology to reproduce the past. Fears were expressed, that:

“It is important that we do not stifle the future, in the sense that if we live in a time warp of 100 years ago and if we design with mullion windows, we are going to be handing on to our children a sort of pastiche, a **Disneyland**” (MC).

Significant parallels can be made here between the Calderdale District Council and the greentrifiers representation of the past. Indeed, Chapter 9 will document that pressure exerted by groups of greentrifiers has legitimated the Calderdale District Council's restrictive planning ideology. Numerous examples will emphasise vocal and well-organised greentrifier contest against development proposals, which are deemed detrimental to their reclamation of a mythical Pennine past. Hence, a link can be made which suggests that the greentrifier culture(s) is influential in reproducing the geography of greentrification, via the planning powers of the Calderdale District Council. Moreover, it can be argued that the Calderdale District Council and the greentrifiers have played indirect roles in perpetuating subsequent waves of greentrifiers.

In summary, this section has highlighted frictions between the architectural producers and the Calderdale District Council's representation of Hebden Bridge district's past. A consensus among architectural producers of the landscape is evident; that the Calderdale District Council are inscribing a fabricated "Disneyland" past upon the landscape. This form is being reproduced in the Hebden Bridge district by the enabling planning framework of the Calderdale District Council. Significantly, the relationship between the Calderdale District Council and architectural producers indicates the powerful structuring force which the geography of greentrification exerts over the agency of mediating institutional actors in the Hebden Bridge district and vice versa.

## 6.6 Displacement: A Sign of Greentrification

This section will show that the dramatic colonisation of client greentrifiers, outlined in Section 6.3.3, has resulted in two major adverse effects upon the local indigenous population. Firstly, rising property prices have excluded many indigenous households from competing in the urban and rural housing markets; resulting in the marginalisation and ultimately, the displacement of many indigenous households. Secondly, local indigenous households that remain have experienced a sense of cultural dispossession, as client greentrifier cultural values have become increasingly imposed within the Hebden Bridge district and upon the landscape(s). Ironically, Chapter 9 will show that "flat cap" representations of the local indigenous culture was a key attraction of the Hebden Bridge district for the client greentrifiers.

Both adverse factors were evident in a number of letters, printed in the local newspaper, expressing the local resentment of in-migrants from the South of England. For example:

*"WE DON'T WANT CITY SLICKERS*

So Hebden Bridge is the "new Jerusalem" which Mrs Thatcher wants to build. Don't make us locals laugh! The yuppies move up from the south, laden with cash having sold a house in Woking. Property prices soar. The designer clothes and the Gucci shoes take the place of the flat cap and the clog as the new rich head off in their well paid jobs in Leeds, Manchester and even London. The result! Local people can no longer afford to live where they were born. Many of us are proud of being Yorkshire folk. Let those who wish to live the slick life do it elsewhere. We don't need or want them! - Megan Thoseby, Erringden Road" (*HBT*, 23/6/89).

An important distinction must be made here between the resentment of the early 1980's and late 1980's. As the above quote documents, resentment in the late 1980's was aimed directly at the client greentrifiers. No condemnation was attached to the actions of commercial and local government



institutions for the inflation of property prices. In contrast, local resentment which existed in the early 1980's was directed at Lucy Bull and based on possible detrimental effects of rising property prices.

In the context of the geography of greentrification, it is important to stress that local resentment, stimulated by the rising property prices, existed in both the rural and urban locations. For instance, one letter in the local newspaper was highly antagonistic towards the relatively affluent client greentrifiers entering Heptonstall:

“I was born in Heptonstall and I used to know everyone in the village but I hardly know anyone now. All these rich people have moved in expecting a nice, quiet little place and they are mad because they think we spoil it. I will be thinking of buying a house and settling down in a few years but I will have to move out of the village (Heptonstall) because I can't afford an home here. We have reason to feel bitter against the newcomers” (*HBT*, 20 10/89).

Significantly, these views expressed by the local population of Heptonstall were strengthened by local Parish councillors. For example, Heptonstall Parish Councillor, Tom Greenwood, stated that the village of Heptonstall was becoming a village where “only rich people can afford to live.” Likewise, Councillor Bessie Steen claimed that the cost of housing is “beyond the means of young married couples needing homes in the village.” (*HBT*, 7/7/89). As a result of these fears, the Wadsworth Parish Council initiated a survey in July 1990, to assess the need for affordable housing in the rural areas (*HBT*, 6/7/90). This response to displacement demonstrates that the Local Parish Council's were clearly representing the interests of the local indigenous populations, perhaps indicating that the Parish Council's were dominated by local indigenous members. Although the Local Parish Councils do not have any legislative power, they are a vehicle for the local indigenous population to voice their views.

Similarly, the agenda of the Hebden Royd Town Council reflected the interests of the local indigenous population of Hebden Bridge. This is well illustrated by the frequency and nature of comments made by the Hebden Royd Town councillors in the local press. Typical comments included:

“At the moment local people are being forced out of the area because they can't afford the housing prices. We have got real problems and we need low cost housing for local people not people going on trains to Manchester. If nothing is done the next generation of local people just won't have homes here” (Councillor Mary Seward, *HBT*, 13/9/91).

At the same time, the Hebden Royd Town Council was concerned that the lack of affordable housing was putting pressures on the local authority housing stock. As Councillor Chayter highlighted:

“The combined effect of low wages and high property prices has pushed thousands of young people out of the property market altogether and this is reflected in ever-increasing waiting lists” (*HBT*, 2/8/91).

Motivated by the need to alleviate problems of displacement encountered by the local population, the Hebden Royd Town Council unequivocally contested numerous development proposals. Emphasis must be made here to the powerful advisory role of the Hebden Royd Town Council within the planning system of the Calderdale District Council. Although the Hebden Royd Town Council does not have any legislative planning powers, its feelings regarding certain developments are often sought by the Calderdale District Council. Obviously, the power of the Hebden Royd Town Council to influence development is limited, but its input is influential.

Two particular developments demonstrates the stance of the Hebden Royd Town Council regarding development. The first centred upon the development of 27 houses by West Yorkshire Housing Association at Dodd Naze. The Hebden Royd Town Council sought assurances from Calderdale District Council, that the 50% of tenants who they could nominate from the waiting list would be local people from Hebden Bridge. The assurance was not given and conflicts emerged between the Hebden Royd Town Council and Calderdale District Council. As Councillor Seward asserted: "We must keep on with the fight with Calderdale to ensure that homes are for Hebden Royd people" (*HBT*, 16/8/91). To validate their argument, the Hebden Royd Town Council undertook a survey during August 1991, to identify the lack of affordable housing in Hebden Bridge (results not available for public inspection!).

The second example related to the development of combined workshops and living units at Mayroyd. The London based development company (Lester Group PLC) sought planning permission from the Calderdale District Council. In response, Councillor Parry charged:

"Only Londoners wanting to escape their massive Docklands mortgages will be able to afford a new concept of "living over the shop" in Hebden Bridge. Nobody in Hebden Bridge will be able to afford this accommodation. Some of these penthouses have 3-4 bedrooms and 2 bathrooms" (*HBT*, 11/1/91).

Significantly, the Calderdale District Council did not refute the claims of the Hebden Royd Town Council. As Mike Harford, Planning Officer for the Calderdale District Council, commented: "There is an obvious need for 1-2 bedroom development rather than larger 3-4 bedroom homes" (*HBT*, 13/9/91). However, regarding the development of 1-2 bedroom low cost homes for local people, he concluded: "Unfortunately, we have not been able to find any new sites". Hence, the Calderdale District Council had set down guidelines which limited future low cost development schemes in Hebden Bridge.

This line clearly paralleled the preferences of client greentrifiers, who had also contested the development proposals for Mayroyd. However, client greentrifier objections were based on a need to

maintain the rural associations of Hebden Bridge. It was an anti-development stance rather than the anti-high cost development of the local indigenous population. The anti-development inclination of client greentrifiers will receive greater attention in Chapter 9, which examines the cultural values which underpin their consumption of place and location.

A friction of interests is clearly evident here between the local indigenous population (represented by the Local Parish Councils and the Hebden Royd Town Council) and the client greentrifiers. The local indigenous population favour the development of low cost housing; to counteract displacement and exclusion from the housing markets. Meanwhile, the client greentrifiers are seeking to maintain and reproduce the imagery of the suburban and rural packages. It is deemed that development of both low and high cost housing would be detrimental to these images. Not surprisingly, numerous clashes have occurred between the client greentrifiers and the Local Parish Councils and the Hebden Royd Town Council, representing the local indigenous population.

Perhaps the most vivid illustration of the friction was manifest in 1991, regarding Unitary Development Plan proposals for 27 affordable houses at Old Town. Not surprisingly, the proposals received adulation from the local indigenous population and local councillors. Re-emphasising the concurrent fears of displacement, 56 letters of support were presented to the Calderdale District Council by local indigenous households, for example:

“I fully support a small packet of housing being built, especially for local people who wish to remain in their own local area”.

These feelings were once again strengthened at an institutional level by local councillors. For instance, Councillor Tarlo, stated respectively:

“I would welcome the provision of 27 extra affordable homes for sale and rent as there is a desperate need for housing of this type, particularly for the young” (*HBT*, 16/8 91).

In response, the client greentrifiers joined forces and quickly drafted a letter of objection. The carefully drafted letter of objection was signed by 219 individuals. More importantly, the letter highlighted the client greentrifiers exploitation of the planning system; emphasising that a government inspector had backed the Calderdale District Council’s rejection of a proposal to build 9 houses in August, 1990.

Additionally, written comments added to the letter of objection reveal the motives underpinning the client greentrifier’s objection to low cost housing development . Typical comments included:

“I would hate to see the district vandalised by unwarranted building. The green spaces between groups of houses give a sense of space and rustic charm. Please do not ruin our happiness by despoiling this attractive Pennine village”.

Frictions became heated, when the Chairperson for the client greentrifiers claimed that:

“Many of the people supporting Mr Greenwood (Spokesperson for supporters) are local farmers and their families, no doubt who would like to be in a position to sell off some land for development”.

This charge was strongly refuted by the supporters of the proposals. They stated that the objectors were outsiders who wanted the village for themselves and had no concern for the future of the local indigenous population.

In summary, this section has highlighted that property prices have risen beyond the means of the local population; resulting in exclusion and displacement from the urban and rural housing markets. Consequently, the local population have become antagonistic towards the greentrifiers. This resentment is somewhat mis-guided given conclusions made in sections 6.5 and 6.6, that the actions of estate agents and the Calderdale District Council have helped inflate property prices.

Rather displacement has resulted from four general factors. Firstly, the supply of rural and rural packages by local developers was crucial in producing a landscape which had institutional greentrifiable potential. Secondly, the promotion and steering activities of estate agents has been essential in producing and reproducing a diverse geography of greentrification. Thirdly, the preservation ideology of the Calderdale District Council has been fundamental in maintaining and enhancing the rural and rural packages. Finally, the willingness of institutions to lend finance has been a necessary factor which has enabled greentrifiers to purchase these packages. Therefore, displacement must be understood in the context of the structures of the geography of greentrification; produced, maintained and consumed by this complex relationship of institutional and greentrifier household agency.

## **6.7 Conclusion**

In conclusion, this chapter has documented the shift from the household-led phase of DIY greentrification (motivated predominantly by cultural aspirations) to a profit motivated phase instigated and dominated by commercial institutional actors. It has been shown that this transition fundamentally modified the role of institutional actors and greentrifiers within the greentrification process. Following the practices of commercial institutional actors to control and reduce the supply of cheap property, greentrifiers were excluded from production activities as the opportunity to self-renovate was removed.

In contrast to the DIY greentrifiers, it has been argued that the role of the client greentrifiers (associated with the latter stages) is confined to the consumption of ready-made packages (Chapter 9 will show, however, that client greentrifiers play a productive role once in residence).

Initially, the transition was witnessed in the rural areas of the Hebden Bridge district. It was shown how a local estate agency, Dennis Rose, acknowledged a demand from relatively affluent commuters for country property in the Mid-Upper Calder Valley. To tap and manipulate this demand, the estate agency set about manipulating the enabling local and regional institutional framework, exploiting the lack of planning controls to facilitate new development and manipulating the availability of home improvement grants for rehabilitation. It has been shown that the campaign of Dennis Rose had two direct major effects. First, Dennis Rose engineered an escalation of country property prices from the mid 1970s. Second, the estate agency stimulated and perpetuated the influx of relatively affluent commuters from the surrounding conurbations into the rural areas of the Hebden Bridge district. Consequently, the potential for households with limited economic capital to self-renovate disappeared. In addition, it has been observed that the inflated country property prices forced households to borrow finance for self-renovation and/or the purchase of ready-made packages. This deterred further low income households from purchasing country property and/or undertaking self-renovation activities and shaped the form of renovation, due to restrictions imposed by the financial institutions. Furthermore, as financial institutions were more willing to lend finance on new build property, local developers accordingly produced modern new build developments in the rural locations (enabled by the lack of planning controls and the facilitating role of Dennis Rose). In most instances, these new build developments contrasted with the “traditional” architectural styles of the farmsteads and weaver cottages - resulting in a modified rural landscape.

Following the reorganisation of local government in 1974, it was revealed that the enabling institutional framework was replaced by a more constraining framework. The West Yorkshire County Council and the Calderdale District Council imposed stricter guidelines upon rehabilitation and introduced tighter green belt policies which constrained local developers from producing new build developments. In response, local developers directed their attention to the urban parts of Hebden Bridge, to exploit the growing demand for residence in the “Pennine Centre”.

In particular, this chapter has documented how a group of individuals joined forces to modify the supply of cheap urban property in Hebden Bridge through a process of recommodification. As witnessed in the rural areas, the strategy adopted by the plotters removed the supply of cheap property and led to exclusion of greentrifiers from the production process of greentrification. Paralleling the agency of

Dennis Rose, the plotters also exploited the local and regional institutional frameworks to obtain housing improvement and stone cleaning grants. Indeed, the structural framework established by central government greatly favoured the actions of the plotters in repackaging the urban property.

Once the urban property had been repackaged, the estate agent within the web, Lucy Bull, engineered an inflation of property prices through a promotional campaign. Initially, this focused upon the surrounding metropolitan conurbations but was extended in the mid 1980s to the South of England. As affluent in-migrants from the South of England were attracted to the location by national media, such as “Wish You Were Here”, property prices mushroomed dramatically. The process of institutional greentrification became self-perpetuating.

During this period in the mid to late 1980s, two of the key agents of change, Dennis Rose and Lucy Bull, eventually lost their stranglehold on the supply of country and urban property, as national and regional based estate agents entered the rural and urban housing markets of the Hebden Bridge district. Significantly, these estate agents replicated the promotional scripts of both Dennis Rose and Lucy Bull, thereby reproducing and maintaining a geography of greentrification within the Hebden Bridge district. Without doubt, this chapter has highlighted that the geography of greentrification, produced, maintained and reproduced by institutional agency, is crucial to an understanding of the range of greentrifier types which are attracted to the Hebden Bridge district and the transformations which the Hebden Bridge district have undergone.

Moreover, the chapter has emphasised that the Calderdale District Council have “naturalised” the geography of greentrification into the local planning system, thus enabling the estate agents to stabilise the inflated property prices in the Hebden Bridge district. As a result, relatively less affluent indigenous households have become marginalised to the less desirable parts of the district and/or displaced from the district. Surprisingly, rather than being resentful of the commercial institutional actors, whose profit-motivated strategies have created the exclusionary outcome of the greentrification process, the indigenous population have shown greatest antagonism towards the client greentrifiers.

## *Chapter 7*

### *Identifying G[re]entrification*

#### **Introduction**

The social, cultural, economic and physical transformations documented in Chapters 5 and 6, implied that the Hebden Bridge district had witnessed processes of change (greentrification), which were indicative of gentrification. For instance, the physical revitalisation which emerged from the remaking of the landscape(s), expressed dominant local aesthetic features (i.e. South Pennine). As outlined in Chapter 2, the exploitation of local historical references is also a feature of gentrified places in the inner-city (see Jager 1986; Mills 1987; Ley 1991). However, this conjecture does not confirm the gentrification of the Hebden Bridge district. Greater verification is required before this conclusion can be made.

To assess the extent to which changes in the Hebden Bridge district represent gentrification, this chapter will be structured by Hamnett's contention, that:

“Gentrification involves both a *change in the social composition* of an area and its residents; and a *change in the nature of the housing stock* (tenure, price, condition, etc)” (Hamnett, 1991 p.176 emphases added).

Chapters 5 and 6 illustrated that the nature of the housing stock in the Hebden Bridge district had undergone a dramatic transformation, both in terms of its *physical* and *economic* characteristics. This was borne out in the housing market data provided by the Halifax Building Society and the market values extracted from the Hebden Bridge Times. It can be thus argued that the Hebden Bridge district expresses the economic and physical signifiers of gentrification, as outlined in the working definition of gentrification which was presented in Chapter 2.

Despite Chapters 5 and 6 also uncovering the *social* (and *cultural*) change associated with the influx of DIY and client gentrifiers respectively, a deeper understanding of the social change is required. It is essential to identify the socio-economic and demographic differences that exist between different types of in-migrants and the indigenous population. For this purpose, this chapter will provide a comparative analysis of secondary data from the 1981 and 1991 Census and hence, its main aim is to document the social change which the Hebden Bridge district has experienced between 1981 and 1991.

## 7.1 The 1981 and 1991 Census: “Collecting the Data”

The task of this section is three fold. First, it will describe the methods employed to collect 1981 and 1991 Census data. Second, an examination will follow which highlights the degree to which social change in the Hebden Bridge district between 1981 and 1991, conforms with other studies of gentrification. Finally, evidence will be presented which confirms that greentrifiers, in the context of the Hebden Bridge district, do not exhibit uniform traits and/or belong to a cohesive social grouping.

To identify social difference in the Hebden Bridge district, 1981 and 1991 census data were extracted from Manchester Computing Centre (MCC) at Enumeration District (ED) level, using the Small Area Statistics (SAS). ED boundaries within the Hebden Bridge district were generally consistent across the 1981 and 1991 Census periods. Consideration was given for an analysis of the 1971 Census. However, it was felt that the DIY gentrifiers would not be identifiable, since many DIY gentrifiers did not register their communal living arrangements. Figure 7.1 shows the ED's of the 1981 and 1991 Census, which comprise the Hebden Bridge district.

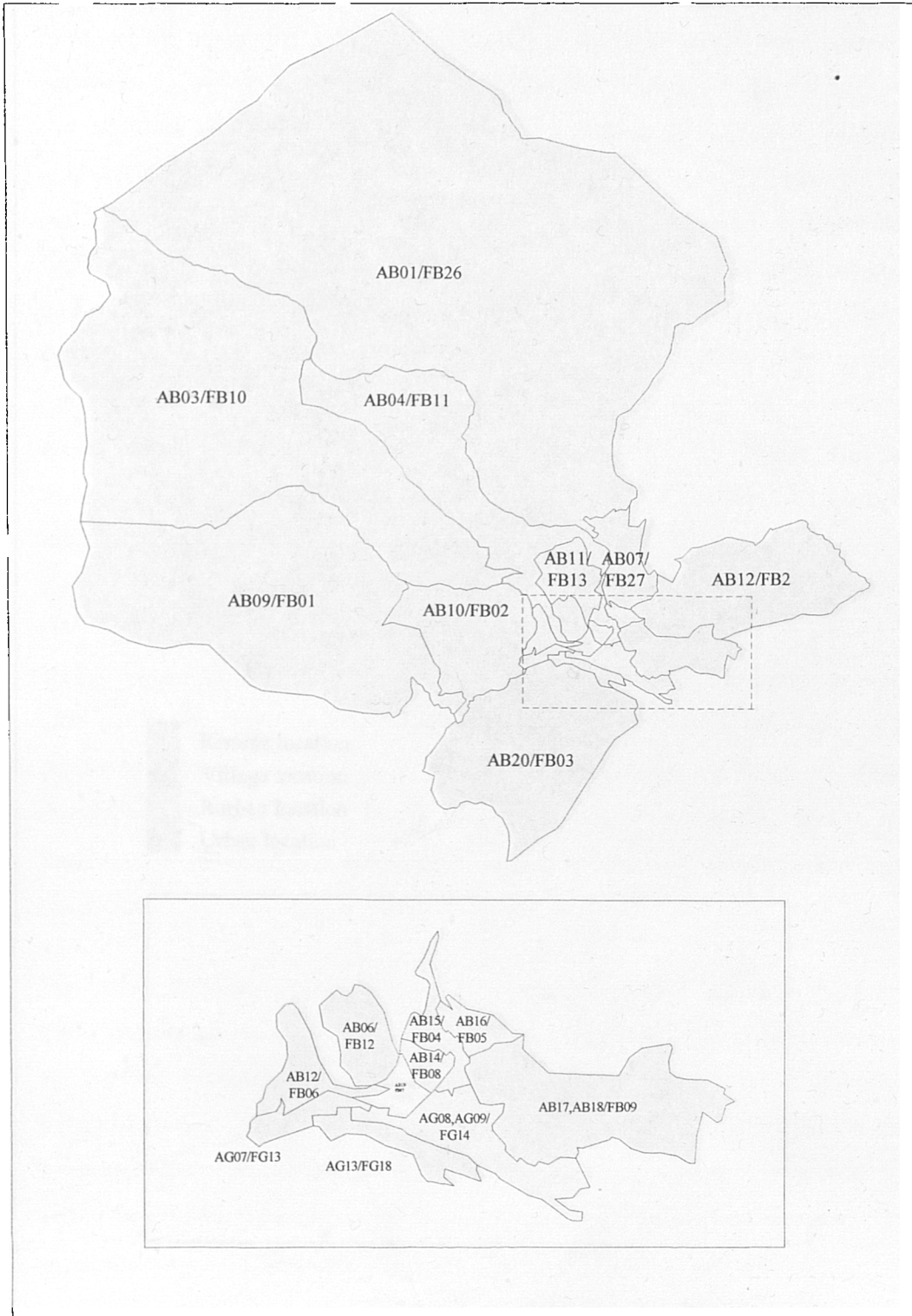
Having established the spatial scale (i.e. ED) and the spatial area (i.e. Hebden Bridge district), for the collection of census data, it was necessary to establish the type of data required and this was structured by the earlier studies of gentrification (e.g. Munt 1987; Butler 1991). Accordingly, demographic (age, marital status), housing (tenure), household composition and socio-economic (economic position, occupation, qualifications, car ownership) data were collected from the 1981 and 1991 Census.

After primary analysis of the extracted census data, based upon the nineteen ED's of the Hebden Bridge district (see Appendix 7.1), similarities among ED's were identified and four *speculative* stratifications were established. For example, parallels were evident in relation to ED occupation profiles. The first cluster of ED's were characterised by high proportions of manual workers and low proportions of professional workers. The second cluster contained a lower incidence of manual workers and a prominence of professionals and artists. In the third cluster, professional workers predominated with a minimal incidence of manual workers and artists. Finally, manual workers were also minimal in the fourth cluster, but artists and professionals were prominent.

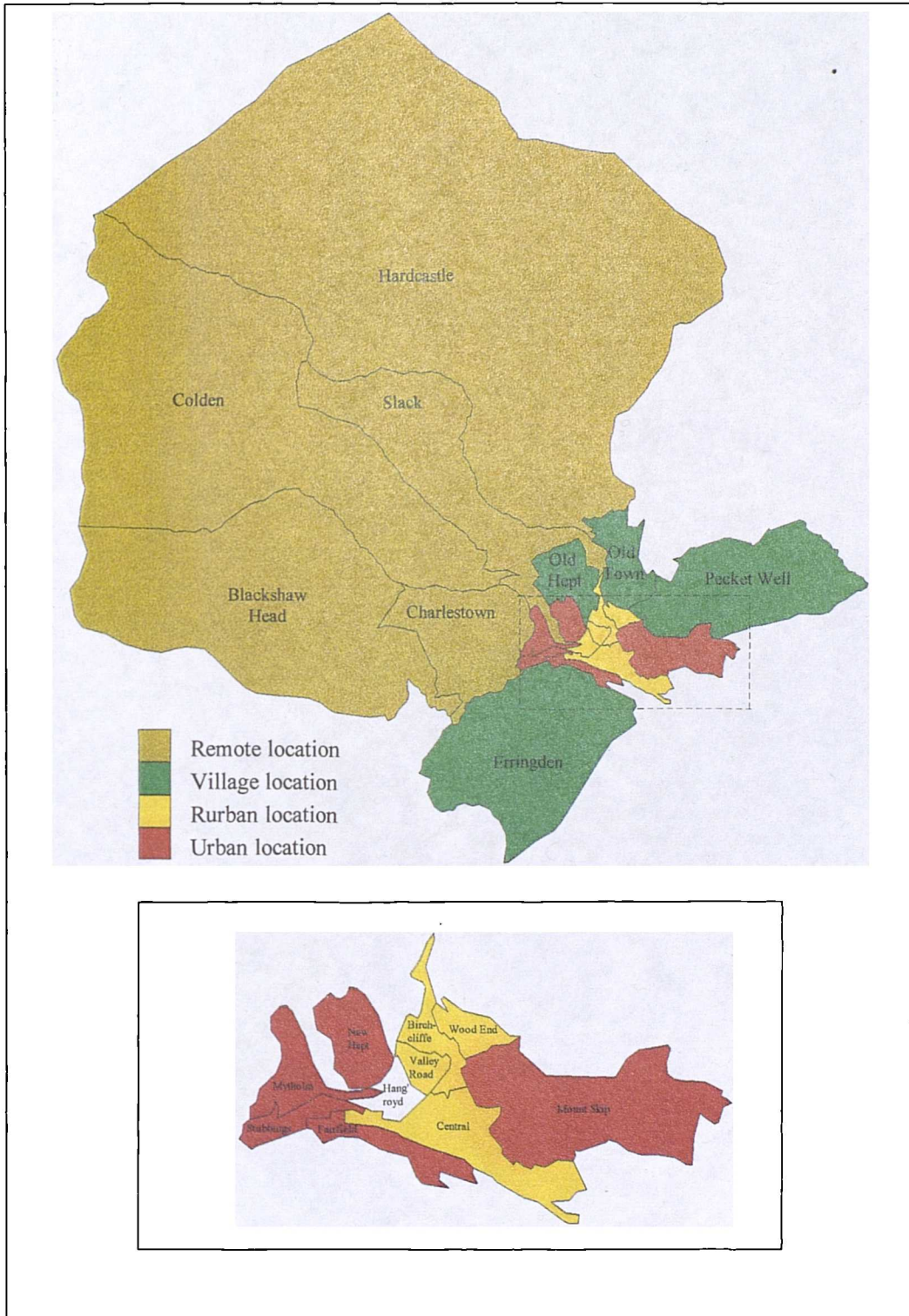
Importantly, the stratifications correlated with locational differentiation within the Hebden Bridge district. The ED's were thus classified according to locational features and are shown in Figure 7.2. For practical reasons each ED has been assigned a label. These labels are based upon place names, ascribed by indigenous locals and later verified by estate agents, practicing in the Hebden Bridge district.



**Figure 7.1 - 1981/1991 Enumeration Districts of the Hebden Bridge District**



**Figure 7.2 - Locational Differentiation of the Hebden Bridge District**



## 7.2 The 1991 GB Profiling System

To strengthen the validity of the socio-economic stratifications outlined by the 1981 and 1991 Census, residential descriptions for each ED were extracted from the 1991 GB Profiling System. Using a Neuroclassification procedure, this system classifies the EDs of Britain into 64 residential clusters (see Appendix 7.2 for full list). It is based on a multivariate assessment of 85 variables from the 1991 Census, which are deemed broadly representative (see Appendix 7.3 for list of variables). Variable selection is important here, given Blake and Openshaw's (1995 p.2) appreciation that; "different variables will almost certainly produce different results". In order to fulfil the explicit purpose of being "census data representative", variables were selected in line with the form and content of the original census questionnaire. Eight key topic areas were formulated which formed the framework for variable selection; demographic, ethnic, housing, household composition, socio-economic, migration, health and travel-to-work. Blake and Openshaw (1995) thus claim that the 1991 GB Profiling System encompasses all areas of the 1991 Census. It is impractical in the context of the thesis to undertake a thorough review and critique of the 1991 GB Profiling System. For a fuller discussion of the problems associated with variable selection; see Blake and Openshaw (1995), and the problems of residential cluster "fuzziness"; see Openshaw et al (1994).

Table 7.1 (see next page) provides a breakdown of the residential descriptions that were extracted from 1991 GB Profiling System. It can be seen that the distinctions presented in Figure 7.2 are generally confirmed. Although identical cluster codes are only evident for the rural and village strata, the descriptive profile labels, produced by the 1991 GB Profiling System, indicate locational differentiation based on socio-economic status, occupation, educational credentials, demographic characteristics and tenure type.

In summary, the distinctiveness of the urban location is depicted by "*struggling*" young and mature Blue Collar workers, who reside in Local Authority housing. In contrast, the rural location is characterised by "*aspiring*" young and educated white collar workers, who reside in mixed tenure terraces. The village location is distinguished by "*established*" mature white collar workers, who owner-occupy terrace property. Finally, the remote location contains "*affluent*" educated white collar families, who owner-occupy detached property. Although caution must be taken with these generalisations, the profile descriptions provide a framework for the following presentation of census data.

Table 7.1 - Profile Descriptions (1991 GB Profiling System)

91 ED Code	Label	clust code	Profile Description
<b>The Urban Location</b>			
FG13	Stubbing	83	Struggling; Council tenants - Young Blue Collar Families & Pensioners LA rented terraces.
FB12	New Heptonstall	24	Struggling; Less Prosperous Pensioner Areas; Retired Blue Collar Residents - LA rented flats and semis.
FG18	Fairfield	3	Aspiring; Young Married Suburbia - Young Less Well Off Blue Collar Families - owning & buying terraces.
FB09	Dodd Naze	23	Aspiring; New Home Owners & Mature Communities - Blue and White Collar Families - LA rented & buying terraces.
FB06	Mytholm	79	Established; Less Well Off Middle Ageds - Mature Blue Collar Couples & Pensioners - LA renting & owning terraces & semis.
<b>The Rurban Location</b>			
FG14	Central	47	Aspiring; Academic Centres & Student Areas - Young Educated White Collar Singles and Couples - Mixed Tenure Terraces & Bedsits.
FB07	Hangingroyd	47	Aspiring; Academic Centres & Student Areas - Young Educated White Collar Singles and Couples - Mixed Tenure Terraces & Bedsits.
FB08	Valley Road	47	Aspiring; Academic Centres & Student Areas - Young Educated White Collar Singles and Couples - Mixed Tenure Terraces & Bedsits.
FB04	Birchcliffe	47	Aspiring; Academic Centres & Student Areas - Young Educated White Collar Singles and Couples - Mixed Tenure Terraces & Bedsits.
FB05	Wood End	47	Aspiring; Academic Centres & Student Areas - Young Educated White Collar Singles and Couples - Mixed Tenure Terraces & Bedsits.
<b>The Village Location</b>			
FB03	Erringden	46	Established; Comfortable Pensioners - Mature White Collar Couples & Pensioners - Owning & Buying Terraces.
FB12	Old Heptonstall	46	Established; Comfortable Pensioners - Mature White Collar Couples & Pensioners - Owning & Buying Terraces.
FB28	Pecket Well	46	Established; Comfortable Pensioners - Mature White Collar Couples & Pensioners - Owning & Buying Terraces.
FB27	Old Town	46	Established; Comfortable Pensioners - Mature White Collar Couples & Pensioners - Owning & Buying Terraces.
<b>The Remote Location</b>			
FB26	Hardcastle	96	Established; Rural Farming Communities - Mature Self-Employed Couples & Families - Privately Owning or Renting Large Detached Houses.
FB11	Slack	69	Prospering; Affluent Achievers - Mature Educated Professional Families - Buying Large Detached Houses.
FB01	Blackshaw Head	18	Prospering; Affluent Rural Commuter Areas - Mature Professional or Farming Residents - Owning and Privately Renting Detached Housing.
FB10	Colden	90	Climbing; Affluent Executive Home Owning Areas - Educated White Collar Couples & Families - Buying Detached.
FB02	Charlestown	90	Climbing; Affluent Executive Home Owning Areas - Educated White Collar Couples & Families - Buying Detached.

Source: 1991 GB Profiling System (Blake and Openshaw, 1995)

### 7.3 The 1981 and 1991 Census: “What Does It Show?”

This section will provide an examination of 1981 and 1991 census data at two levels. Primarily, data will be analysed based on the four locational stratifications. Secondly, any internal differentiation between the ED's within each respective location will be outlined (see Appendix 7.1 for census data based on ED). This dual perspective will enable a geography of greentrifiers to be identified within the Hebden Bridge district.

The first part of this section will highlight changing demographic and household type characteristics between 1981 and 1991. This will be followed by an identification of the changing socio-economic characteristics of the population of the Hebden Bridge district between 1981 and 1991. It must be stressed that this section will not provide a class analysis. As stated earlier, this is not an aim of the thesis (see Hamnett and Butler 1994; Bridge 1994, 1995 for discussion of class). Throughout the discussion, the validity of the profile descriptions produced by the 1991 GB Profiling System will be scrutinised.

#### 7.3.1 Demographic Characteristics

Table 7.2 provides a breakdown of the age structure of the Hebden Bridge district. Overall, it can be seen that the age structure remained relatively stable between 1981-1991.

Table 7.2 - Age Structure (% of total population)

Location	Remote		Village		Rurban		Urban	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
<i>Children</i>								
1981 - total pop 0-15	23.3	(291)	21.2	(196)	18.8	(428)	24.4	(602)
1991 - total pop 0-15	23.2	(394)	17.0	(206)	20.4	(470)	23.4	(541)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>-0.1</b>		<b>-4.2</b>		<b>+1.6</b>		<b>-1.0</b>	
<i>Young Adults</i>								
1981 - total pop 16-24	12.7	(158)	11.8	(109)	13.7	(313)	11.9	(294)
1991 - total pop 16-24	10.4	(177)	8.9	(108)	11.4	(262)	11.4	(265)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>-2.2</b>		<b>-2.9</b>		<b>-2.4</b>		<b>-0.5</b>	
<i>Adults</i>								
1981 - total pop 25-44	32.2	(402)	26.3	(244)	30.0	(683)	27.8	(687)
1991 - total pop 25-44	36.4	(618)	35.1	(426)	34.6	(796)	31.0	(718)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>+4.2</b>		<b>+8.8</b>		<b>+4.6</b>		<b>+3.2</b>	
<i>Middle Aged</i>								
1981 - tot pop 45-59	15.5	(193)	18.6	(172)	16.2	(368)	13.9	(343)
1991 - tot pop 45-59	16.9	(287)	17.2	(207)	15.3	(353)	15.0	(347)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>+1.4</b>		<b>-1.5</b>		<b>-0.8</b>		<b>+1.1</b>	
<i>Mature Adults</i>								
1981 - tot pop 60+	16.0	(200)	26.6	(246)	21.3	(485)	21.1	(520)
1991 - tot pop 60+	13.1	(223)	22.4	(272)	18.2	(420)	20.8	(482)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>-2.9</b>		<b>-4.1</b>		<b>-3.1</b>		<b>-0.2</b>	

Source: 1981/1991 Census, SAS, Crown Copyright.

The most dramatic change demonstrated by Table 7.2, is the increase in all locations of the 25-44 age range. Although the increase of the 25-44 year olds is most marked in the village location, in absolute terms the village location is comparable to the remote, rural and urban location. In the context of the gentrification literature, these changes are indicative of the young gentrifier associated with inner city gentrification. Greater analysis of the census data is required here to ascertain the characteristics of the expanding young adult social grouping. Table 7.3 shows the percentage of females and males aged between 25-44 who are single.

**Table 7.3 - Single Females/Males Aged 25-44 (% of total females/males aged 25-44)**

Location	Remote		Village		Rurban		Urban	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1981 - single female 25-44	14.1	(27)	24.0	(30)	22.7	(79)	21.2	(67)
1991 - single female 25-44	28.2	(74)	32.9	(69)	42.6	(178)	33.9	(121)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>+14.2</b>		<b>+8.9</b>		<b>+19.9</b>		<b>+12.7</b>	
1981 - single male 25-44	23.4	(44)	21.5	(26)	26.0	(79)	21.2	(67)
1991 - single male 25-44	31.5	(82)	39.9	(83)	47.1	(171)	37.7	(136)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>+8.1</b>		<b>+18.4</b>		<b>+21.1</b>		<b>+11.1</b>	

Source: 1981 1991 Census, SAS, Crown Copyright.

Substantial and increasing proportions of single 25-44 year olds are clearly noticeable, especially in the village, rural and urban locations. This finding suggests a postponement or rejection of marriage in these locations; a further trait which is synonymous with many portrayals of the young urban professional gentrifier. On the other hand, the lower incidence of single 25-44 year olds in the remote location suggests a less significant postponement or rejection of marriage by these households. The distinction made here between the locations will be examined in a later section, which introduces the effects of life-cycle stage upon the residential decision making process of the greentifiers.

It must be made clear at this point that other research sources suggest the rise of single 25-44 year olds is not attributable to young single indigenous locals. For instance, the following section of this chapter will present evidence from the Hebden Bridge Times, which documents the displacement of young single indigenous individuals. Importantly, it will be shown that this is a result of the private and public rented sector of the local housing market.

Significantly, the features of Table 7.3 confirm Warde's (1991) suggestion that gentrified enclaves are characterised by an unusually high proportion of young and single women. In addition, in the context of the Hebden Bridge district, an unusually high proportion of young single males are evident, particularly in the village, rural and urban locations. Given that young single females are prevalent in the remote location, issues of gender may be important here.

Other notable features of Table 7.2 include the differential proportions of the 60+ age range across the locational strata. Despite the 60+ age range declining in all locations, this age range significantly accounts for approximately one-fifth of the village and urban populations in 1991. Emphasis should be made here to the selective distribution of the 60+ age range in the urban location, concentrated at New Heptonstall (35.0%) and Mytholm (30.0%). This contrasts with the low incidence of the 60+ age range evident at Fairfield (8.0%). This variance emphasises the differentiated age structure between the areas of the urban location, which was also reflected by the 1991 GB Profiling System. As can be seen in Table 7.1, New Heptonstall and Mytholm are assigned descriptive labels of “retired pensioners” and “mature pensioners” respectively. In contrast, Fairfield is portrayed as containing “young married suburbia” couples. The remaining two areas of the urban location, Stubbings and Mount Skip, are correctly characterised by a mixture of young and mature households.

In contrast to the urban location, the prominent 60+ age range in the village location is relatively uniform throughout the village areas. This feature coupled with an high and uniform 45-59 age range justifies the “established” and “mature” descriptive labels of the 1991 GB Profiling System. Moreover, the prevalence of mature households may explain the low proportion of 0-15 year olds in the village location. This feature is most marked at Erringden, with the 0-15 age range accounting for only 11.8% of the total population.

Conversely, the remote location contrasts with the mature characteristics of the village location. When the 45-59 and 60+ age ranges are aggregated in Table 7.2, the outcome accounts for only 30.0% in 1991. However, a number of internal differences within the remote location should be noted here. Firstly, an increasing and substantial 45-59 age range exists at Blackshaw Head. This validates the “mature professional” label ascribed to Blackshaw Head by the 1991 GB Profiling System.

Secondly, the “mature” labels attached by the 1991 GB Profiling System to Hardcastle and Slack appear somewhat exaggerated. As the census data revealed the 45-59 and 60+ age ranges only accounted for 23.8% and 33.6% in these areas respectively. The overall lower incidence of mature households may explain the higher proportion of 0-15 year olds in the remote location, when compared to the village location. Indeed, the substantial incidence of the 0-15 age range is uniform throughout all the areas of the remote location.

In summary, Table 7.2 illustrates differentiated age structures between the locations of the Hebden Bridge district. Despite all locations experiencing significant increasing proportions of the 25-44 age

range, between 1981 and 1991, differences are apparent reflecting the locational distribution of households at distinct stages of their life-cycle. To a certain degree, the findings confirm the distinctions of the 1991 GB Profiling System (see Table 7.1).

The association between the stage of life-cycle stage and type of location are endorsed by Table 7.4, which shows the composition of households evident in 1981 and 1991.

**Table 7.4 - Household Composition (% of total households)**

Location	Remote		Village		Rurban		Urban	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1981- Single	16.6	(82)	42.8	(163)	35.2	(334)	28.9	(277)
1991- Single	22.2	(140)	37.9	(209)	42.0	(430)	37.1	(361)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>+5.6</b>		<b>-4.9</b>		<b>+6.8</b>		<b>+8.1</b>	
1981 - Couple with Deps.	24.9	(123)	17.3	(66)	20.4	(193)	22.6	(216)
1991 - Couple with Deps.	27.9	(176)	18.0	(99)	19.4	(198)	22.5	(219)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>+3.0</b>		<b>+0.6</b>		<b>-1.0</b>		<b>-0.1</b>	
1981 - Couple no Deps.	35.1	(173)	35.2	(134)	30.8	(292)	23.0	(220)
1991 - Couple no Deps.	34.6	(218)	32.3	(178)	27.9	(285)	28.5	(278)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>-0.5</b>		<b>-2.9</b>		<b>-2.9</b>		<b>+5.6</b>	

Source: 1981 1991 Census, SAS, Crown Copyright.

The most striking feature of Table 7.4 is the substantial incidence of single adult households, especially in the village, rurban and urban locations. A distinction must be made at this point in relation to the remote location. Despite the remote location experiencing a significant rise in single households between 1981 and 1991, in absolute terms the proportion of this type of household is not dominant (unlike the other locations).

Rather, the remote location is distinguished by the rise and prominence of households which comprise two adults with dependent(s). This suggests that the households in the remote location are at family forming stages of their life-cycle. This finding is consistent with the lower incidence of single 25-44 year olds that was outlined earlier.

In contrast, the dominance of single adult households in the urban, rurban and village locations suggests households at either pre-family forming or post-family forming stages of their life-cycles. This was verified by a more detailed analysis of the census data, which found that households with no dependant children predominated in the village (73.2%), rurban (69.7%) and urban (69.5%) locations.

Moreover, further analysis identified that single adult households were not dominated by single parent



households. In the village location, single parent households accounted for only 8.1% of single households. Although more extreme in the rural and urban locations, single parent households still only accounted for approximately 15.8% and 16.9% of single adult households respectively. This finding reveals a significant characteristic of the increasing numbers of single 25-44 year olds, as shown by Table 7.2.

These findings contradict the profile descriptions of the 1991 GB Profiling System, highlighting the need for caution when adopting generalisations. The urban and village locations were portrayed as containing “couples”; these descriptions neglected the predominance of single households. However, the importance of single households in the rural location were noted by the 1991 GB Profiling System (see Table 7.1).

### 7.3.2 Educational Credentials

Table 7.5 provides a breakdown of the educational credentials held by the population of the Hebden Bridge district in 1981 and 1991. Unfortunately, the incompatibility of the 1981 and 1991 Census tables did not allow a comparison of educational measures based at Degree level. Rather, data had to be compared for 1981 and 1991 based on the percentage of individuals with a diploma, professional qualification, Degree or Higher Degree.

**Table 7.5 - Education Credentials (% of total population over 18)**

Location	Remote		Village		Rurban		Urban	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1981 - Quads >diploma	18.8	(18)	8.6	(6)	17.0	(27)	9.3	(16)
1991 - Quads >diploma	33.1	(45)	32.3	(31)	23.0	(40)	17.2	(29)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>+14.3</b>		<b>+23.7</b>		<b>+6.0</b>		<b>+7.9</b>	

Source: 1981/1991 Census, SAS, Crown Copyright.

The presence of educated individuals in specific locations of the Hebden Bridge district has already been indicated by the 1991 GB Profiling System. To reiterate, all rural areas were described as “academic centres and student areas”, containing “young educated white collar workers”. Likewise, it was observed that the remote location contained “mature educated professional families” and “educated white collar couples”. No acknowledgement of educational attainment was made for areas in the urban or village location.

However, in relation to Table 7.1, Table 7.5 suggests the 1991 GB Profiling System understates the prevalence of educated individuals in the Hebden Bridge district. Moreover given that some authors claim that “gentrifiers are a cohesive group, in so far as they are highly educated” (Butler, 1996), the

increasing proportions of individuals with educational qualifications between 1981 and 1991 in all locations is extremely revealing.

The most striking feature of Table 7.5 is the substantial number of individuals in the remote location who hold educational credentials. This is very high at Blackshaw Head (40.0%), Slack (36.7%) and Hardcastle (36.8%). However, if a cohesive grouping of individuals with educational qualifications indicates gentrification, as some authors argue, then the process of gentrification is most marked in the village location. Remarkably, the census data show that half of the individuals in Erringden held educational credentials. Also prominent here is the finding that approximately one-third of individuals at Old Heptonstall and Old Town hold educational credentials. In contrast, the level of educational credentials was significantly lower and remained relatively stable in Pecket Well between 1981 and 1991. As a result, the absolute level of educational credentials for the village location as a whole, is under-estimated by the characteristics of Pecket Well. Clearly, with the exception of Pecket Well, educational credentials are relatively similar between the remote and village location. Consequently, the 1991 GB Profiling System fails to recognise the educated characteristics of the village inhabitants.

Compared with the remote and village location, the rise in educational credentials in the rurban location between 1981 and 1991 was less significant. Indeed, Table 7.5 shows that in 1981 the level of education credentials in the rurban location was similar to the remote location and in excess of the village location. This generalised account, however, disguises many internal differences within the rurban location. Substantial rises in the proportion of individuals who held educational credentials occurred at Wood End (+21.4%) and Hangingroyd (+8.9%), while levels remained stable at Valley Road and Central, and declined slightly at Birchcliffe.

Similar trends are also apparent in the urban location; with increases between 1981 and 1991 evident at New Heptonstall (+13.6%) and Stubbing (+12.0%). These rises resulted in parallel educational traits with Mytholm and Mount Skip in 1991. Significantly, Fairfield remained distinctive with only 8.8% obtaining educational credentials.

In summary, all locations experienced increasing proportions of individuals with educational credentials between 1981 and 1991. If as some authors suggest, the concentration of individuals with educational credentials denote gentrification, it follows that the process of gentrification is most marked in the remote and village locations. At the same time, the rurban and urban locations show signs of an influx of highly educated individuals, signifying gentrification.

### 7.3.3 Occupation

Table 7.6 reveals that the Hebden Bridge district is characterised by an heterogeneous occupational profile. More importantly, it is noticeable that each location experienced distinct occupational transformations between 1981 and 1991. It must be stressed that the artist category extracted from the 1981 and 1991 Census includes ancillary workers.

**Table 7.6 - Occupation Structure (% of total economically active)**

Location	Remote		Village		Rurban		Urban	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1981 - Professionals	15.2	(12)	17.3	(9)	14.5	(19)	8.5	(12)
1991 - Professionals	57.6	(57)	30.3	(20)	20.2	(24)	22.3	(27)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>+42.4</b>		<b>+13.0</b>		<b>+5.7</b>		<b>+13.9</b>	
1981 - Artists	16.5	(13)	15.4	(8)	15.3	(20)	11.3	(16)
1991 - Artists	14.1	(7)	24.2	(23)	30.3	(36)	7.4	(9)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>-2.3</b>		<b>+8.9</b>		<b>+15.0</b>		<b>-3.8</b>	
1981 - Manual	31.6	(25)	28.8	(15)	42.7	(56)	42.3	(60)
1991 - Manual	8.1	(8)	13.6	(9)	34.5	(41)	44.6	(54)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>-23.6</b>		<b>-15.2</b>		<b>-8.3</b>		<b>+2.4</b>	

Source: 1981 1991 Census, SAS, Crown Copyright.

Table 7.6 shows the remote location witnessed major increasing proportions of professional workers. At the same time, the proportion of manual workers declined dramatically. The shift was most remarkable at Charlestown, with professional workers increasing by 55.5% and the manual workers declining by -33.5% between 1981-1991. It is important at this stage to note that the most significant increase of professionals occurred at Blackshaw Head by 64.6%. Hence, the 1991 GB Profiling System descriptive label for Blackshaw Head, which stated a presence of "mature professionals" appears valid.

Significantly all remote areas, with the exception of Slack, witnessed decreases in the artist proportion of the population. This suggests that professionals have entered areas which were formerly artist enclaves. Most pronounced losses were at Blackshaw Head (-25.0%), Hardcastle (-15.0%) and Colden (-11.9%). Despite these declines, the artist concentrations at Slack (31.8%) and Colden (21.4%) in 1991 should be noted here. An explanation of the importance of these artist concentrations will be provided in Chapter 9. Clearly, the presence/absence of artists highlights internal occupational differentiation within the remote locations.

Like the remote location, the village location witnessed an increase of professional workers and a decline of manual workers between 1981 and 1991. As can be seen in Table 7.6, in 1991 professional workers comprised one-third of the occupational profile of the village location. With the exception of Old Heptonstall, the professional worker proportions in all village areas rose by approximately 30.0%.

The decline in manual workers was evident in all parts of the village location; but was extremely prominent at Old Town, with a dramatic decrease of -78.3%. Perhaps this shift is connected to former tenants of social housing at Old Town exercising their right-to-buy, and then selling on the property at a later date. Indeed, housing data verifies this link showing a tenure shift from public rented to owner-occupation between 1981 and 1991 at Old Town.

A distinction must be made at this point between different areas of the village location. In contrast to Pecket Well and Old Town, substantial artist concentrations are evident at Old Heptonstall (43.5%) and Erringden (36.4%). Locational qualities are important here in explaining the selective concentration of artists in the village location. For example, the housing type at Pecket Well and Old Town is mixed; with the prevalence of modern state produced housing estates. In contrast, the housing types at Old Heptonstall and Erringden are dominated by millstone grit weavers cottages. Additionally, the presence of artists in 1981 at Erringden (42.9%) and Old Heptonstall (16.7%) may have attracted later waves of artists between 1981-1991. Moreover, the prevalence of artists at Erringden in 1991 perhaps identifies the initial major place of colonisation by artists within the village location.

The increase in the proportion of artists between 1981-1991 was more extreme in the rurban location. With the exception of Valley Road, Birchcliffe (+27.5%), Hangingroyd (+20.2%), Wood End (+18.0%) and Central (+13.9%) all witnessed artist increases between 1981-1991. As a result, artists dominate the occupational profiles of these areas in 1991. This is not surprising given the artistic connotations, described in Chapters 5 and 6, that have been associated with the rurban location, since the mid 1970's.

Although manual workers declined by -8.3% in the rurban location between 1981-1991, it must be noted that manual workers still accounted for one-third of the 1991 rurban occupational profile. This feature is somewhat distorted by Valley Road, which contained 56.4% of manual workers in 1991. The prevalence of small terrace housing in the Valley Road area is important here in explaining the manual worker concentration.

The manual to professional worker shift, which was evident in the remote and village location, is less pronounced in the rurban location. As Table 7.6 shows professional worker proportions increased by only +5.7% between 1981-1991. Once again, this finding is distorted by internal differences within the rurban location. For example, the proportion of professionals decreased in Hangingroyd (-5.0%) and Birchcliffe (-4.7%) between 1981-1991. In contrast, the proportion of professionals increased in Wood End (+20.4%) and Valley Road (+11.4%). These findings suggest that specific parts of the rurban location are amenable to artists (i.e. Birchcliffe and Hangingroyd) and other parts are more amenable to

professionals (i.e. Wood End, Central and Valley Road). With the exception of Hangingroyd, these professional and artist concentrations appear to co-exist with substantial manual worker concentrations. The effects of diverse housing types are important in explaining the distribution of occupational type within the rural location.

In contrast to the remote, village and rural location, the urban location was distinguished by an increase of manual workers between 1981-1991. This trend validates the descriptive labels outlined by the 1991 GB Profiling System, which noted the presence of Blue Collar workers in all urban areas. Indeed, manual workers accounted for over half the occupational profiles in Fairfield (72.0%) and New Heptonstall (52.6%) in 1991. A clear link can be made here with manual workers and Local Authority rented accommodation. At the same time, the urban location is distinguished from other locations by the relatively low (declining) incidence of artists. As Table 7.6 reveals the artist proportion accounted for only 7.4% in 1991. Moreover, this feature was exaggerated by the relatively stable artist concentrations at Stubbings (17.6%) and Mytholm (14.3%). It is important to stress that the presence of artists is linked to the presence of private rented accommodation.

The predominance of manual workers and absence of artists may indicate that the urban location has not been greentrified to the extent of the other locations in the Hebden Bridge district. It is important not to dismiss the effects of greentrification in the urban location. As can be seen in Table 7.6, between 1981 and 1991 the urban location witnessed a significant increase of 13.9% to the proportion of professional workers. This perhaps signifies the beginning of a professional influx into the urban location. Once again, this characteristic is exaggerated by internal urban differentiation. Mytholm and Mount Skip are distinguished from the other parts of the urban location by increasing proportions (+34.3% and +16.7%) of professional workers.

In summary, the urban location is differentiated by occupation. Fairfield and New Heptonstall are distinguished by the prominence of manual workers, Mount Skip by professional workers, Stubbings by a stable concentration of artists and Mytholm by the amalgamation of the features of Mount Skip and Stubbings.

#### **7.3.4 Socio-economic Characteristics**

The GB Profiling System highlighted major differences between the locations regarding socio-economic status. The urban location was depicted as containing “struggling”, “less prosperous” and “less well off” individuals, the rural location was described as “aspiring”, the village location as “comfortable” and

the remote location as “prospering” with “affluent achievers”. Clearly, these descriptive labels suggest the locational distribution of individuals with differing socio-economic status.

Unfortunately, the 1981 and 1991 Census does not provide details of income levels. To overcome this obstacle, data were collected for the percentage of households with 2+ cars. This variable was taken as a means of measuring household affluence. Obviously, car ownership is affected by the number of adults in the household, proximity to public transport services and many other factors.

Table 7.7 shows the number of households owning 2+ cars in 1981 and 1991. The most notable feature of Table 7.7 is the increase in the number of households with 2+ cars between 1981 and 1991, suggesting an influx of higher income households into the Hebden Bridge district and/or dual career households.

**Table 7.7 - Households With 2+ Cars (% of total households)**

Location	Remote		Village		Rurban		Urban	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1981 - h/holds 2 cars +	25.7	(113)	18.8	(72)	8.2	(78)	7.1	(68)
1991 - h/holds 2 cars +	42.3	(267)	25.5	(140)	14.0	(143)	16.4	(159)
<b>% Change</b>	<b>+16.6</b>		<b>+6.7</b>		<b>+5.9</b>		<b>+9.3</b>	

Source: 1981 1991 Census, SAS, Crown Copyright.

The other major striking feature of Table 7.7 is the variation between the locations, validating the difference denoted by the 1991 GB Profiling System. For instance, the rising percentage of households with 2+ cars is most pronounced in the remote location, three times the level of the rurban location.

In absolute terms, the ownership of 2+ cars in 1991 is most excessive at Blackshaw Head (48.1%), Slack (43.5%) and Hardcastle (42.6%). An interesting finding of the census data was the extremely high percentage of households at Colden (43.6%) in 1981, who owned 2+ cars. This feature may indicate the initial place of colonisation by affluent households in the remote location. Similarly, the high percentage of car ownership in 1981 at Erringden (26.2%) endorses the earlier speculation, that Erringden was the initial place of colonisation by greentrifiers within the village location.

The dominance of high car ownership by 1991 throughout the remote and village areas is not surprising, bearing in mind the distance and isolated nature of remote and village property from public transport services. The predominance of two adult households in the remote location may be implicated in this finding (i.e. a demand for two cars). Indeed, it may explain why 2+ car ownership is higher than the village location. In conclusion, if the assumption is followed, that car ownership is useful measure of affluence, Table 7.8 suggests that relatively affluent households are concentrated in the remote location;

closely followed by the village location. This characteristic is to be expected, given the relative higher economic capital required to purchase country property in the remote and village locations, conforming with the “affluent achievers” and “comfortable” descriptions of the 1991 GB Profiling System respectively.

As noted earlier, levels of car ownership in the rurban and urban locations may be distorted by the close proximity of the Hebden Bridge railway station. Indeed, the following chapter will show that living within walking distance of the railway station is a key attraction of the rurban and urban location for many individuals. Putting this issue aside and taking into account the descriptive labels of the 1991 GB Profiling System (see Table 7.1), it would appear that less affluent households are concentrated in the urban and rurban location. However, the predominance of single adult households in the urban and rurban location, as outlined earlier, is important here when considering total household income and the demand for two cars. Thus, car ownership as a measure of income has many weaknesses and any conclusions based on car ownership must be tentatively made.

In summary, analysis of the 1981 and 1991 Census has confirmed parallels with the descriptive labels produced by the 1991 GB Profiling System. Moreover, this section has revealed that the remote, village and rurban and urban locations have undergone social changes which are indicative of the gentrification process. Furthermore, evidence has been identified which dismisses the existence of a prototypical greentriener in the Hebden Bridge district. Rather a geography of greentriers is evident within the Hebden Bridge district, expressing differential demographic, occupational, socio-economic and educational characteristics.

On the whole, when compared with the remote, village and rurban location, the greentrification process appears to have had less effect in the urban location. This conclusion is based on the significant increasing concentration of manual workers in the urban location between 1981 and 1991. Although the rurban location also contained concentrations of manual workers in 1991, the influx of professionals and especially artists predominated at the expense of a declining manual worker sector. Changes noted between 1981 and 1991 suggest that the greentrification process has been most marked in the remote and village locations. This is manifest in the dramatic increasing proportions of professionals and artists between 1981-1991, while manual worker proportions declined dramatically. Perhaps this is not surprising given the greentrification process is driven by the need to consume green space, a theme which will be examined in depth in Chapters 8 and 9.

## 7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has documented that between 1981 and 1991 the *social* composition of the Hebden Bridge district underwent dramatic changes which shared many of the hallmarks of inner-city gentrification, especially in terms of rising educational credentials and income levels of its population. Like inner city places that have witnessed gentrification (e.g. Hackney, London), the Hebden Bridge district has experienced the replacement of manual workers with professional workers and artists. The extent of the transformation is such that manual workers were confined to the urban and rural locations in 1991. Evidence from the earlier chapters suggests that this transformation is not due to a process of occupational restructuring in the Hebden Bridge district. Rather it is a result of the exclusionary effects of greentrification, most significantly in the exclusive remote and village locations. In line with Chapters 5 and 6, it can be argued that the manual workers have been displaced as a result of the actions of commercial institutional actors and the willingness and ability of in-migrant households to purchase property at inflated prices.

Moreover, it has been observed that the process of greentrification has had different social manifestations in different locations in the Hebden Bridge district - giving rise to a geography of greentrifier types. Both the analysis of the 1981 and 1991 census data and the 1991 GB Profiling System confirmed links between location and the life-stage cycles of greentrifiers, highlighting the concentration of four distinct types of greentrifiers in the remote, village, rural and urban locations of the Hebden Bridge district. The chapter identified concentrations of young single adults in the rural location, single adults in the urban location, family forming households in the remote location and pre-retirement post-family forming households in the village location. Clearly, different parts of the Hebden Bridge district appear to attract households at distinct stages of their life-stage cycle. This issue will be examined in greater detail in Chapters 8 and 9 which will match the qualities of the locations with the aspirations of the in-migrants. It is important to stress the internal differentiation which has been uncovered within the locations, and hence the need for an appreciation that the four locations referred to here are not as uniform as the categorisations suggest.

In conclusion, this chapter has revealed that the greentrification of the Hebden Bridge district is a complex process, involving the movement of a differing social groups into a diversity of locations and landscapes. The following chapter will now examine the reasons why particular types of greentrifiers are attracted to particular locations (and landscapes) within the Hebden Bridge district through an examination of the household agency involved in the residential decision making process.



## *Chapter 8*

### *Household Agency*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will draw upon the findings from a survey of 150 sampled households (undertaken in 1996). The overall aims of the chapter are to illuminate four major aspects of the process of greentrification. Firstly, the chapter will identify the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the individuals and households *who* are greentrifying the Hebden Bridge district. This will enable a plurality of greentrifier portraits to be established. It will then be possible to undertake a comparative analysis with gentrifier portraits associated with inner city gentrification. Secondly, analysis of the survey will highlight *why* the greentrifiers are greentrifying. This will provide a backdrop for a more extensive examination of the cultural motives underpinning residential household agency in Chapter 9. Thirdly and in the context of the Hebden Bridge district, a spatial dimension will be added which ascertains *where* and *what* aspects of the landscape are being consumed by greentrifiers. Finally, the survey will reveal more about the temporal aspects of the greentrification process in Hebden Bridge. This will confirm speculations made in Chapters 5 and 6, identifying *when* different greentrifier types (and institutional actors) became involved in the process of greentrification.

To achieve these aims, the following chapter is split into two main parts. The first part will focus upon the household, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sample. The second part will examine the role of household agency within the residential decision making process of the greentrifiers and indigenous local population.

#### **8.1 The “*Who*” aspects of Greentrification**

This section will examine the social difference (e.g. household structure) exhibited in the 1981 and 1991 Census and the “1991 GB Profiling System”. Evidence will be presented which corroborates that the greentrification of the Hebden Bridge district does not involve a cohesive greentrifying group. It will be shown that prototypical greentrifier portraits are a misnomer in the context of the internal geography of greentrifiers within the Hebden Bridge district. Clearly, this geography will have important implications for the analysis and presentation of the survey findings.

The findings of the survey are presented to reflect the differing types of greentriever (DIY or client) and their location(s) of residence within the Hebden Bridge district (remote, village, rural and urban). The type of greentriever is identified by the date of movement into the current property. The reason for this criteria is two-fold. Firstly, in line with the distinction made between DIY and client greentrifiers in Chapter 2, the type of greentriever is defined by the specific stage within the greentrification process when current property was purchased or rented. In the context of the Hebden Bridge district, the temporal boundary between DIY and client greentrifiers is taken as 1975 in the remote/village location(s) and 1980 in the rural/urban location(s) (see Chapter 5 and 6).

In general, the chapter will reveal that greentrifiers in current property are predominantly client greentrifiers. To emphasise locational differences amongst the client greentrifiers, the following labels will be adopted for the discussion and included in the tables; *remote* clients, *village* clients, *rural* clients and *urban* clients. It is not surprising that client greentrifiers predominate within the sample given the maturity of the process of greentrification in the Hebden Bridge district. As revealed in Chapter 5, the process of greentrification commenced in the late 1960s and has thus been active for over twenty years in the Hebden Bridge district.

Secondly, the survey collected data on the current demographic and socio-economic status of the households. The collection of past socio-economic and demographic data would have resulted in an impractical questionnaire length. Given that Section 8.3.4 will show that movement into current property is a recent phenomenon, it was assumed that socio-economic and demographic characteristics of client greentriever households would not have dramatically changed since entering Hebden Bridge.

Distinctions between greentriever and non-greentriever type households are equally important at this stage. As will be revealed in Section 8.3.1, a segregated group of indigenous (non-greentriever) households exists in the Hebden Bridge district. Importantly, all the indigenous households identified (15) are confined to the urban location, accounting for 40.5% of the urban household sample. Of equal importance are the remaining 59.5% of the urban household sample. It will be argued that this segment of the urban sample is comprised of financially constrained client greentrifiers. This group is subsumed within the greentriever category since they are limiting the indigenous population's access to (urban) property in the Hebden Bridge district. In order to reside in the Hebden Bridge district, both sets of urban households have had to trade-off cultural preferences for the rural or rural, due to low levels of economic capital. A distinction is thus drawn between these two groups of urban households in the

following analysis.

As a preliminary to the presentation of the findings of the survey, it is necessary to clarify the criteria adopted for the definition of indigenous households (shown as indig. in the Tables). As Allan and Mooney stress:

“It is apparent that the definition of who and what is “local” is problematic. In practice it is difficult to identify who is and who is not a local” (Allan and Mooney, 1998).

### 8.1.1 Identifying The Indigenous Households

The task of identifying indigenous households within the sample was highly subjective. There were no absolute defining criteria. After primary analysis of survey data, it became clear that conceptions of “indigenous” and “local” had to be separated. In short, the terms denoted different social identities within the Hebden Bridge district. Although a substantial number of respondents remarked that they felt “local” to the place (see Table 8.1), many made qualifying comments that they did not have an indigenous identity. Typical remarks included:

“Yes I feel local, but I wouldn’t say that I am local. You have to have ancestors in the graveyard who have lived here for 300 years before they call you local. I am still an off-cumden” (69).

**Table 8.1 - Sense Of Belonging to Hebden Bridge (Head of Household)**

Location	Client				Indigen. Urban	
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban		
	n=	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)
		%	%	%	%	%
Self-defined “local” of Hebden Bridge		15	18.	35	36	100
Self-defined “local” but not indigenous to Hebden Bridge		73	69	55	53	0
Did not feel “local” to Hebden Bridge		12	13	10	11	0

In view of this finding, two factors were adopted for the definition of indigenous households. Firstly, village/remote and rurban/urban households must have lived in the Hebden Bridge district before 1975 and 1980 respectively. These were the approximate time periods when the processes of DIY greentrification commenced respectively (see Chapter 5). Secondly, households must have named their place of origin as “Hebden Bridge, Todmorden or Mytholmroyd”. Semi-structured interviews revealed

a general consensus amongst self-defined “indigenous locals”, that households originating from the Upper Calder Valley were “local” when compared to “off-cumden” households invading from distant places (e.g. London). As the term implies, “off-cumden” (off-comer) is a parochial label for individuals invading from outside. Spatial proximity to the Hebden Bridge district is therefore important here in defining indigenous local identity. Obviously a significant time of residence (before 1975) in the Hebden Bridge district was important for households, originating from Todmorden and Mytholmroyd, to be assimilated. Hence the overlap of time and space within the indigenous definition.

### 8.1.2 Household and Demographic Characteristics

This section uses the household and demographic characteristics of the sample to identify spatial concentrations of social groupings in the Hebden Bridge district. It will be argued that socio-spatial groupings are a manifestation of specific aspects of the Hebden Bridge landscape attracting households at distinct stages of their housing and family-cycles. Obviously dynamic links between socio-economic status and house and life-stage cycles are important factors in the relationship. These will receive pronounced attention in a later section of this chapter.

Variation among the greentrifiers has already been observed in the preceding chapters. Table 8.2, which provides a breakdown of household types, confirms the presence of social difference within the Hebden Bridge district. Remarkably, a spectrum of pre-family forming, family forming, post-family forming and mature household concentrations is indicated.

Table 8.2 - Household Description

Location	Client					Indig. Urban
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban		
n=	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)	
	%	%	%	%	%	
Married Couple with Children	64	27	24	29	19	
Couple with Children	0	3	7	13	7	
Single Parent	12	0	16	14	25	
Married Couple without Children	12	43	16	17	7	
Couple without Children	4	6	7	0	0	
Single	0	15	30	20	14	
OAP Married	4	3	0	3	14	
OAP Single	4	3	0	4	14	

From Table 8.2 it can be seen that adults in single and childless households predominate in the rurban location. This may be linked to over one-third of adults in the rurban location being aged between 19 to 24 (see Table 8.3). It is likely that these individuals are attracted to the rurban parts by the size and

affordability of under-dwelling terrace properties. The one bedroom dwelling types are suitable for their pre-family forming stages of their life-cycle. Indeed, during the semi-structured interviews many rural clients indicated precedence was given to career and income progression as opposed to childrearing. Perhaps aspiration (but not income) parallels can be drawn here with the aspirations associated with young single gentrifiers of the inner cities (see Munt, 1987).

Comparable features are evident for the urban clients. Although less marked, the urban clients appear to be at pre-family forming stages of their life-cycle with 36% of households containing no children. However, this feature is not attributable to young and single adults, aged between 19 to 24, who reside in childless households. The urban clients are at more mature stages of their life-cycle than the rural clients. As Table 8.3 shows, the urban adult age structure is dominated by 25 to 44 year olds, accounting for 74% of total number of urban adults. Only 5% of urban client adults are aged between 19 to 24. This suggests that the urban clients reject marriage and childrearing.

**Table 8.3 - Adult Age Structure (Total Survey Population)**

Location	Client				Indig.
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Urban
n=	(52)	(57)	(98)	(42)	(23)
	%	%	%	%	%
19-24	4	4	32	5	13
25-44	56	58	56	74	26
45-65	35	31	10	7	32
over 65	5	7	2	14	26

A notable prevalence of childless households is evident for village clients. However, this feature cannot be explained by a pre-family forming stage or a rejection of family forming. On the contrary, it is attributable to post-family forming households. Mature family units are evident, where children have grown up and remained in the family household. The survey findings identified 41% of client village households containing three or more adults. Significantly, it will be shown in the following chapter that the mature family units of the village locations, comprise adults who participated in the "hippie" counter-culture(s) of the 1960s and 1970s.

The remote households appear to be at intermediary life-cycle stages, with the prevalence of family forming households. This is demonstrated in Table 8.2, which reveals that an high proportion of remote households are married couples with children. Significantly, the family forming households are comprised of relatively young adults. The survey found that 56% of adults in the remote location belonged to the 25 to 44 age category, only 35% remote households are childless. The links between the qualities of the moor top location and family formation will be examined in greater detail in the

following chapter. Suffice to say at this point, the moor tops symbolise an “healthy” and “safe” environment in which to raise children.

The distinctive characteristic of the indigenous urban household is the prominence of elderly and single parent households. These households may reflect the most disadvantaged and least mobile households of the indigenous population. Unlike other sectors of the indigenous population who encountered constraints following the property price escalations (see Chapter 6), the elderly and single parent households may have been unable to find or move to property in other places. In this sense, perhaps these households (like the urban clients) are not only excluded from the remote, village and rural locations of the Hebden Bridge district.

In summary, this section has identified socio-spatial links between type of greentriever and location. Different parts of the Hebden Bridge landscape appear to be attractive to different types of client greentrifiers at differing stages of their life-cycle. Significantly, the link between the “spatial” and “social” confirms that prototypical greentrifiers do not exist in the Hebden Bridge district. The discovery of a plurality of greentrifiers asserts that geography cannot be discarded from the greentrification process; space and time matter.

### 8.1.3 Educational Background

There is less variation among the greentrifiers in relation to their educational background. As Table 8.4 reveals, substantial numbers of client greentrifiers attended fee paying schools. This feature contrasts sharply with the characteristics of the indigenous households, with over 90% undertaking comprehensive schooling.

**Table 8.4 - Type of School Attended (Adults in Household)**

Location	Client				Indig. Urban	
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban		
	n=	(52)	(57)	(98)	(42)	(23)
		%	%	%	%	%
Grammar		55	24	34	33	5
Public		12	4	13	9	5
Comprehensive/Secondary Modern		31	68	52	58	90
Other e.g. Quaker		2	4	1	0	0

A similar gulf in educational experience is evident in Table 8.5. In line with other studies of gentrification (see Munt 1987; Butler 1995, 1996), the influx into the Hebden Bridge district has been

undertaken by highly educated individuals. The converse is clearly true of the indigenous households with no presence of graduates. Hence, educational attainment may be the most expressive social distinction between the greentrifiers and the indigenous population.

**Table 8.5 - Higher Educational Graduates (Adults in Household)**

Location	Client					Indig. Urban
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban		
	n=	(52)	(57)	(98)	(42)	(23)
		%	%	%	%	%
Graduate of Higher Education		78	68	81	53	0
Non Graduate		22	32	19	47	100

Maintaining analysis at an individual level, the following discussion will examine the higher educational credentials of the sample. This will focus exclusively upon the clients given the absence of graduates among indigenous households. Although it was noted above that clients are a diverse group, Table 8.6 shows similarities regarding the type of higher educational institution which was attended.

**Table 8.6 - Type of Educational Institution Attended (Graduate Adults)**

Location	Client				
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	
	n	(38)	(41)	(70)	(23)
		%	%	%	%
University		66	71	60	83
Polytechnic		15	0	25	17
College of higher education		10	22	11	0
Teacher Training College		9	7	4	0

Clearly the majority of clients in each location are University graduates. With hindsight, the survey could have asked the location of the higher educational institution. This may have verified the links made in Chapter 5, that the Hebden Bridge district was discovered by many individuals while attending surrounding educational institutions of Manchester, Leeds and Bradford. Table 8.7 demonstrates further similarities among the clients, in terms of educational credentials. It can be seen that in each strata approximately 60% of clients possess a Degree. There is also a substantial presence in each strata of individuals with Higher Degrees, especially in the urban location.

**Table 8.7 - Qualifications (Graduate Adults)**

Location	Client				
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	
	n=	(38)	(41)	(70)	(23)
		%	%	%	%
PhD		4	0	1	13
MA/MSc/MPhil		16	12	17	9
Degree		61	64	63	60
Teaching Cert. (e.g PGCE)		8	7	8	0
Professional Qual. (e.g. law)		8	15	8	0
Other		3	2	3	17

Despite similarities between educational credentials and establishment attended, differences among the clients emerge when examining the academic discipline studied.

**Table 8.8 - Discipline Studied (Graduate Adults)**

Location	Client				
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Indig. Urban
n=	(38)	(41)	(70)	(23)	(23)
	%	%	%	%	%
Social Science	21	25	34	39	0
Arts & Humanities	16	49	39	44	0
Science, Technology & Engin	47	12	9	17	0
Business Studies	5	2	4	0	0
Law or Accountancy	3	2	4	0	0
Other	8	10	10	0	0

Table 8.8 indicates a remote client bias towards Science, Technology and Engineering disciplines. This contrasts with village, rurban and urban clients, who were overwhelmingly graduates from Arts and Humanities and to a lesser extent the Social Sciences. The discipline split between the locations helps to explain the plethora of occupational profiles which the survey uncovered. Importantly, the concentration of graduates from distinct academic disciplines in particular locations may signify links between cultural predispositions and earning power, which are associated to specific disciplines.

#### 8.1.4 Occupational and Socio-economic Characteristics

Table 8.9 provides a breakdown of present or last occupation of the sample based on the SOC Major Group classification (1990). Since the aim of this section is to uncover greentriifier type characteristics, the unit of analysis adopted will focus upon individuals of the sample.

**Table 8.9 - SOC: Major Groups (Adults in Household)**

Location	Client					Indig. Urban
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Urban	
n=	(52)	(57)	(98)	(42)	(23)	(23)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Managers & Administrators	1	17	11	18	2	0
Professional Occupations	2	62	50	48	47	9
Associate Professional	3	13	24	12	2	0
Clerical & Secretarial	4	3	0	12	0	0
Craft & Related	5	1	3	12	12	10
Personal & Protective	6	1	2	1	0	5
Sales Occupations	7	3	8	5	0	0
Plant & Machine Operatives	8	0	2	2	9	24
Other Occupations	9	0	0	0	28	52



Initial analysis of Table 8.9 reveals three striking features. Firstly, the indigenous urban population possesses an atypical occupational profile, with a prevalence of “Plant and Machine Operatives” and “Other Occupations”. Secondly, there *appears* to be remarkable similarity between the occupational structures of the remote, village and rural clients. Each strata contains relatively high proportions of “Professional” and “Associate Professional” workers. Similarly, there is an equal presence of “Managers and Administrators” among the remote, village and rural strata. However, after further investigation the uniformity between remote, village and rural clients is seen to mask deep occupational differences. Thirdly, although there is also a substantial proportion of “Professional Occupations” associated with the urban clients, the distinguishing feature is the prominence of “Craft and Related” and “Other Occupations”.

Presenting occupational structure in a different light, Table 8.10 provides greater occupational detail by classifying occupation using SOC Sub-Major Groups. The most striking aspect of Table 8.10 is the marked occupational symmetry between the village and rural clients. In *both* locations there is a prevalence of an “Other Associate Professional” occupational grouping. Importantly when analysed in greater detail, the majority of “Other Associate Professionals” belong to “Literary and Artistic Professional” standard occupational classification unit. The presence of such a grouping in the village and rural location is not surprising, given the high number of University graduates from the Arts and Humanities, noted above. Moreover, when the occupational data of the survey was analysed using Socio-economic Groups (SEG), 43% and 38% of village and rural clients were classified by the Ancillary Workers and Artists category.

**Table 8.10 - SOC: Sub-Major Groups (Adults in Household)**

Location	n=	Client				Indig.
		Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Urban
		(52)	(57)	(98)	(42)	(23)
		%	%	%	%	%
Corpor Managers & Admin	1a	0	9	5	2	0
Managers in Agric. Services	1b	17	2	4	0	0
Science & Engine Profess	2a	0	2	5	5	0
Health Professionals	2b	17	2	1	0	0
Teaching Professionals	2c	6	34	30	28	9
Other Professional Occs	2d	42	11	12	14	0
Science & Engin. Assoc Pro	3a	12	2	1	0	0
Health Associate Profess	3b	0	0	6	0	0
Other Assoc Profess Occs	3c	2	23	24	2	0
Clerical & Sec Occs	4	0	0	2	0	0
Craft & Related Occs	5	2	3	2	12	0
Personal & Protective Occs	6	0	2	1	0	5
Sales Occupations	7	2	8	5	0	0
Plant & Machine Operatives	8	0	2	2	9	24
Other Occupations	9	0	0	0	28	62

The semi-structured interviews confirmed the presence of a distinctive group of Artistic and Creative professionals, who were “professionally freelancing” from their Hebden Bridge residence. The presence of artistic and creative professional home-workers is endorsed by Table 8.11. As can be seen, approximately one-quarter of village and rural clients work from an Hebden Bridge home. The similar incidence of urban clients working from home may reflect the 12% of urban clients who belong to the Craft and Related occupations (see Table 8.10).

**Table 8.11- Place of Work (Adults in Household)**

Location	Client				Indig. Urban
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	
n-	(52)	(57)	(98)	(42)	(23)
	%	%	%	%	%
Hebden Bridge	9	9	10	9	53
Hebden Bridge - Home	4	24	26	6	2
Todmorden	15	2	3	16	32
Halifax	9	16	11	13	4
Keighley	0	0	1	0	2
Burnley	0	2	0	0	0
Rochdale	9	0	4	3	3
Manchester	33	9	14	22	1
Leeds	9	7	7	6	0
Bradford	6	14	7	6	0
Other	6	18	20	19	3

Table 8.11 also illustrates a significant incidence of village, rural and urban clients who commute to Manchester, Halifax and Bradford. These individuals belong to the “Teaching Professionals” evident in the village and rural location (see Table 8.10). Perhaps the urban contingent of Teaching professionals indicates the commencement of clients into the urban location. The ability to commute to the surrounding metropolitan areas of Manchester, Halifax and Bradford is clearly a key quality of the Hebden Bridge location for the Teaching professionals.

It would appear from semi-structured interviews that the heterogeneous occupational structure of the village and rural locations is a key attraction for the clients. The amalgamation of “Teaching” and “Artistic and Creative” professionals produces a diverse yet unified social environment of like-minded individuals. The Teaching professionals attract the Artists and vice versa, helping to foster a diverse social composition. Indeed, it will be shown in a later section that “clients” were attracted to the Hebden Bridge district by the social mix of the village and rural locations (see Table 8.28).

A relationship based on diversity is not evident in the remote locations. Rather a convergence of individuals with shared occupational and socio-economic traits is present. As indicated by Table 8.10,

40% of remote clients belong to the “Other Professional” occupations. This category includes the “Legal Professionals” and “Business and Financial Professionals”. Other distinguishing occupational features include the presence of “Managers in Agricultural Services”, “Health Professionals” and “Science and Engineering Professionals”. Given that legal, financial and financial services are concentrated in the large metropolitan centres, it is not surprising to find that nearly 50% of remote clients commute to Leeds, Manchester and Bradford (see Table 8.11). Clearly the presence of these surrounding employment bases are important factors which facilitate the greentrification of the Hebden Bridge district.

Table 8.12 shows the method by which individuals travel to work. Three notable features are evident. Firstly, there is a prominence of village, rurban and urban clients who walk to work. This characteristic is attributable to the professional home-workers. Secondly, the high number of the indigenous urban population who cited that they walked to work signifies former (elderly) textile workers of Hebden Bridge (the survey collected data about the respondents last occupation). This expression of the past was also evident in Table 8.11, with 86% of indigenous urban households citing Hebden Bridge or Todmorden as their place of work. Thirdly, Table 8.12 illustrates that most clients commute by car and to a lesser extent by train.

Table 8.12 - Method of Journey to Work (Adults in Household)

Location	Client				
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Indig. Urban
n	(52)	(57)	(98)	(42)	(23)
	%	%	%	%	%
Car	89	66	59	49	20
Bus	0	3	3	13	35
Train	11	15	23	21	10
Walk	0	16	12	14	35
Cycle	0	0	3	3	0

The ability to travel by train was clearly an important asset of the Hebden Bridge district for the rurban clients. As revealed in a later section (Section 8.3.8), significant numbers of rurban clients cited the attraction of the presence of a train station within walking distance of the home. The absence of nearby train services (i.e. within walking distance) indicates the village and remote clients higher dependency upon the car for travelling to work. Indeed, the more extreme levels of isolation experienced by remote clients explains the 89% of remote clients travel to work by car. The ability to absorb extra commuting costs and time is an important issue here. More important, however, is the attitude of remote clients to commuting experience.

It appears that remote clients enjoy commuting to work from the Hebden Bridge district. A significant number of comments were made by remote clients, which indicated a fondness of driving over the moor tops and through villages [with distinct spatial identities] to get to Manchester, Leeds or Bradford. Typical remarks included:

“When I set off for work on a morning, it’s like setting off on holiday every day. I used to live and work in Manchester. I never used to get out of that place because it’s all joined up but here [Hebden Bridge] work and home are separate. Travelling to work is now an adventure not a chore” (31).

Clearly, commuting is seen as a positive daily experience which reinforces the detachment of home and the workplace. Perhaps, in turn, travelling over the moor tops and through villages helps the remote clients to sustain notions of a rural residence and natural lifestyle. This speculation will be examined in greater detail in the following chapter.

It is important to stress that the remote clients have the financial means to travel to work by car. As Table 8.13 shows the Legal, Business and Financial professionals who commute are lucratively rewarded, with 78% of remote client respondents earning over £25,000 per annum. This finding is the mirror image of 79% of indigenous households who have an income level of less than £10,000 per year. In part, these findings reflect the presence of high numbers of pensioners (65+) in the urban location. Similarly, low income levels are associated with the urban client, with 70% having less than £15,000 per annum. Given these low income levels, it is not surprising that the urban clients and the indigenous (pensioner) households are excluded from consuming the more exclusive property in the rural, village and moor top locations.

**Table 8.13 - Income Distribution (Head of Household)**

Location	Client					Indig. Urban
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban		
n-	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
less than £10,000	4	22	18	35	79	
Between £10,000 - £15,000	0	31	26	35	21	
Between £15,000 - £25,000	19	16	27	22	0	
Over £25,000	77	31	29	8	0	

It is important to stress that Table 8.13 shows the income distribution of respondents and not total household income. It was felt that asking one member of the household to estimate total household income would yield inaccurate results. It cannot be assumed that all respondents know the income levels of other household members.

The financial power, held by the remote client high income grouping, is fundamental in explaining the remote clients capability to consume the exclusive and expensive country property of the moor tops. Moreover the survey found, when the unit of analysis was shifted to the household, that the majority of remote client households contain dual earners. More significantly, it was discovered that of the 22 dual earner households, 85% contained two members belonging to SOC Major Groups 1-3 (Managers and Administrators, Professional Occupations and Associate Professional and Technical Occupations). Therefore, given that the survey collected the income level of the respondent and not the household total, it is assumed that Table 8.13 underestimates the financial power of the remote client households.

The comparable household analysis for village and rural client households identified a lower incidence of similar dual earner households. Of the 54 rural and 32 village client households, 40% and 31% contained two members belonging to SOC Major Groups 1-3 respectively. Household composition clearly has implications for a households' capability to consume particular types of housing and location. It is a more effective measure than the income levels of the respondent.

The broad spread in income distribution of village and rural clients evident in Table 8.13, is attributable to the home-worker/commuter occupational division. Home-workers were characterised by relatively lower incomes. It will be observed in Chapter 9, that this socio-economic position reflects a trade-off between material rewards and the search for an "higher quality of life". In contrast, one-third of village and rural clients who earned over £25,000 per annum were all commuters travelling to the surrounding metropolitan centres for work.

### **8.1.5 A Geography of Greentrifiers**

The preceding sections have identified various similarities and differences amongst the client greentrifiers at a number of levels. In terms of household and demographic characteristics, it has been shown that particular types of client greentrifier are concentrated in distinct parts of the Hebden Bridge district. The client greentrifier households on the moor tops are characterised by young married adults, generally aged between 25-44, who are at family forming stages of their life-cycle. In contrast, in the moor edge villages, client greentrifier households tend to comprise mature married adults, who are at a post-family forming stage of their life-cycle. In the rural parts of the Hebden Bridge district, young and single adults, aged between 19-24, prevail in childless households. Finally, it has been observed that

elderly and single parent indigenous households are concentrated in the urban location, alongside urban clients; identified as unmarried adults, generally aged 25–44, residing in childless households. Without doubt, there is a clear geography of greentrifiers and non-greentrifiers (indigenous population) within the Hebden Bridge district based upon household and demographic criteria.

In terms of educational background, all types of client greentrifiers have obtained an high level of educational credentials. This contrasts dramatically with the limited educational credentials of the indigenous population. Moreover, it has been identified that the majority of client greentrifiers were former pupils of fee paying educational establishments, prior to the attainment of a University Degree. Differences between the “clients” emerge, however, when examining occupational characteristics and practices. Clearly, the range of academic disciplines studied by clients is important in explaining occupational differentiation. For instance, the key feature of client greentrifiers in the rurban, village and urban location was an occupational division between Artistic and Creative professionals and Teaching professionals. This may reflect that the majority of rurban, urban and village clients studied a Social Science or Arts and Humanities discipline. In contrast, the moor top locations are dominated by dual career households, employed in the Legal, Business and Financial professions. Overall, it was found that the remote clients have higher income levels than the village, rurban and urban clients. This perhaps explains their ability to purchase the exclusive farmsteads on the moor tops.

Although the financial power, associated with occupational earnings, is important in explaining the spatial concentration of the occupational groupings, the following section will show that this is not the over-riding factor. It will be argued that cultural preferences underpin the concentration of types of greentrifier within the Hebden Bridge district. This factor is particularly crucial in explaining why the urban location contains a lower incidence of professionals. Unlike the remote, village and rurban locations (redefined urban space), the urban location is devoid of rurality and is thus a “residential blackspot” for client greentrifiers, who have the capability and knowledgeability to consume rural and rurban space. Hence, the links between types of greentrifier and location express cultural, as well as economic choice and constraint; factors which underpin the household agency involved in the residential decision making practices of client greentrifiers.

## 8.2 Residential Household Agency

This section will focus upon the residential household agency of the sample households and highlight the cultural and economic choices and constraints fundamental in explaining the geography of greentrification. Evidence will be presented which reveals that there are numerous enticements in the landscape of the Hebden Bridge district for the range of greentrifier types. Suffice to say, social group variants are drawn to Hebden Bridge for different reasons since the landscape of the Hebden Bridge district *MEANS* different things to different people. It will be shown that the extraction and consumption of locational meaning[s] of rurality is integral to any understanding of what, where, when and why greentrifiers greentrify. Any explanation of the “why” aspects of the greentrification process cannot be detached from the “when”, “where” and “what” aspects. It is impossible to separate the spatial from the social and vice versa.

Table 8.14 highlights the initial attraction of the Hebden Bridge district.

**Table 8.14 - Initial Attraction Of Hebden Bridge (Head of Household)**

Location	Client					Indig. Urban
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban		
	n=	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)
		%	%	%	%	%
Pennine Countryside		73	68	56	26	0
Northern Landscape		25	26	39	29	0
Access to Cities		33	39	34	17	0
Job		4	6	7	4	7
Good Schools		0	0	4	4	0
Cheap Property		13	9	9	49	60
Family/Friends		4	25	14	17	64
Friendly Atmosphere		4	9	30	0	0
Sense of Community		4	43	46	4	0
Peaceful and/or Safe		35	36	34	0	0
Tolerance of Non-Conformity		11	12	34	35	0
Other		4	13	11	4	0

It can be seen that there are major differences of attraction between the remote, village and rurban clients and the urban strata. It would appear that the key attraction for both the urban clients and indigenous urban households was the supply of cheap property. This highlights the constrained position within the local housing market of the urban households. In contrast, economic enticements appear less influential for the remote, village and rurban clients. Rather these social groupings were attracted to the Hebden Bridge district by a mixture of physical and socio-cultural representations which are ascribed the Hebden Bridge district. The overwhelming key attraction was the Pennine countryside.

Importantly, the following section will show that this attraction does not relate to singular representations of Pennine rurality. Rather there are a multitude of socio-cultural constructions of Pennine rurality which are connected to distinct parts of the Hebden Bridge district. For instance, Table 8.14 shows that the attraction of the Hebden Bridge district for the village clients involved physical aspects (i.e. Pennine countryside, Northern landscape, access to cities) and socio-cultural elements (i.e. sense of community, peace and safety, tolerance of non-conformity). Residential household agency must therefore be examined within an holistic framework. The process is far too complex to examine specific locational qualities in a discrete form.

### 8.2.1 The Rurality of Hebden Bridge

Given that an industrial urban landscape lies at the core of the Hebden Bridge district, albeit partly sanitised and tamed, the rural representations of the district identified in the survey must be clarified. This is essential bearing in mind the recent academic debate regarding what constitutes the rural, as outlined in Chapter 3. In line with the conception that rurality is a socio-cultural construct, the definition of the Hebden Bridge district as rural will be based upon the respondent's self-representation of the district. In this sense, the Hebden Bridge district will be defined "as viewed through the eyes" of the greentriper and/or indigenous households.

Inevitably, this raised the problem that respondents might not have provided generic definitions of the Hebden Bridge district. It was likely that their definitions were influenced by the part of the Hebden Bridge district in which they resided. This was not regarded as problematic since the aim was to explain why particular client greentrippers were attracted to specific locations. With reference to Table 8.15, there is little doubt that elements of rurality are key components in respondent's self-definitions of the Hebden Bridge district.

Table 8.15 - Description of Hebden Bridge (Head of Household)

Location	Client				Indig. Urban
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	
n=	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)
	%	%	%	%	%
Rural	92	94	42	39	29
Urban	0	0	0	12	57
Semi-Rural	8	3	56	49	14
Suburban	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	3	2	0	0



Table 8.15 demonstrates that rurality is most obviously a defining element of the Hebden Bridge district for remote and village clients. This is not surprising given that these individuals reside within or adjacent to rural areas. Yet it appears that remote and village clients hold alternative representations of rurality. Differences became apparent when the clients were asked why they had defined the Hebden Bridge district as rural. Of the 26 remote clients, 77% cited the presence of the moor tops. In contrast, 78% of the 32 village clients cited the prevalence of working farms, country lanes, green fields and sheep. The following chapter will show that these differing representations of rurality, are fundamental in explaining why particular types of greentriplier congregate in specific locations of the Hebden Bridge district.

Similarly, a distinct representation of rurality is associated with the rurban and urban clients. Table 8.15 reveals that the Hebden Bridge district was defined as a semi-rural place by approximately half the rurban and urban clients. Significantly, when asked why they had defined the Hebden Bridge district as semi-rural, many transplanted rurality from the surrounding village locations. 72% and 67% of rurban and urban clients claimed that “Hebden Bridge is not urban, it is more rural” (24), because it is surrounded by working farms, fields and sheep. Importantly, the rurban and urban clients did not make reference to the moor top locations. Meanings of remote rurality were not evident in their representations of rurality. An explanation of the rurban and urban clients disregard for remote rurality will be provided in Chapter 9.

In contrast to the clients, a significant proportion of indigenous respondents defined Hebden Bridge as an urban place. Past images associated with the textile era were important here in shaping these perceptions. For instance, when asked “why do you say that Hebden Bridge is urban?”, 52% of indigenous respondents stressed that it was an industrial place with mills and dense mill-worker housing. Unlike the rurban clients, the indigenous respondents did not draw upon the surrounding village imagery.

To a lesser extent, similar urban views were expressed by approximately a quarter of the urban clients. However, the dominant perceptions provided by urban clients paralleled the rurban clients definition of place, outlined above. It follows that the urban clients are redefining the urban location to satisfy their rural appetite. Indeed, it will be shown in the following sections that the urban clients have aspirations for the rurban location. As a result of economic constraint, the urban location is a trade-off in their search for the rurban location.

Table 8.15 highlights significant variations in the rural and urban location confirming that definitions of place are relative constructs. For example, what was rural to one rural client was semi-rural to another and vice versa. To explain these differences, it is necessary to set the definitions within a wider framework. For this purpose, Table 8.16 provides a cross-tabulation of respondent's description for place of origin and the Hebden Bridge district.

**Table 8.16 - Description of Place Of Origin and Hebden Bridge.**

Location (n=)	Clients											
	Remote (26)			Village (32)			Rurban (54)			Urban (23)		
Description - Place of Origin	Description of Hebden Bridge											
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>Rural</i> 1	9	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0
<i>Urban</i> 2	13	0	2	19	0	0	28	0	11	9	0	10
<i>Semi-rural</i> 3	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Suburban</i> 4	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	1

The link between definitions of place of origin and destination (i.e. Hebden Bridge) is most prominently illustrated by the rurban clients. As can be seen from Table 8.16, rurban clients in-migrating from a rural place view the Hebden Bridge district as a semi-rural place. At the same time, rurban clients who invaded from an urban place defined the Hebden Bridge district as a rural place.

It must be stressed that indigenous urban households were omitted from Table 8.16, since their place of origin is Hebden Bridge. An intriguing feature was revealed by the indigenous households when their description of their place of origin is compared with their present day description of Hebden Bridge. Every indigenous respondent cited that the Hebden Bridge district was urban, when describing their place of origin. However, when indigenous respondents were asked "How would you now define Hebden Bridge?", their responses somewhat contradicted their earlier definition of the place. Only 57% of indigenous respondents claimed Hebden Bridge was now urban. Past definitions of place clearly contrasted with present definitions of place. Moreover, this demonstrates the dramatic transformation which Hebden Bridge is perceived to have undergone. It will be argued in a later section that this transition results from the ruralisation of urban space.

On the whole, Table 8.16 indicates that the influx of greentrifiers into Hebden Bridge has involved an urban to rural migration. This finding invites further investigation given the diversity of urban space. Unfortunately, the survey did not collect data which distinguished between types of urban space (e.g. the

inner city or the suburbs). However, it is possible to establish the type and size of place of origin. Table 8.17 provides a breakdown of the key source areas from which client greentriever's in-migrated.

**Table 8.17 - Place Of Origin (Head of Household)**

Location	Client			
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban
n-	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)
	%	%	%	%
Hebden Bridge	0	3	0	0
Todmorden	4	3	6	22
Halifax (and Calderdale)	8	16	0	4
Burnley	0	3	6	0
Rochdale	12	6	6	4
Manchester	12	6	11	9
Bradford	8	3	7	0
Leeds	8	9	11	4
London	8	3	15	13
North West	15	13	11	14
Midlands	0	13	2	7
South East	1	3	6	0
South West	0	6	11	9
Scotland	4	3	6	9
Other	20	10	2	15

Significantly, Table 8.17 reveals an in-migration from metropolitan areas into the Hebden Bridge district. Although certain places of origin are concealed by regional categorisations (e.g. South-East), there is an evident influx from London, Manchester, Leeds and Bradford. In relation to these built-up sprawling areas, it is not surprising that the Hebden Bridge district is defined as rural or semi-rural by its inhabitants. This supports the view of the thesis that "rurality is in the eye of the beholder".

## 8.2.2 The Dynamics of Residential Household Agency

The following discussion will highlight the effect of changing socio-economic and life-cycle stages upon greentriever's residential household agency. For this purpose, an examination of the property dynamics of the sample groups will follow which targets first and current home data.

Prior to an examination of the most recent residential move made by households, attention will focus upon the selection of the first home in the Hebden Bridge district. Inevitably, there will be overlap between first and current property. Indeed, the analysis of the survey found that 55% of the sample had resided in one property only in the Hebden Bridge district. Data were not collected for intermediary residential moves within the Hebden Bridge district, since it was felt to do so would require an impractical questionnaire length. Similarly, unsuccessful residential searches made during the

residential making process of gentrification were not recorded.

In order to consider the dynamics of household movement within the Hebden Bridge district, analysis will begin with an examination of the 45% of the sample who resided in more than one property. It will therefore be possible to ascertain if DIY gentrifiers have remained in self-renovated property or if they have filtered through the housing market, becoming client gentrifiers of ready-made packages.

### **8.2.3 The First House**

The section will demonstrate that the gentrification of the Hebden Bridge district is not the exclusive outcome of colonising owner-occupier households. Evidence will be presented which indicates that during the 1980s significant numbers of client gentrifiers adopted residential strategies which incorporated discovery and patience. This reflected their long distance pattern of in-migration (outlined in Section 8.3.1). For many, initial entry into the Hebden Bridge district involved private-renting. This tenurial position enabled the client gentrifiers to obtain greater levels of knowledgeability of the housing market of the Hebden Bridge district.

It is argued that the swollen demand from affluent in-migrants for private-rented accommodation has had a detrimental effect upon the indigenous households. As private landlords have increasingly catered for the affluent market the supply of affordable rented accommodation has diminished. More importantly, private landlords have modified their practices to exploit client gentrifier demand. For example, one landlord stated “We no longer accept people on DSS. Why should we, we don’t need them anymore. They only bring you trouble” (LB). Therefore, as a result of changing levels of supply and demand for private rented accommodation, indigenous households have encountered problems of accessibility to the private rental market of Hebden Bridge. The process of invading client gentrifiers, privately renting prior to owner-occupation, is an essential component in explaining the gentrification of the Hebden Bridge district.

As a prelude to a discussion of the reasons underpinning the selection of the first home, it is necessary to establish a temporal dimension. Table 8.18 shows the period when the sampled households settled in their first home in the Hebden Bridge district.

**Table 8.18 - Date of Purchase/Renting of First Home**

Location	DIY		Client			Indig. Urban
	Village	Village	Remote	Rurban	Urban	
n=	(6)	(16)	(11)	(27)	(8)	(12)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1996 >	0	7	4	0	0	0
1994-95	0	15	15	9	25	0
1991-93	0	7	8	15	0	0
1986-90	0	53	23	44	25	0
1981-85	0	20	23	17	0	0
1976-80	0	8	19	15	25	0
< 1975	100	0	8	0	25	100

Significantly, Table 8.18 reveals that the majority of clients entered their first home in the Hebden Bridge district during the 1980s. This influx thus corresponds to the early phases of institutional greentrification, as outlined in Chapter 6. To reiterate, it was observed that Donald Rigg Estate Agency commenced the intensification of the greentrification process; supplying ready-made country property packages from the mid to late 1970s. A similar institutionalised perpetuation of the greentrification process, by the “plotter” network, followed in the rurban location during the early 1980s. Hence, the first home data refers overwhelmingly to client greentrifiers.

Table 8.18 also includes the incidence of DIY greentrifiers who settled in the Hebden Bridge district before 1975. In particular, given that DIY greentrifiers account for 18.8% of the village sample, this warrants the sub-division of the village strata into DIY and clients. It is deemed inappropriate to make such a distinction within the remote strata, since it contains only two “DIY” greentrifier households. It is also important to note the complete absence of DIY greentrifier households in the rurban and urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district.

The parameters adopted for the definition of indigenous households have already been discussed in section 8.2.2. In the following tables, a number of urban households have been omitted from the indigenous category. Although these households fulfilled the temporal criteria (i.e. they moved into their first home in the Hebden Bridge district before 1975), they did not conform to the spatial boundaries of indigenous definition (i.e. they did not originate from Hebden Bridge, Todmorden or Mytholmroyd). Rather these households are DIY greentrifier households but will be subsumed within the client greentrifier category given their small number.

A further distinction must be made here between the DIY and client greentrifiers, with reference to Table 8.19, which shows the length of stay in the first home.

**Table 8.19 - Length of Residence in First Home**

Location	DIY		Client			Indig. Urban
	Village	Village	Remote	Rurban	Urban	
n-	(6)	(16)	(11)	(27)	(8)	(12)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Less than 1 year	0	43	36	44	50	33
1 to 5 years	67	43	36	54	13	33
6 to 10 years	0	0	0	0	13	26
11 to 15 years	0	14	28	2	24	8
16 to 20 years	33	0	0	0	0	0
More than 20 years	0	0	0	0	0	0

On the whole, “DIY” greentrifiers resided in the first home for longer periods of time than “clients”. As Table 8.19 reveals, over one-third of DIY village households resided in their first home between 16 to 20 years. These households may represent the DIY greentrifiers, who undertook the slow process of the self-renovation of country property (see Chapter 5). The presence of DIY village households who stayed between 1 to 5 years signifies DIY households who did not complete the self-renovation of country property. This reflects an observation made in Chapter 5, that some DIY greentrifiers exited the green spaces of the Hebden Bridge district as the “Good life” counter-culture was modified.

In contrast, client greentrifiers have a tendency to reside in their first home for less than one year. This can be explained by links between tenure type and length of stay. The survey found that of the 17 client households who resided in their first home for less than one year, 94% were private renters. Given the predominance of private renters in Table 8.20, these households play a crucial role in the dynamics of greentrification in the Hebden Bridge district. It is therefore necessary to consider why certain greentrifiers privately rent upon arrival in the Hebden Bridge district.

**Table 8.20 - Housing Tenure Structure (First Home)**

Location	DIY		Client			Indig. Urban
	Village	Village	Remote	Rurban	Urban	
n-	(6)	(16)	(11)	(27)	(8)	(12)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner-Occupier	43	50	60	26	29	0
Private Rented	57	50	40	70	71	57
Public Rented	0	0	0	0	0	43
Other	0	0	0	4	0	0

It can be argued that the movement into private-rented accommodation facilitates residential strategies of discovery and patience. The continuation of the residential search is essential for many invading client greentrifiers. Despite having the financial capability to purchase, many do not have a sufficient knowledgeability of the local housing market. The situation is exacerbated in some instances by property exchange time-lags between the place of origin and Hebden Bridge. Indeed, this feature is not

surprising given earlier observations, that numerous client greentrifiers have migrated into the Hebden Bridge district from distant areas (see Table 8.17).

The link between tenure type and place of origin is reinforced by Table 8.21. Of the 18 client households who have migrated into the Hebden Bridge district from distant places (i.e. in excess of 40kms), 73% privately rented their first home in the Hebden Bridge district. The 40km boundary was adopted to distinguish between in-migrants from the surrounding metropolitan conurbations of Greater Manchester, Lancashire and West Yorkshire and those from beyond.

**Table 8.21** - Client Place of Origin and Tenure of First Home

Type of Tenure	Place of Origin	
	Distance from Hebden Bridge	
	<40km	>40km
<i>n</i> -	(16)	(18)
	%	%
Owner-Occupier	89	12
Private Rented	10	73
Public Rented	1	25

The short sojourn in private-rented accommodation signifies that the client greentrifiers quickly discover suitable property within the Hebden Bridge district. Perhaps this signifies the efficient and effective services provided by the estate agents in Hebden Bridge.

A significant correlation between tenure type and place of origin is also evident for the owner-occupier client greentrifiers. As Table 8.21 illustrates, 63% of households who in-migrated from places within a 40km radius of the Hebden Bridge district became owner-occupiers in the Hebden Bridge district. It is argued that these households have a greater knowledgeability of the local housing market or can easily obtain information (i.e. visit Hebden Bridge). As a result, there is no requirement to continue their search for housing once settled in the Hebden Bridge district. The purchase of the first home is viewed as a longer-term venture (in relation to private renters). Indeed, the household survey found that 67% and 33% of owner-occupier client greentrifiers stayed in their first home between 1 to 5 years and 11 to 15 years respectively.

Attention will now focus upon the indigenous urban households. Similarities can be drawn between indigenous and private-renter client households. Both social groups stayed in first home private rented accommodation for short periods of time. However, the residential experiences of indigenous households cannot be explained by residential strategies which require discovery and/or patience. Rather, it can be argued that the indigenous households' residential experience stems from a constrained position in the private (and public) rental market. As outlined in a previous section the indigenous

households have fewer resources than the client greentrifiers, to compete in the local housing market.

Constraint is clearly evident in a later table (see Table 8.24), with 43% claiming that departure from private-rented first home was forced by the ending of lease. This contrasts with the voluntary movement into private rental accommodation by the client greentrifiers. Moreover, the influx of clients into private rental accommodation, prior to finding amenable housing for owner-occupation, may have reduced the choice of private rented accommodation available to the indigenous households.

### 8.2.4 Reasons For Selecting First House

Given the wide range of household types reflected in the first home data, a range of factors for residential selection is to be expected. This is evident in Table 8.22, which illustrates the differing reasons cited by indigenous, DIY and client greentrifier households.

**Table 8.22 - Reasons For Selecting First Home (Head of Household)**

Location	DIY		Client			Indig.
	Village	Village	Remote	Rurban	Urban	Urban
n-	(6)	(16)	(11)	(27)	(8)	(12)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Journey to Work	0	4	15	7	0	0
Friends in Area	0	8	0	0	4	0
Social Mix of Area	0	4	4	2	0	0
House Character	0	15	23	33	4	0
Location	17	12	23	35	9	0
Garden	0	4	8	2	0	0
Cheap Housing	17	18	19	34	9	0
House Availability	0	18	15	13	47	71

In accordance with the semi-structured interviews undertaken with DIY greentrifiers (see Chapter 5), Table 8.22 shows that DIY village households were primarily attracted to the Hebden Bridge district by its location and cheap housing. These qualities were viewed by the DIY greentrifiers as essential for the “Good Life” counter-culture. Elaboration of the cheap housing variable is required here. As one pioneer DIY greentrifier stressed during the survey: “it wasn’t the fact that it was just any old cheap house, it was the fact that it was the right type of old cheap house” (54). This quote strengthens the accounts of DIY greentrifiers given during the interviews. Many claimed that they were attracted to the Hebden Bridge district by the abundance of cheap country property in a rural location. Moreover, it emphasises the convergence of cultural and economic choices and constraints.



Table 8.22 indicates that the remote, village and rural client households are apparently attracted to the Hebden Bridge district for similar reasons. However, upon further exploration it is evident that client greentrifiers are attracted to the Hebden Bridge district by the supply of different types of property being available at different prices in different locations at different times. In short, Table 8.22 disguises deep divisions underpinned by cultural preference. An explanation of the cultural predilections underpinning the variation will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

At this stage the effects of the diversity of the landscape of the Hebden Bridge district must be noted. For the client greentrifiers, specific segments of the landscape represent alternative images of Pennine rurality. It is the selective consumption of these parts of the landscape that give rise to an internal geography of greentrifiers. Each package of rurality comprises constituent prerequisites, shown in Table 8.22 as house character, location, cheap housing and availability. However, in accordance with the landscape each package of rurality differs in size, shape and form. Pennine rurality is a social construct which is appreciative of distinctive locational time(s) and spaces(s).

In contrast to the remote, village and rural clients, Table 8.22 confirms the precarious position of the urban households in the property market. The most prominent factor in the choice of their first home is house availability, with over 71% and 47% of indigenous and urban client households citing this residential motive respectively. This feature can be explained by the urban households low levels of economic capital outlined in an earlier section. Moreover, constraint will have been intensified by the relatively high number of urban households who are public and private renters (see Table 8.3). Hence, the range of housing choice may have been minimal for indigenous urban households, confined to the Dodd Naze, Fairfield, Myholme, New Heptonstall and Chiserley council estates. Indeed, this supposition is endorsed by Table 8.23 which reveals that three-quarters of the indigenous urban households contacted the Local Authority when they began searching for their first home.

**Table 8.23 - Process When Seeking First House (Head of Household)**

Location	DIY		Client			Indig. Urban
	Village	Village	Remote	Rurban	Urban	
n=	(6)	(16)	(11)	(27)	(8)	(12)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(i) Set maximum price and look at different locations	67	0	83	71	75.0	25
(ii) Decide the location and look within price range	33	100	17	29	25.0	0
(iii) Contact Local Authority	0	0	0	0	0	75

Table 8.23 also highlights another very important finding in the search and selection of the first home. It reveals that elements of constraint were inherent in the “clients” influx into the Hebden Bridge district. The clients did not have an unbridled choice of housing in the Hebden Bridge district, they had to search within fixed price limits. These price parameters pre-determined the location of their search. This explains why of the 43 client households who considered locations other than the Hebden Bridge district, 76% claimed they chose the Hebden Bridge district because it was cheaper.

A further intriguing finding is provided by the DIY greentifiers, who stated they fixed upon location and then considered price range. This is not surprising given the low house values of country property, in need of renovation, which the DIY greentifiers consumed in the early 1970s.

In summary, differing levels of choice and constraint are evident across the strata during the selection of the first home. At its most extreme, constraint is greatest for the urban indigenous households. Faced with a diminishing supply of suitable accommodation, cultural inclinations in the form of locational and dwelling preferences are traded-off. The availability of a property at the right price becomes the dominant consideration for the selection of the first home.

The constrained position of the urban households, in part, stems from the residential household agency of client households. This scenario is consistent with remarks made by self-defined locals during semi-structured interviews. Many accounts stated that private rented accommodation in the Hebden Bridge district was being taken-over by “clients”. For owner-occupier client greentifiers, in relative superior socio-economic positions in the housing market, cultural predilections (locational and dwelling preferences) are the overwhelming consideration during the selection of the first home.

The following section will highlight the motives which have encouraged residential movement within the Hebden Bridge district. The incidence of internal movement within the Hebden Bridge district will validate a supposition made earlier, that some DIY greentifiers have become client greentifiers.

### **8.2.5 Reasons For Leaving First Home**

Table 8.24 shows the responses provided by the sampled households, when asked “why did you leave your first home and move properties within Hebden Bridge?”.

**Table 8.24 - Reasons For Moving Properties Within Hebden Bridge (Head of Household)**

Location	DIY		Client			Indig. Urban
	Village	Village	Remote	Rurban	Urban	
n=	(6)	(16)	(11)	(27)	(8)	(12)
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bigger House - Family Forming	67	43	52	20	38	50
Increased income	0	0	8	0	0	0
Decreased income	0	0	7	17	0	7
Wanted to buy after renting	33	43	25	38	0	0
Lease up	0	14	0	17	50	43
Other	0	0	8	8	12	0

The striking feature of Table 8.24 is that no respondents cited change of location within Hebden Bridge as a reason for leaving their first home. This *either* implies that respondents were already in the location of their choice within the Hebden Bridge district or in the context of this question, perceived the Hebden Bridge district as a singular location.

The findings reveal that in most instances, residential movement within the Hebden Bridge district was influenced by rising levels of socio-economic power and the maturity of life-cycle stage. Differences and transformations to household size clearly have a bearing on location of property and dwelling type and size. This emphasises a vital point which is often neglected in studies of inner-city gentrification, namely that gentrifiers do not belong to static social grouping. On the contrary, gentrifiers belong to social groupings which are fluid and constantly changing over space and time.

In the context of Hebden Bridge, the most obvious effects of life-cycle stage upon household agency are revealed by the village DIY greentrifiers. It can be seen from Table 8.24 that 67% left their first house to find larger property suitable for childrearing. At the same time, residential movement was also facilitated by rising levels of economic power.

As noted in Chapter 5, the DIY greentrifiers were at pre-family forming stages of their life-cycle when entering the Hebden Bridge district in the late 1960's/early 1970's. The majority were recent graduates from the surrounding higher educational institutions. At the same time, the DIY greentrifiers had minimal economic resources, as a result of "dropping out" of conventional employment. Accordingly, many DIY greentrifiers did not have the financial capability to take advantage of the low country property values. Indeed, it was discovered during the interviews that DIY greentrifiers frequently rented barns and attached cottages. This accommodation in many instances was owned by other DIY greentrifiers, who had the necessary capital to purchase cheap smallholdings. It was this availability of

barns and cottages for rent that permitted the communitarian philosophy of the “Good-Life” counter-culture. Hence upon arrival in the first home, many DIY greentifiers were private-renters at pre-family forming stages of their life-cycle with low levels of financial power. However, these personal and cultural characteristics changed as the “Good Life” counter-culture was modified. The DIY greentifiers discarded the unconventional and entered the labour market; utilising skills and credentials obtained from higher education. This transition resulted from the simultaneous maturity of life-cycle stage and increased socio-economic status noted above.

As the DIY greentifiers commenced family formation, higher levels of financial power enabled the tenure shift from private-renter to owner-occupier. The outcome of changing tenure is identified by Table 8.25, which shows the percentage tenure change associated with the move from first home to current home.

**Table 8.25 - Housing Tenure (% Change First Home>Current Home)**

Location	DIY		Client			Indig.
	Village	Village	Remote	Rurban	Urban	Urban
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner-Occupier	+ 50	+ 25	+ 45	+ 41	+ 50	+ 42
Private Rented	- 50	- 25	- 45	- 41	- 63	- 20
Public Rented	0	0	0	0	+ 13	- 22

Although similar tenure shifts are evident for the clients, these are not attributable to changing life-cycle stage or upwardly rising socio-economic status. Rather the tenure transformations represent the client households, who initially privately-rented in the Hebden Bridge district, fulfilling their desire for owner-occupation.

This finding does not under-estimate the implications of changing life-cycle stage for client household agency. As Table 8.24 reveals, significant proportions of client respondents cited that residential movement was stimulated by the need for bigger housing due to family formation. However, analysis of the survey data found that all these households owned their first home in the Hebden Bridge district. Hence, client residential movement motivated by changing life-cycle stage did not result in tenure shifts. Additionally, this finding does reveal that client households who owned their first home, entered the Hebden Bridge district at pre-family forming stages of their life-cycle.

Other notable features of Table 8.24 indicate that the choice of amenable housing for indigenous urban households is constrained. Nearly half of the indigenous households commented they moved housing because their lease had ended. Obviously these findings are influenced by the high number of private

renters in the urban location (see Table 8.20).

A further interesting feature of Table 8.24 is the incidence of rural client households stressing that they moved properties within the Hebden Bridge district due to decreased incomes. This finding may signify the lifestyle changes noted earlier, which accompanied the “dropping-out” of conventional employment activities. The shift of aspirations will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 9.

### 8.2.6 Current Home

In contrast to the first home data, Table 8.26 reveals that movement into current property is a recent phenomenon. With the exception of the indigenous urban strata, approximately 60% of households in each location entered their current property during the 1990's.

Table 8.26 - Date of Purchase/Renting of Current Home

Location	Client					Indig. Urban
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban		
n-	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)	
	%	%	%	%	%	
1996	28	27	12	22	14	
1990-95	31	40	27	40	13	
1985-89	22	22	41	30	36	
1980-84	8	9	15	4	37	
1976-79	11	2	5	4	0	
1975 & earlier	0	0	0	0	0	

More importantly in line with the temporal stages of gentrification of the Hebden Bridge district, over 90% of households in each strata moved into their current housing between 1981-1996. As outlined earlier, during this time period the processes of institutional gentrification have dominated in the Hebden Bridge district. Hence, the majority of respondents encountered in current property are defined as client gentrifiers. This conclusion is verified by other survey findings. For instance, 89% of client gentrifiers in their current property have not been involved in any major self-improvement or self-renovation activities. Rather they are consumers of ready-made residential packages.

Significantly, Table 8.27 shows that the client gentrifiers are predominantly owner-occupiers. This finding correlates with many earlier studies of gentrification, which note that home ownership is integral to gentrified way of life. For example, Warde (1991) claims that gentrification results in a tenure shift from private-rented to owner-occupied.

Table 8.27 - Housing Tenure Structure (Current Home)

	n=	Client				Indig.
		Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Urban
		(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)
		%	%	%	%	%
Owner-Occupier		96	80	76	78	36
Private Rented		4	20	20	9	14
Public Rented		0	0	4	13	50

There is very little evidence of recent waves of clients moving into the Hebden Bridge district as private-renters. Perhaps in-migrants are now willing to invest time and resources to find property which is suitable for owner-occupation before moving into the Hebden Bridge district. The effects of the national housing market slump may also be important here, giving rise to lower housing exchange activity. Hence, it is possible to prolong the property searching process in order to increase familiarity with the location. Indeed, the changing pace of the turn-over of property within the Hebden Bridge district since the late 1980s has been highlighted by all estate agents. For example, one estate agent remarked:

“We do our adverts on wednesday mornings and when it was the boom time we had people coming in on a wednesday morning to see what new instructions we had on. There were offers before we even typed the sale descriptions up. The houses were being sold before they were being advertised, people had to be quick. But since then everything happens much slower, people can ponder and have more time to think about whether it really is the house that they want.” (HAL).

Table 8.28 indicates that the search for the current home was predominantly led by a locational focus. This contrasts with the “house price” led search process for the first home shown earlier in Table 8.6. Hence, economic constraints appear less influential upon household agency during the search for current property.

Table 8.28 - Process When Seeking Current Housing (Head of Household)

Location	n=	Client				Indig.
		Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Urban
		(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)
		%	%	%	%	%
(i) Set maximum price and look at different locations.		12	15	16	21	7
(ii) Decide the location and look within price range.		64	67	49	32	14
(iii) Mixture of (i) & (ii).		24	18	35	26	0
(iv) Right to Buy option		0	0	0	21	79

No clear distinction could be drawn between the search process associated with the first and current home for the indigenous and client urban households. Rather Table 8.23 and Table 8.28 reveal parallels, house price constraints dominate during both search processes.

Significantly, for the indigenous urban households property choice and search is influenced by institutional policy and practices. As Table 8.28 illustrates there was minimal search processes involved during the selection of the current property. Approximately 80% of indigenous urban households purchased current property through exercising their right-to-buy. Hence the selection of current housing by indigenous households, in most instances involved a tenure shift within the New Heptonstall and Fairfield council estates, rather than a property shift. Once again the tenure shift is borne out in Table 8.27.

### 8.2.7 Reasons For Selecting Current Property

This section will show that higher levels of economic capital enable client greentriever households to add cultural preferences into their residential search and selection of current housing. At the same time, indigenous urban households are excluded from such practices by economic constraints. As a result, many indigenous households are displaced or marginalised to less attractive property in the urban location. Competition for this property is intensified by the urban clients, who it would appear are themselves excluded from the more desirable rural, village and remote locations by economic constraints. It is for this reason that the urban clients are included within the greentriever category, since they are constraining and limiting the access of the indigenous households to property.

The distinction between the “excluded” and “included” is well demonstrated by Table 8.29, which provides a breakdown of the reasons cited for the selection of current property.

Table 8.29 - Reason For Selecting Current Property (Head of H/hold)

Location	Client				
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Indig. Urban
n=	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)
	%	%	%	%	%
Journey to Work	19	13	24	22	7
Friends in Area	8	9	15	22	29
Social Mix of Area	4	19	24	26	0
House Character	65	50	22	44	36
Location	96	72	62	65	14
Garden	15	16	18	30	71
Price of House	42	31	47	52	36
Availability	0	0	9	22	71

A discussion of the most striking feature of Table 8.29, the prevalence of location and character of property will be provided in the next section. As a preliminary, the discussion will focus upon price of

house and availability, establishing the differing levels of constraint which underpin the ability to realise cultural preference.

Parallel characteristics appear to be exhibited by client and indigenous households, when comparing the economic aspects of Table 8.29. Most remarkable are the similar proportion of indigenous and client households citing price of property as an influential factor in the selection of the current home. However, this finding masks differing levels of choice and constraint between client and indigenous households.

In order to explain the gulf, attention must be drawn to the substantial number of indigenous households in Table 8.29, who cited the availability of property. The combination of property availability and price of house confirms the unfavourable position of indigenous households in the housing market. As one indigenous respondent remarked during the survey: “It was all we could afford, it was cheap” (135). Similarly, another respondent commented: “I was just happy to find somewhere to live in Hebden Bridge, I am one of the lucky ones” (143). The limited access to inferior quality housing has resulted in the residential polarisation of the indigenous urban households. Price of house and availability are perceived by indigenous households as negative factors constraining the selection of current property. Rather the key positive factor attracting indigenous households was friends in the area, pointing to the importance of maintaining local ties.

Although an high proportion of client households also mentioned price of property, few cited property availability as a factor in their search. In contrast to the indigenous households, the low price of property was as a positive factor influencing the choice of current property in Hebden Bridge by the client households. Indeed, many client interview respondents stressed the financial gains which they had made by relocating residence. This was especially true of the households who had in-migrated from distant places such as the south-east. For example, one self-termed ex-Londonite claimed: “We could have afforded to pay more, but why pay more when you do not have to. We got a bigger house in Hebden Bridge and still had change over from selling the other in London” (76).

Another notable feature of Table 8.29 is the prominence of clients citing the ability to travel to work. This reflects the prevalence of commuters outlined in Section 8.2.5, who travel to Leeds, Bradford, Manchester and other surrounding areas for work. Further cross-references are relevant here in relation to the significant number of rural and village clients citing the attraction of the social mix of the area.



This reflects the occupational division between Artistic and Creative Professionals and Teaching Professionals, which gives rise to a cosmopolitan social mix.

As noted above, the striking feature of Table 8.29 is the extent to which client households stated “location” as the reason for selecting current property. Given that Table 8.28 identified the importance of locational preference in the search for current property, the settlement of client greentrifiers in Hebden Bridge implies the realisation of locational preference.

It follows that the client greentrifiers influx into remote, village, rural and urban locations signifies a range of locational preference. Importantly, this preference is inextricably linked to differential dwelling preference (i.e. architectural form, dwelling size, building materials). The locational heterogeneity of the Hebden Bridge district signifies the socio-spatial fulfilment of combined location and dwelling preference. This is revealed by Table 8.30, which provides a breakdown of the location and dwelling attributes sought in the Hebden Bridge district.

**Table 8.30 - Locational and Dwelling Attributes Shaping The Search (Head of Household)**

Location	Client					
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Indig. Urban	
	n=	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)
		%	%	%	%	%
Town Centre (Not on tops!)		0	0	35	9	0
Walking Distance of Train Station		0	0	14	4	0
South Facing Side - Town Centre		0	0	0	4	0
Rural (On the Tops!)		54	59	0	0	7
No Preference Stated		46	41	51	83	93
	n=	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)
		%	%	%	%	%
Old Stone House		39	19	0	4	0
Large Victorian Terrace		0	3	23	4	0
Renovated House		7	0	0	13	7
Cheap and Affordable House		0	3	6	4	0
Pennine Country Property		15	6	0	9	0
Pennine Country Cottage		0	31	0	0	0
House with Garden		8	0	7	0	0
No Preference Stated		31	38	66	66	93

Table 8.30 illustrates that village and remote households have an inclination for rural locations. This, in part, is a result of being drawn to the Hebden Bridge district by the supply of Pennine country property, available only in the rural locations. Indeed, many stressed that they would not have considered such a property if it had been in the urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district. Despite Table 8.30 showing that both social groups have been attracted by old stone housing, a distinction must be made here. Table 8.30 further reveals that the village households were attracted by weavers cottages on the moor edges. Alternatively, the remote households were enticed by the scattered farmsteads on the moor tops. The

preference for differing types of old stone country property explains the spatial segregation of the village and remote households.

Table 8.30 demonstrates that the rural parts of Hebden Bridge satisfy the locational and dwelling preferences of the rural clients. Firstly, the plentiful supply of large Victorian terrace housing in the rural location fulfils their dwelling preference bias. Likewise, the rural location conciliates their locational preference for the town centre.

It must be stressed that the colonisation of the rural location involves cultural choice and economic constraint. For those rural clients who have the financial capability to consume country property, the movement into the town centre is culturally motivated. This was manifest by some rural clients emphasising that they did not want to live on the moor tops, when expressing locational preference.

At the same time, other rural clients highlighted that the movement into the rural location was a trade-off under constraint. During the semi-structured interviews, some rural clients made it clear that they did not have the financial power to purchase their ideal type dwelling in their ideal type location. Economic constraints excluded them from realising their preference of a country cottage in a rural location. Hence, the rural clients meaningful place-based consumption gives way to redefined rural representations. Such compromised rural preferences have legitimised the construction of rural space (ruralisation of urban space) by institutional actors (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Where institutional actors have failed to produce rural space, the influx by gentrifiers has occurred on a lower scale. This explains why particular unsanitised urban enclaves in Hebden Bridge have remained less gentrified. In these locations economic constraint over-rides cultural choice. This is shown in Table 8.30 by the less marked locational and dwelling preference; 83% and 93% of urban clients and indigenous households did not cite specific locational or dwelling preferences respectively. These findings do not indicate an absence of preference. Rather, preferences have been traded-off in order to remain an [urban] resident of Hebden Bridge.

Moreover, urban residential concentration and segregation has been exacerbated by indigenous households exercising the right-to-buy council housing (see Table 8.28). The characteristics of this housing on the Fairfield and New Heptonstall estates, explains why over 70% of indigenous households cited “garden” as a reason for selecting current property (see Table 8.30).

Given that locational and dwelling preferences have been achieved by some and traded-off by others, it is not surprising to discover that satisfaction levels vary within the locations of the Hebden Bridge district. This is revealed by Table 8.31, which shows the percentage of respondents who stated the part of the Hebden Bridge district in which they now lived had “more than lived up to their expectations”.

**Table 8.31 - Fulfilment of Expectations: “More Than Expected”**

Location	Client				
	Remote	Village	Rurban	Urban	Indig. Urban
n-	(26)	(32)	(54)	(23)	(14)
	%	%	%	%	%
Cultural	73	69	38	24	19
Economic	73	66	25	24	16
Physical	77	69	61	44	22
Social	77	66	44	34	16

It can be seen that satisfaction levels are highest in the remote and village locations. As outlined earlier, these are the locations where cultural preferences were actualised and imagined rurality realised. The lower satisfaction levels of the rurban clients, reflects the presence of households who had traded-off their cultural preference. Perhaps this indicates that only a segment of the rurban clients have discovered their redefined rural (rurban) representations. The link between the ability to exercise preference and subsequent satisfaction is endorsed by the low number of urban clients and indigenous households citing “more than expected”. The urban respondents are not residing in the location of their choice; the process of greentrification is clearly an exclusive practice for the relatively affluent. This explains why approximately one-third of urban respondents cited house prices and outsiders, when asked to name the worst things about living in the Hebden Bridge district. This contrasted sharply with the dominant negative attribute cited by the remote, village and rurban clients. Approximately one-third of these respondents in each location expressed disgust at the volume of traffic in Hebden Bridge. It is ironic that the factor undermining their idyllic representation of rurality is traffic, given the high car ownership of the remote, village and rurban client households.

### 8.3 Conclusion

The final part of this chapter, through an analysis of the 150 households sampled in the survey, has uncovered the dynamics of the residential decision making process of the greentrifiers and its implications for the indigenous population. In particular, attention has focused upon the reasons for the movement of greentrifiers into their first/current home and/or the reasons for their residential movement within the Hebden Bridge district.

The first home data revealed that the majority of households had entered the Hebden Bridge district during the 1980s; hence, the prevalence of client greentrifiers within the sample. More importantly, it was highlighted that during the 1980s greentrification was not the exclusive outcome of colonising owner-occupier households. Rather, it was noted that a substantial proportion of client greentrifier households entered private rental accommodation upon arrival in the Hebden Bridge district. It was contended that this tenorial characteristic reflected an in-migration from distant places of origin. Private renting enabled these client greentrifier households to gain a greater knowledgeability and awareness of space within the Hebden Bridge district, in order to identify suitable property for owner-occupation. Moreover, it was shown that the duration within the private rented accommodation was short, suggesting that property was quickly found in the Hebden Bridge district. Perhaps this feature demonstrates the efficient and effective practices (and pivotal role) of estate agents in Hebden Bridge. It was also identified that the indigenous households privately rented for short periods of time. In contrast to the client greentrifiers, the indigenous households did not vacate the accommodation voluntarily. Rather, it would appear that their residential movement was forced with significant proportions citing the end of lease, as the reason for moving property. Perhaps this was due to private sector landlords releasing property to take advantage of property price inflations and/or repackaging rental accommodation to cater for the more affluent client greentrifier households.

It was also shown that a substantial proportion of client greentrifiers purchased property prior to arrival during the 1980s. This was linked to households in-migrating from the surrounding conurbations. These households would have a relative high knowledgeability of the Hebden Bridge district and/or could easily visit the district when searching for property. In addition, the first home data identified a small number of DIY greentrifier households. This confirmed speculations made in Chapter 5, that DIY greentrifiers were attracted to the Hebden Bridge district by the availability of cheap property and the Pennine countryside. Furthermore, it was ascertained that DIY greentrifier's residential movement

within the Hebden Bridge district was influenced by rising socio-economic status and stage in the life-cycle. This transition emphasised the inherent fluidity of the greentriifier category.

Although evidence was presented which indicated that during the 1980s the key attraction of the Hebden Bridge district for the client greentriifiers was a cultural preference for the Pennine countryside, economic factors appeared crucial when selecting the first home.

On the whole, the current property data identified that the majority of the sample had entered Hebden Bridge during the 1990s. In contrast to the first home data, it was shown that client greentriifiers purchased property prior to their arrival in the Hebden Bridge district. There was no evidence of client greentriifer households entering private rental accommodation upon arrival. This contrast with the first home data may be a result of a reduction in the supply of private rental accommodation in the Hebden Bridge district. As already stated, private landlords may have cashed-in during the property boom of the late 1980s. Other possible factors may include the stagnation of the local housing markets during the 1990s. According to estate agents practicing in Hebden Bridge, the rate of property exchange has increasingly slowed down since the late 1980s. This may have enabled potential purchasers of property in the Hebden Bridge district, especially in-migrants from distant places of origin, to invest greater time and resources during the residential search.

Indeed, it has been identified that the residential search for current property was led by a cultural preference for the distinct location of the Hebden Bridge district. In particular, it was noted that during the 1990s client greentriifiers have been overwhelmingly attracted by the Pennine countryside. Significantly, *both* locational and dwelling preferences revealed that this preference for a rural residence has involved differing socio-cultural representations of the Pennine countryside. For the remote clients, it emerged that their conception of Pennine rurality encompasses Pennine stone country property on the moor tops. For the village clients, Pennine country cottages on the tops (in the villages) are the embodiment of their representations of the Pennine countryside. Finally, the rurban and urban clients representation of the Pennine countryside is manifest in large Victorian terraces in the town centre of Hebden Bridge. This cultural consumption of the Pennine countryside will receive pronounced attention in the following chapter, which examines the links between location, culture and the consumption practices of the client greentriifiers.

To conclude, it is clear that the Hebden Bridge district feeds the differing inclinations of the client greentrifiers, who are seeking to realise and live within highly distinct imaginations of rurality. Clearly, these very different imaginations of rurality are evoked by the landscape(s) of the Hebden Bridge district. On the other hand, it has been found that the (unpackaged) urban areas of the Hebden Bridge district do not readily evoke rural meanings for the client greentrifiers. As described in Chapters 5 and 6, the urban location has not been ruralised and the industrial past has not been sanitised in this part of the Hebden Bridge district. This accounts for the low number of (less affluent) client greentrifiers in these urban spaces. Indeed, the household survey has identified evidence which suggests that the urban spatial areas are becoming “indigenous” ghettos. The indigenous population is being spatially marginalised, as the process of greentrification promotes the segregation and separation of the constrained and the less constrained within the Hebden Bridge district.

It can be argued that like the urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district, other places in the Upper Calder Valley have not been repackaged. This may explain why greentrifiers have selectively entered the Hebden Bridge district. There has clearly been limited exploitation of the surrounding rural countryside and/or sanitisation of industry at places such as Luddendenfoot, Mytholmroyd and Todmorden. It should be noted, however, that regeneration projects are underway at Mytholmroyd and Todmorden which appear to be replicating the experiences of the Hebden Bridge district through the remaking of place. Only time will tell whether the experiences of the Hebden Bridge district can be transposed upon the other socio-spatial contexts of the Upper Calder Valley.

## *Chapter 9*

### *The Pennines: Backbone of Britain*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will examine the cultural motives which underpin the colonisation of particular locations, within the Hebden Bridge district, by distinct types of client greentifiers (remote, village and rural). Evidence will be presented which confirms that specific types of client greentifier consume selective mythical rural or rural Pennine packages, to satisfy cultural appetite. Accordingly, it is argued that cultural differentiation is an integral component of the internal geography of greentification, identified in Chapters 7 and 8.

In order to uncover the existence of location-specific mythologies within the Hebden Bridge district, findings from the household survey, semi-structured interviews and newspaper content analysis will be integrated. The purpose of this triangulated approach is two fold. Firstly, the package of data sources will establish and verify the cultural make-up of the client greentifiers. Secondly, cultural choices and trade-offs will be identified, wherever evident in the residential decision making processes of client greentifiers.

#### **9.1 Residential Voyage: “Into the Known Unknown”**

Before commencing with an examination based on client greentifier type, a key similarity between the client greentifiers must be highlighted. For all client greentifiers, the meaningful location-based consumption yields the discovery of difference, distinction and the unique; qualities distilled from Pennine “chocolate-box” imagery of the past. The residential voyage into the Hebden Bridge district thus signifies the search for this “boxed treasure”. Importantly, the “treasure hunt” does not entail the dangers normally associated with pilgrimages into the unknown. It is an adventure undertaken on the client greentifiers own terms. The location of the treasure is an abstract space of safety and residential fulfilment. It is a domain which represents the cultural values and beliefs, dreams and aspirations of the client greentifiers. Where incompatibility exists within the landscape, the client greentifiers exploit political and economic resources to symbolically redefine the landscape. This practice, undertaken by all client greentifiers, demonstrates that the rural and town centre location is “cultural action space”; where cultural capital is purchased, economic capital is conspicuously exhibited and territory defined by a politics of exclusion.

The chapter that follows will be based on greentriper type and is divided into three sections. Throughout the sections client greentrippers will be referred to as remote clients, village clients and rural clients. Section 9.2 will examine the cultural motives inherent in the remote clients' colonisation of the moor tops at Hepton. Section 9.3 will highlight the cultural aspects associated with the village clients' invasion onto the moor edges at Hepton. Finally, Section 9.4 will focus upon the rural clients' consumption of the repackaged urban parts of Hebden Bridge.

To establish a framework for the discussion, the following section will highlight a number of similarities between the remote and village clients; namely the desire to consume rural "chocolate-box" imagery of a Pennine past.

### 9.1.2 Representations of Pennine Rurality

"You can create a myth that you find congenial and apply that myth to the external surroundings. You can then live in a world that is congenial, even when it's a parody of reality" (JW).

Both remote and village clients are consuming and appropriating "repackaged" time-space[s] from the domestic system of textile production. Central to this recommodification of the past, are highly regionalised "Northern" representations of rurality, tied to sections of the blackened millstone grit landscape of the Pennines. This point was verified by the household survey, with 73.0% and 67.5% of remote and village clients citing the Pennine countryside as an initial attraction of the Hebden Bridge district.

Findings from the household survey suggested the blackened landscape was central to the remote and village clients representation of rurality. When asked if they had considered other locations and why they favoured the Hebden Bridge district, 60% of remote and village clients who cited Clapham, Settle, Grassington or Pateley Bridge, made remarks such as:

"These places didn't look right, they were too clean looking, too bright, less natural and sanitised" (76).

Similar comments were also made during the semi-structured interviews. Typical remarks included one remote client's assertion, when quizzed about the possibility of living in the Yorkshire Dales, that:

"I wouldn't really want to live in the Dales they are too manicured. I like the roughness and darkness here, it is less polished" (RH).



Hence, places in the Dales (and Peak District) appear incompatible with the remote and village clients mythical rural constructions. The “white limestone country” of the Yorkshire Dales and Peak District is the wrong colour because Pennine “chocolate box” imagery is black, not white! It is important to stress here, however, the blackened imagery of the rural landscape is a mythical mis-conception. As one respondent astutely noted:

“If they [the remote and village clients] think about it for one moment, the blackness on their stonework is pollution from an industrial aberration, not a natural rural paradise” (JW).

The “practice of redefinition” suggests that the remote and village clients are attaching selective myths to aspects of the Pennine rural commodity for very different reasons. The following sections will show, however, that the practice of redefinition enables both remote and village clients to seek self-realisation in green space; albeit following different lifestyles and under differing circumstances.

## 9.2 Remote Clients

“It happened about 20 years ago (1976), the alternative lifestyle brigade; accountants, solicitors and all the rest of them got pissed off with living in the towns. What you actually got was this situation; you have Leeds here and Manchester there and Hebden Bridge in the middle. There is nowhere else left to go. So apparently they all hit the same place at the same time and kept coming. Those who could afford it, the professional rural hermits, slowly bit by bit wanted to move away from the riff-raff, so the only place left was the greener parts of Hebden Bridge” (DD).

The “rural hermit” label, evident in the above quote, excellently denotes the type of individual attracted to the remote green spaces of the moor tops. The validity of the “rural hermit” label was substantiated by many interviewees. Typical remarks include:

“.. there are lots of people who like to look inwards and go into their shell, a lot of people investigating themselves on the moor tops” (IOB).

Similarly, the household survey found that 62.5% of remote clients cited “solitude or isolation” when asked to describe what attracted them to the Hebden Bridge district.

To explain the spatial concentration of remote clients on the moor tops, it is valuable to draw upon Giddens’ (1991) notion of “life-politics”. Giddens contends that a societal transition is taking place, in which individuals are less concerned with contesting the actions of others (‘emancipatory politics’) and more interested in negotiating their own lifestyle and self-identity. It is this concern with the self that Giddens terms “life-politics”; defined as a politics of self-actualisation which is practiced in reflexively

structured surroundings. Both the semi-structured interviews and the household survey suggested that the movement of remote clients onto the moor tops was motivated by similar aspirations of self-realisation. For example, three-quarters of remote client interviewees stated that living on the moor tops allowed them time to reflect and find themselves. When asked why this was possible, all referred to the socio-spatial isolation of the Pennine moor tops. To borrow Giddens' term, the moor tops appeared to symbolise a reflexively organised environment, devoid of the intrusions which inhibit self-realisation in highly urbanised areas. Typical remarks illustrating this point included:

"I lived in London for a while and I lost myself. But here I just have to look out of my window and all I see are endless moors, hills and sky. My view is not stopped by houses, lamp posts, cars or people. It's just me and the moors. This gives me a chance to contemplate and work out who I am. There's nothing to distract me but nature" (IOB).

The link between the "natural" moor top terrain and self-discovery is well highlighted by the "Everyman" movement, which travels throughout Britain promoting self-discovery. Interestingly, the first five sessions of 1997 took place at Colden, offering participants the chance to explore their relationship to soul, community and the earth. Other accounts of self-realisation included

"You don't get distractions on the tops and gradually you start to become interested in the surroundings. You start to feel the value of the earth, the trees growing, the grass growing. They start to have a real value, not just things to look at and this provides you with energy and therapy, to find yourself" (JS).

An important connection must be made here. The experiences of self-discovery appear to be linked to the socio-spatial isolation associated with the unrestricted spaciousness and limitless horizons of the moor tops. It is these feelings of infinite openness, extracted from the moor top landscape, that facilitate contemplation, detachment from society and thus free the remote clients from external intrusions. Remote clients are therefore able to pursue their quest for self-realisation.

At the same time, experiencing socio-spatial isolation allows the remote clients to discard the sense of collective identity, associated with social group affiliation and membership. This was expressed in the household survey in two ways. First, only 5% of remote clients stressed that they belonged to a local institution. Second, 90% of remote clients commented that the majority of their social life was not based in Hebden Bridge. Hence, the sense of belonging which the remote clients obtain from residence in the Hebden Bridge district, is a belonging to location and not people.

The fetish for solitude was also expressed in anti-communal remarks made by remote clients during interviews. At its most extreme, misanthropist feelings were manifest in comments such as: "I live up

here because I hate people. The only person you can trust is your-*self*" (RM). The preference to live in a "world of strangers" was revealed, when one remote client was asked what his neighbours were like. He replied:

"They are all here to be free of the noise and away from people. But if there is to be conflict I find it is more to be with these people, who are more like oneself. All these characters [his neighbours], they are all so bloody know it all. We are much more likely to get on each other nerves. So that is why we all keep ourselves to ourselves (RH)".

In order to contribute to self-realisation the remote clients are adopting a quasi-rural lifestyle. They are buying into a lifestyle which encompasses an idealised version of the Pennine farmer-weaver's natural and survivalist way of life. This reappropriation of the Pennine past satisfies the need for independence and insularity, reinforcing the sense of socio-spatial isolation sought by the remote clients. It is the inclination to realise this lifestyle that explains the remote clients' fascination with tradition and artefacts from the domestic system of textile production. The manifestations of these consumption tastes were clearly identified by the household survey, with 53.9% of remote clients citing the selective search for old stone Pennine country property (see Table 8.29). Other manifestations of the natural survivalist lifestyle were encountered while conducting the survey; these included remote clients hand-cutting logs for open fires, the milking of goats and the collection of "free range" eggs from chickens.

Clearly, the remote clients are not facing the reality of the Pennine farmer-weaver mythology. As the household survey identified, the majority of remote clients are dependant upon the surrounding metropolitan areas for employment (see Table 8.11). The ability to commute to the surrounding metropolitan areas on a daily basis is thus an integral element of the moor top lifestyle. Indeed, it is this ability that enables the remote clients to realise a further attraction of the moor tops, the paradoxical sense of attached detachment. Many remote clients have openly admitted this in interviews, for example, one interviewee stressed:

"Living here enables us to live in a relatively detached situation, a healthy environment. We are as close to it as you can be, without being part of it, because we can easily get back to the towns to work" (RH).

Moreover, the remote clients are not partaking in the local traditions of rural life. This was borne out in the remote clients objections to field sports (i.e. grouse shooting) on the moor tops. In response, one long term rural resident asserted:

"If the townies wish to move to a rural area they must learn to fit in with the rural ways and not try to change things to suit themselves" (HBT, 8/1/93).

The lifestyle of the remote clients is thus a pastiche, involving the reappropriation of a redefined rural past which is financed in present day metropolitan areas. It is a lifestyle which requires a materialistic foundation to overcome the hassles associated with the remote moor top lifestyle of the past (e.g. farm labouring and rural poverty).

As a result of this material exclusivity, households who do not have the necessary economic capital are excluded from buying into the lifestyle. In line with the findings of Chapters 7 and 8 the following conclusion can therefore be made. The moor top location is the exclusive territory of a relatively affluent, highly educated and professional type of greentriper, who seeks socio-spatial isolation and self-realisation from the moor top location.

### 9.2.1 The Rural Delights of Wuthering Heights

To reinforce socio-spatial isolation, the redefined natural survivalist lifestyle is connected to wild Pennine “Brontesque” rural imagery, emphasising self-realisation and undermining social belonging. Importantly, this involves distinct representations of rurality associated with the moor top landscape. As will be shown in the following section, this contrasts with the village clients’ representations of rurality, which is connected to the moor edges. Moreover, the distinction explains the separation of remote and village clients in the Hebden Bridge district.

The ensuing rural representation of the moor tops is the antithesis of dominant naturalised notions of the rural idyll. Socio-spatial seclusion, reinforced by the Pennine climate, replaces a rural communal way of life based on *gemeinschaft* social relations. In opposition to the bucolic imagery of the “green and pleasant land” (Newby, 1987), “Bronte” climatology conjures up images of gale-swept heather, winter drizzles, descending clouds of mist and drifts of snow. Given the centrality of this imagery within the remote client’s representation of Pennine rurality, it is not surprising that 65.5% of remote client respondents cited climate as the best thing about the Hebden Bridge district. In contrast, 42.5% of village clients stated that climate was the worst thing about the Hebden Bridge district.

Paradoxically, the package of “Brontesque” rurality enables remote clients to discover stability and security from the unpredictability of the moor top landscape. Unlike the literary connotations of moor top space, the mystical presence of the unknown is an attraction and not an hindrance. It enables peace and tranquillity to be extracted from the landscape rather than from associations with people. In short, the attractions of the remote moor top location are its physical assets and not the social characteristics.

Such images are embedded in the resistance from remote clients to a proposed wind-farm on the moor tops. Indeed, the Flaigh Hill Opposition Group's (FHOG) video, produced to contest the development of the wind-farm, was replete with Bronte references and the need to save the cultural heritage of the Bronte landscape. Ironically, FHOG brought the remote clients together in a collective movement and emphasised the professional character of the remote clients.

Hence, the desire to protect the Bronte landscape is motivated by an image which brings nature and the remote clients closer together; an interaction which reinforces the natural lifestyle and the need for independent survival. Typical remarks illustrating this point included one remote client's admittance of being pleasantly surprised by the harshness of winter and subsequent levels of isolation:

“When you are snowed in on the moor tops, can't get your car out and have to get through 3 miles of snow drifts it can be bit of a pain. Although it is bleak in the winter, it is good and healthy. It is natural! That's why I came here in the first place” (BL).

Other greentrifier types are sceptical, however, of remote clients' aspirations for isolation. For example, four-fifths of rural client interviewees stated that remote clients had not intentionally sought isolation (caused by climate) when they entered the moor tops. It was claimed that moor top property would have been selected on warm sunny days and the remote clients would not have realised what winter was like. Similar views have also permeated into the national press. On the letters page of *The Sunday Times*, a long term resident of Hebden Bridge was cynical of one “former urban southerner” who had recently purchased an old farmstead. He stressed that:

“Although he is less than two miles from the nearest pitted black olive supply, the winter winds of the Pennine tops are likely to leave him scarred... The lights of Hebden Bridge may be twinkling only a mile away down in the valley, but they might as well be in Siberia if there is five feet of snow blocking your access track. Those who can get out do so quickly; those who cannot often turn peculiar in the head” (*The Sunday Times*, 15/11/92).

It is debatable whether the remote clients are physically isolated during winter. When prompted with this issue, remote clients were reticent that they never get “cut-off” because they can always walk down into Hebden Bridge. Rather, it appears that adverse weather conditions interrupt the usage of vehicles and perhaps the remote client's ability to commute to the surrounding metropolitan areas. In this sense, the winter climate of the Pennines offers an isolation of the mind rather than a physical isolation.

### 9.3 Village Clients

The task of this section is to examine the sense of self-realisation and belonging which village clients obtain from residence in the moor edge villages. Underpinning the discussion will be a key finding from the semi-structured interviews; that substantial proportions of village clients were members of the “hippie generation”. For instance, one interviewee highlighted, when asked to describe the present residents of his village:

“We are the lucky ones who have made it. We were the hippies of the sixties and seventies, when being an hippie was fashionable” (JW).

More importantly, it will be shown that some village clients participated in the process of DIY rural greentrification during the late 1960’s to early 1970’s. As the household survey found, 27.3% of village clients were defined as former DIY rural greentrifiers (see Table 8.18). Evidence will be presented which demonstrates that many of these individuals now play influential roles in shaping the village landscape and maintaining the cultural identity of the village clients.

At the same time, it would appear that class constitution and membership is an important attraction of the village social structure. Comments demonstrating this inclination were consistently disclosed during all forms of research contact with the village clients. Perhaps the most vivid articulation of this point was provided a pioneer DIY rural greentrifier, who asserted:

“We are not like the middle classes who live in the suburbs of Manchester, Leeds or Bradford or any other metropolitan town or city. We are, if I can use the term, the “hippie middle class” who have grown up and got older. A better label to use would be the “non-conformist middle class”. We are less materialistic, less competitive and more co-operative” (JMAC).

Given these “non-conformist middle class” descriptions, Stott’s (1986) portrayal of an emerging “Alternative Type” social grouping during the mid-1980s, founded on a combination of 1960s radicalism, Eastern Mysticism and post-industrial greenish politics, is of relevance here. Indeed, the following sections will reveal remarkable similarities between the characteristics of the village clients and the “Alternative Types” (ATs), who according to Stott have:

“.. seen through all the materialist striving for bigger houses, faster cars, more expensive holidays, and better paid jobs - or they think they have. They are into self-exploration and voluntary simplicity. The ‘outer directedness’ of ‘conspicuous consumption’ has become the ‘inner directedness’ of the New Age. Their basic attitudes stress self-development, non-aggression, emphasis of the feminine side of human nature to redress the existing imbalance. They lay store to the less ambitious, less planned, less competitive lifestyles” (Stott, 1986 p.8).

Significantly, Stott presents a list of “places of difference” which are deemed compatible with the cultural predilections of the “Alternative Types”. As Figure 9.1 shows, in a British context Hebden Bridge is encompassed within this “geography of difference”.

Figure 9.1 - “Alternative Type” Places in Britain



It is important to stress that this is only one single representation of the Hebden Bridge district, but one which is highly consistent with the research findings. As the preceding chapters have highlighted the “alternative” qualities have been exploited and promoted by commercial institutional actors, especially to sell redefined urban parts of the Hebden Bridge district.

### 9.3.1 “Stepping Out” of the “Rat Race”

It can be argued that residual elements of the “good-life” counter-culture exist in the culture of the village clients; a feature which may be attributable to the influence of the former DIY rural greentifiers. Like the “good-life” counter-cultural predecessor, the culture of the village clients seeks self-discovery and inherently rejects the stresses of conventional employment relations, hours worked and commuting

problems associated with separation of home and workplace. However, in contrast to the “good-life” counter-culture, it does not involve a “dropping-out” from society to follow an anti-materialist culture.

Rather, the village clients culture entails a “stepping-out” from society, whilst maintaining links with capitalism yet on the village clients’ own terms. As noted by the household survey in Chapter 8, the village clients’ lifestyle is highly materialistic, with a desire for products which are deemed natural and authentic artefacts of the reclaimed Pennine past. The most expressive manifestation of this is the conspicuous consumption of the Pennine weaver cottage.

Parallels can be made here with Heelas’ (1995) discussion of contemporary expressivist self-ethic forms. Heelas asserts that statements associated with an hippie lifestyle of the 1960s and 1970s have been taken on-board by “New Age Professionals (Naps)”. However, Heelas makes an important distinction, pointing out that unlike the hippies, the “Naps” have not “dropped-out” of the capitalist mainstream. Rather they “are enthusiastically at work in the world of big business”. This contention is clearly of relevance here, given the village clients culture involves a “stepping-out”, rather than a “dropping-out” from the “rat-race”.

A further link must be introduced at this stage. The semi-structured interviews suggested that the impetus for the construction of the village clients culture stemmed from a detestation of the “*eighties* yuppie culture”. As outlined in Chapter 5, following the modification of the “good-life” counter-culture, many DIY rural greentrifiers “dropped back in” and compromised their anti-materialistic values and beliefs. Indeed, two-thirds of village client interviewees provided biographical accounts of how they had been an “hippie” before becoming immersed in the “yuppie culture of the *eighties*”, as solicitors, surveyors, accountants, architects, etc. For instance, according to a pioneer DIY rural greentrifier:

“We decided that lifestyle [the “good-life”] had limitations and we entered the big bad world, using are many competent skills to make our fortunes. But now we have gone back to our “good-life” roots, minus the poverty and discomfort of the sixties” (JW).

In this context, it can be argued that the return and/or re-connection with rural space does not symbolise a contemporary rejection of materialism. To borrow the words of Heelas, residence in the village location offers an opportunity to reconcile “the two ‘worlds’ of ‘life’ (where self-sacralization matters) and work (where the bottom line is economic productivity)” (p.155-156). Indeed, Heelas explicitly makes the connection between contemporary forms of self-expressivism and the “yuppie culture”, describing the new self-ethic forms as the “religion of the yuppies” (p.160).



Following these contemporary redefinitions of success and aspirations, financial status has been compromised and brought into line with health status. It is this change of priority that has resulted in the village clients' invasion into imagined therapeutic rural space, motivated by the search for self-discovery and an higher quality of life.

### 9.3.2 “Quality Rather Than Quantity of Life”

This section will show that the village areas of the Hebden Bridge district symbolise a retreat from the pressures of the modern world. This is an essential prerequisite to actualise the village clients cultural lifestyle. Like the DIY rural greentrifiers, a key attraction for the village clients is thus the physical detachment of the villages from metropolitan and small town urban space, including the town centre of Hebden Bridge itself.

It is useful at this stage to introduce Drucker's (1996) notion of post-capitalist society. Although there is conflict in the academic literature regarding the validity of “post-this and that”, Drucker's concept of “knowledge workers” is relevant to the village clients. Putting the controversy aside, Drucker argues that society has now entered a post-capitalist phase, in which knowledge is the dominant economic resource (the means of production). Two aspects of Drucker's thesis are particularly relevant here. Firstly, Drucker claims that the knowledge workers will not be tied to place of work because they “own their knowledge and can take it with them wherever they go” (pp. 4-5). Emphasis should be made here to the fact that this practice is highly selective and excludes many occupations which are tied to place. Secondly, Drucker anticipates that more individuals will seek an existential lifestyle based on “redemption, self-renewal, spiritual growth and virtue” (pp. 4-5).

In relation to Drucker's first point, occupational practices associated with the dominant “Artistic” and “Creative” professional grouping of the village location, are well suited to applying skills and knowledge from the home. Indeed, the household survey discovered that 24.2% of village clients worked from home (see Table 8.11). Obviously, the convenient utilisation of new technology is a fundamental factor in explaining the compatibility between work and home. Moreover, it is likely that the prominence of home-working was in fact under-emphasised by the survey. Upon further analysis, it was found that village clients who were “self-employed consultants” or “freelancers” (based in the home), often cited the location of their present client (e.g. Manchester) rather than “home”.

It appears that these “home-working” professionals, who have entered the village location, bear many of

the “self-renewal” hallmarks of Drucker’s knowledge worker. Both occupational and personal motives are important here. For instance, when prompted the “Artistic” and “Creative” professionals stated that they required an inward-looking reflexivity of the “self” for inspiration. Occupational motives must not be under-stated in explaining the link between Artistic and Creative professionals and the search for *self*. Typical comments illustrating this point included one artist’s claim, that she was attracted by the slow pace of village life:

“Everything goes too fast in the cities and you don’t notice anything. But up here, you have the time to study yourself, the landscape and other things around you. This gives ideas and inspiration.” (61)

More significantly, village clients consistently highlighted during the semi-structured interviews that they were seeking to rediscover their *self* at a personal level, by enhancing their quality of life. The most vivid quote which illustrates this point was provided by an architect (now working from home):

“I was very senior in a number of different corporate organisations in London and Manchester. It got to the point where I wasn’t doing what I wanted to do. I was doing what everybody else thought was logical to do. I was going out and earning lots of money. I was able to earn a big fat pay cheque every month but it didn’t seem right for me. It seemed daft that I was having to get up at 6 o’clock every morning, get on a train and struggle to get to the centre of London, work until seven in the evening and do the same thing five days a week. At the end of the week I still hadn’t done enough. So the rat race was wrong for me and I came here to escape and get away from all of that. That is what I mean by quality of life rather than quantity” (MC).

Clearly these feelings demonstrate a rejection of conventional employment practices and conditions. Residence in a detached village location is seen as the solution to finding an equilibrium between self and work, offering deliverance and salvation from the “rat race” of the metropolitan cities, whilst maintaining a compromised materialistic lifestyle.

Significantly, the village clients’ consumption of the village location is highly selective. As the household survey revealed, 51.1% of village clients stated that their search had been confined to Pennine weaver country cottages (see Table 8.29). More importantly, the semi-structured interviews identified the specific dwelling search was influenced by a reappropriation of the past. Based on an idealisation of the domestic system of textile production, a key attraction of the Pennine weaver cottage was the historical associations of working in the home. Typical remarks illustrating this point have included:

“If you are going to work from home, there’s no better place to do it than in a weavers cottage. I mean, they were built centuries ago, so that you could live and work under the same roof. So I thought, why not do it now!” (MC).

Hence, the contemporary influx of home-workers into the weaver's cottages, aptly signifies the weaving together of the past and present. Relative knowledgeability of the Pennine past is important here, giving rise to differing levels of the reappropriation of the past. In some instances the past may have been reappropriated following the purchase of the weavers cottage. It may have been an unintentional motive underpinning the purchase of village property, which interviewees only realised once in place.

The village clients are further attracted to the villages by their perception of an associated "less competitive" lifestyle. This is obviously an enticing quality for individuals wishing to "step-out" of the "rat race". It would appear that this link between lifestyle and location is constructed by the estate agents (see Chapter 6) and reproduced by all greentrifier types. For instance, when prompted to describe the village clients, remote clients consistently provided derogatory remarks, such as:

"They (the village clients) are extremely skilled people who are essentially non-competitors, living and doing their jobs in a non-competitive environment... The village is the hub of the alternative non-achiever" (JW).

Caution must be attached to these "non-competitive" and "non-achiever" labels. Competition remains integral to the occupational practices of village clients, despite the inclination for improved health status. Indeed, competition is a necessary condition of the materialistic lifestyle of the village clients, as described earlier. In addition, the "non-achiever" description is clearly off the mark. Village clients have voluntarily "stepped-out" of successful careers in search of a less competitive lifestyle, not a non-competitive lifestyle. The financial capability to purchase and maintain the country cottages demonstrates their previous and present economic capital.

At the same time, further links between lifestyle and location detract the village clients from residing on the moor tops. The highly competitive lifestyle which the village clients are seeking to escape is associated with the moor tops. Typical accounts highlighting this point include one village client's belief that:

"The moor tops are where the brash breed live, the sort of Thatcherite yuppie. There is a competitive edge to many of them, a sort of one-up-manship and bugger the rest of them mentality" (RH).

In conclusion, links between lifestyle and location clearly underpin the segregation of village and remote clients. To borrow the falsified descriptions provided by one remote client, "non-competitors" and "competitors" feel at home in the "non-competitive" and "competitive" atmosphere of the rural villages and moor tops respectively; illustrating a friction of cultural values between the moor edge villages and

the remote moor tops. Moreover, these perceptions emphasise the interdependent structuring effects of socio-spatial dialectics within the Hebden Bridge district

The socio-spatial gulf is further manifest in remarks made regarding consumption practices. For instance, the village clients were cynical of the remote clients conspicuous consumption practices. For instance:

“There was one chap called XX, who had moved in and bought a farmhouse near Mount Skip and he adapted it in a very pretentious and strange way. He converted a barn with a great big funny living space with a central seating area and a gallery with a telescope out through the roof, a great big chair hanging from a beam. One of those Italian chairs that swung and he had his own helicopter and he had an office in Milan, in London, one in Paris and one in Leeds, one in Manchester” (PT).

These accounts are somewhat surprising, given the village client’s cultural lifestyle is not anti-materialistic. As outlined earlier, the village clients mirror the remote clients conspicuous consumption practices, albeit the consumption of a differing rural package.

### 9.3.3 Belonging in the Village

It was outlined in Chapter 5 that a key attraction of green space for the DIY rural greentrifiers were notions of an idyllic rural communal lifestyle based on *gemeinschaft* social relations. Likewise, the village clients are attracted to the moor edge villages by a similar idealised rural lifestyle. It is this need to establish a sense of belonging which explains the selective concentration of village clients within the moor edge villages, as opposed to the isolated moor top farmsteads.

Idyllic village life is deemed to comprise an intimate and supportive community, with caring neighbours who respect traditional family relationships and household structures. These comforting images of the rural are anathema to the wild representations of rurality associated with the remote clients. The distinction was clearly revealed by the household survey, in which 43.1% of village clients cited that they were attracted to Hebden Bridge by the sense of community (see Table 8.14). In contrast, only 3.8% of remote clients cited sense of community as an attraction. This difference highlights a further key explanatory factor in the segregation of the remote and village clients within the Hebden Bridge district.

The village clients’ search for a communal, village lifestyle is manifest in the “rebirth” of local Methodist membership (especially in Heptonstall and Blackshaw Head). It is important to stress that

this does not relate to Methodist worship; rather the chapel has been redefined as the centre of community solidarity. The chapel is viewed as the central institution of village life; a link back to the past symbolising unity and *gemeinschaft* village relations. Indeed, three-quarters of village clients admitted that they felt compelled to join in community activities to obtain village citizenship. Significantly, these centred upon the chapel, for example, one village client commented:

“I just wanted to be a part of the village and if that means joining the Methodist Church, so be it, as long as I don’t have to worship” (54).

It must be made clear that the village clients are not attracted by historical connotations of religious non-conformity, which are associated with this area of the Pennines (Jennings, 1992).

Parallels can be drawn here, once again with Drucker, who states that citizenship “means active commitment. It means responsibility. It means making a difference in one’s community” (1996 p.155). Significantly, the village clients are “conforming” to obtain village membership and a sense of belonging, but importantly conformity is on their own terms. It is the village clients who are setting the rules for village membership.

Conforming to the village rules and accepting family values marks a major cultural division here between the DIY rural greentrifiers and village clients. As outlined in Chapter 5, the DIY rural greentrifiers discarded any aspects of conformity. In contrast, symbolic statements of resistance (e.g. dress codes) have been compromised as the former DIY rural greentrifiers (now village clients) have matured. Advancing life-stage cycles are important, therefore, in explaining the acceptance of village-specific conformity.

The gregarious village clients’ sense of belonging comes from a pluralistic attachment to institutions, people and place. These feelings are well summed up by an architect who lives in Blackshaw Head, who constantly rejoiced about community regeneration activities taking place locally. He began by asserting:

“We are trying to get some sort of community regeneration going up here. The Parish Council and the local Methodist Church have got together to organise the first ever Blackshaw Head fete. They have got together to try to put a sense of community back into the place” (RM).

He then stressed that a quarterly newsletter, titled the Blackshaw Headliner, was being published by the Parish Council. Significantly, the aim of the newsletter is:

“.. to engender a sense of the place with little snippets of history, tales from the past.

This all helps to make Blackshaw Head feel like a village and engenders a sense of community” (RM).

This example provides a superb illustration of the village clients’ reinvention of the past, to reconstruct a present day sense of community. Since the majority of the Parish Council and Methodist Church committee are affluent professionals seeking a sense of community, these actions must be placed in context. It is the manipulation of local institutions which allows the village clients (now well established in Blackshaw Head) to exert their definition of what community life in Blackshaw Head should be like. Indeed, a resident architect and member of Blackshaw Head Parish Council has modified the physical form of Blackshaw Head to reinforce village spatial identity.

Over half the village client interviewees expressed delight at the developments, because they felt that Blackshaw Head did not have a village identity prior to this. Typical comments included: “Blackshaw Head didn’t feel like a village because it was spread out” (67). Hence, as a result of the in-fill developments spatial identity has been redefined, as one respondent stressed:

“When you come into the village now, you come into a village which is built up on both sides and you know that you are physically in a village. You know that you are entering a real village community and then the road splits and you are out again” (62).

Interestingly, the architect responsible for the in-fill development was part of the plotter network which redefined Hebden Bridge in the late-1970’s, as described in Chapter 6. Now an agent of change in the village location, his actions illustrate the influential role which former DIY rural greentrifiers now play in the villages. Moreover, the example demonstrates that the moor edge landscape is being reproduced to represent the village clients cultural consensus for a “village” type landscape.

The desire for village community life was also apparent when the village clients opinion of isolation, (linked to the harsh winter climate), was examined. A unity of responses was clearly evident, with village clients stressing that isolation was “a good thing and a bad thing”. The negative implications of isolation in winter were noted by all interviewees. For example, one interviewee stated: “you soon realise how close to the limit you are” (RH). At the same time, isolation was seen as a positive quality of the location, because:

“The pubs never more fuller than when you can’t get out of the village. That type of things brings the best out in people, they all pull together” (RM).

It is therefore debatable whether the village clients would have considered entering the moor edge

settlements, if this had meant being physically isolated. Indeed, it emerged from the interviews that a further attraction of the moor edge settlements was the close proximity to Hebden Bridge (and Todmorden). For instance, when one village client was asked to explain the attraction of living in a moor edge village, he replied:

“I can stand at the end of my garden and I see Hebden Bridge that way and Todmorden the other way. But if I look up I can see moors all the way around. So as the crow flies, you could be in either Hebden Bridge or Todmorden by car in four minutes. I can walk into Hebden Bridge within ten minutes. So I’m detached but never cut off” (RH).

The physical isolation which the village clients experience is not “true” physical isolation (not like the Scottish Highlands). They are always “attached in the mind” to the Hebden Bridge town centre, due to its close proximity. As a result of this attachment, the village clients are not rejecting contact with the town centre of Hebden Bridge. Rather, they are simply rejecting the town centre location as a residential option, opting instead for a moor edge residence

Given the residential preference for the moor edges, it must be stressed that residential choice is not confined to Hebden Bridge. As Chapter 5 made clear, similar residential options in the Upper-Mid Calder Valley include the moor edges above Todmorden and Sowerby Bridge. It would appear, however, that the village clients hold the urban areas of the Hebden Bridge district in higher esteem than at Todmorden and Sowerby Bridge. The qualities of the Hebden Bridge town centre will be discussed in Section 9.4.

### 9.3.4 National Identity: “No Place Like Home[land]”

A further important finding of the semi-structured interviews suggested that village clients imagine they are rejoining a bygone age of “Englishness”. Although interviewees did not overtly divulge this belief, the attraction of re-creating a “white English” national identity was intimated. Typical comments of nationalistic sentiment included proud proclamations, such as:

“VE and VJ Day were celebrated up here in a big way, we had a massive “Union Jack” flying all day in the pub car park. It was wonderful” (RM).

Clearly, the village clients have invested meanings of national identity in the rural Pennine village landscape. This may express a subliminal exploitation of the metaphorical image of the Pennines as the “Backbone of England”.

National identity certainly appeared to be synonymous with “white”, although interviewees were not openly forthcoming about an appropriation of “white” space. Indeed, the issue was never raised directly during the household survey. The attraction of the “white” composition of the villages did, however, indirectly surface when interviewees were describing what had “pushed” them away from the location of origin. Over two-thirds of village client interviewees described an “escape” from the multi-racial haze of the large metropolitan cities. In some instances, respondents stated a lost sense of belonging in the metropolitan locations, for example:

“I lived in the inner city of Manchester and to be honest, I just didn’t belong there anymore, I felt like I was in the ethnic minority, not them anymore” (59).

Clearly for these interviewees, movement into the predominantly “white” villages offer a solution to lost senses of belonging. As the 1991 Census shows 98.8% of the total population in the village location were “white”. Similar features were also evident in the urban (99.1%) and remote (99.9%) areas of the *Hebden Bridge* district.

The attraction of a “white” social base is thus not limited to the village location, it is an overall feature of the *Hebden Bridge* district. This point is further endorsed by the household survey, which found that 93.3% of respondents defined themselves as “white”. These findings indicate that the greentrification process is predominantly a “white English” phenomenon, not just in the village location, but the whole of the *Hebden Bridge* district.

This conclusion does not, however, assume that all client greentrifiers are entering the *Hebden Bridge* district to discover a “white English” identity. On the contrary, when prompted rural clients stated that the absence of a black ethnic minority was a negative trait of *Hebden Bridge*. Hence, contrasting features can be emphasised here between the village clients and the rural clients. Unlike the village clients, the rural clients are **not** searching for a “White English” identity. There are no mono-national overtures apparent in the decision making process of the rural clients. The following section will show that this trait is central to the rural clients cultural acceptance of the “other”.

But why is there a lack of ethnic diversity in the locations of *Hebden Bridge* district? Perhaps this characteristic is the result of exploitative tactics of “rural gatekeepers”, who have vested interests in maintaining a “white English” sense of place and location; to attract further waves of village clients. This may explain charges of rural racism, that “estate agents in *Hebden Bridge* are doing their best to keep Asians and other foreigners out of *Hebden Bridge*” (45).



Obviously other factors are important in deterring a Black ethnic minority from entering the Hebden Bridge district, for example, a Black ethnic minority might not be able to identify with the cultural heritage of the Hebden Bridge district (Back, 1996). More importantly, “feelings of difference” may be intensified in the predominantly “White” spaces of the Hebden Bridge district. This would weaken any sense of belonging which a Black ethnic minority could acquire from the Hebden Bridge district. The absence of a Black ethnic minority in the Hebden Bridge district may therefore be self-perpetuating.

#### 9.4 Rurban Clients

This section will discuss the rurban client’s cultural consumption of a rurban package. It will be shown that this rurban package combines three distinct mythical representations of Hebden Bridge’s industrial, rural and recent past; depicted by an honey-coloured stone-cleaned millstone grit landscape and bounded by a green periphery. Significantly, the honey-coloured facia of Hebden Bridge symbolically clashes with the blackened rural landscape of Hepton. As already observed in Chapters 5 and 6, the development and form of the rurban package has been greatly influenced by the agency of commercial and local government institutional actors during the remaking of Hebden Bridge.

The following examination will highlight that the rurban clients both demand and play an active productive role in maintaining and protecting all aspects of the rurban package. Furthermore, it will be revealed that Hebden Bridge symbolises a safe site of lifestyle formation, offering the potential to consume a “Pennine”, “rurban” and/or “alternative” lifestyles; which facilitate a revival of community. It will be shown the playful ability to adopt juxtapositional lifestyles, harmoniously tied to place and people, is a key attraction of Hebden Bridge for the rurban clients.

In this context, the switching of sense(s) of belonging in Hebden Bridge may represent “new sociations” (Hetherington, 1990), since the socio-cultural practices associated with the Pennine, rurban and/or alternative lifestyles:

“... are joined out of choice and people are free to leave. People remain members in part because of the emotional satisfaction that they derive from common goals or experiences. Membership is from choice and many people will indeed enter an exit from such sociations with considerable rapidity” (Urry, 1995 p.220-221).

### 9.4.1 Pennine Northerness: “Flat Caps n’ all”

The first aspect of the rurban package encompasses fictional time-space[s] from the factory system of textile production, in which small town Pennine Victoriana is glorified. This evokes romanticised imagery of a Northern mill town lifestyle; expressed in an imagined landscape of cobbled streets and stone terraced housing, in which women hang out laundry, children skip and play games, bakers push carts of freshly baked bread and neighbours chat and chuckle on doorsteps. All this activity occurs under the watchful eye of a chimney broken skyline of blue, with patches of green in the background. Plate 9.2 illustrates that these images are constantly reinforced by the photographic exhibitions of a local resident, Alice Longstaff, at the Tourist Information Office in Hebden Bridge.

**Plate 9.2 - Romanticising the Past**



Buying into this reworking of Hebden Bridge’s industrial past enables the rurban patrons to appropriate an idealised “Northern” Pennine lifestyle. Meanings of “Northerness” are summoned from both place and people, enabling a romanticised recovery of community. The rurban patrons extract these qualities from both the sanitised industrial landscape and the residue of close-knit working-class mill town community relations and services (i.e. local family butcher). This was evident in the household survey, with 39.0% of rurban patrons citing they were initially attracted to Hebden Bridge by its Northern landscape (see Table 8.14).

A further key attraction of Hebden Bridge for the rural clients is the uniqueness of Hebden Bridge's sanitised industrial landscape within a "Northern" context. The densely packed double-decker housing which is built onto the steep sides is highly specific to Hebden Bridge and provides a sense of difference and distinction. This is important for many rural clients, who claim to have experienced a "sense of placelessness" prior to moving to Hebden Bridge. In addition, the relative absence of the "hand of modernism" in the Hebden Bridge landscape dispels the curse of uniformity. As Chapter 6 outlined, Hebden Bridge encapsulates a diverse landscape built upon distinctive local aesthetics, which gives the place its unique and specific local character and sets it apart from other places in the Calder Valley and beyond. In summary, Hebden Bridge offers the potential to discover specific Northern and Pennine "roots" and anchorage to a place of uniqueness. Typical comments illustrating this point include:

"I like the landscape of Hebden Bridge because you cannot cast an eye without seeing the product of incredibly hard physical work. All the retaining walls, all the field boundary walls, the canal and its aqueduct, the 100ft high mill chimneys, the houses stacked on top of one another. It's a real "Northern" landscape, but by looking and living in it you don't have to experience the suffering and toil that produced it. It's this tension between its visual beauty and the conscience of human effort that makes it special. You can see the suffering but you don't have to suffer. It provides me with a real sense of my roots and my past, it shows me where I have come from. I feel at one with the place" (JT).

The Hebden Bridge landscape thus symbolises a past and present stability, in an unstable world. This is particularly important for those individuals who have spatially mobile lifestyles due to their occupation. For example, when a Managing Director of a leading sculpture charity was asked to name what he found attractive about the Hebden Bridge landscape, he replied:

"I prefer to believe in a world where there is some rootedness as opposed to a continual confusing flux. Although my own lifestyle is not one of setting down roots, I think my children will find continuity by living in Hebden Bridge" (RH).

It is ironic that the rural clients are consuming a fictional "Pennine" place in an attempt to get back to reality and establish roots in the place. The industrial landscape of the factory system of textile production was never characterised by honey-coloured mill buildings containing wine bars and restaurants. The upper and under-dwellings of double-decker mill worker housing was never "knocked together" for one household. The canal marina was never home to pleasure craft and day-trip barges. Indeed, it is unlikely that rural clients would have consumed Hebden Bridge, when it was depicted by labels such as "devils cauldron" and "valley in the shadow of death".

To reinforce and legitimate the "Northern" and "Pennine" identity some rural clients appear deeply

interested in the past of Hebden Bridge. This accounts for the rapid rise in membership of the Hebden Bridge Local History Group (HBLHG). Indeed, the HBLHG is the most illuminating example of the rural clients' obsession with the past. Since the late 1980's, rural clients have played an increasing role in the management and administration of the HBLHG.

Importantly, the rural clients have not been able to exert total control. This was made clear by the Secretary of the HBLHG, remarking to the President (both rural clients):

"They [the local population] may have let you be President but they won't let you do anything without their say so" (PM).

In response, the President agreed with this claim, citing an example for verification:

"I suggested computerising the archive catalogue. I even started doing it and then the elder members of the committee came down on me in the committee meetings and voted it out. One of the ex-librarians said it shouldn't be done and they backed her" (DM).

The indigenous local resistance to change stems from a local scepticism of outsiders. For instance during one period of participant observation, one elderly local made the comment:

"They come in, they have not been here long and as soon as you know it, they are wanting to change things. To me, they shouldn't come here in the first place if they don't like what is here" (FB).

Given this viewpoint, it is questionable why the indigenous locals are so willing to let the rural clients join the HBLHG? The reason for acceptance relates to the personal and technical skills of the rural clients. Typical comments made by indigenous locals, highlighting this point have included:

"It's great, they [the rural clients] are so enthusiastic. It's one good thing the "off-cumdens" have brought in, enthusiasm. They also know how to publicise it and that all helps to protect the history of the place" (BM).

By exploiting the rural clients, the indigenous local members are safeguarding their nostalgic representations of the past. This is clearly manifest in HBLHG publications and presentations. For example, the "History of Hebden Bridge", produced by HBLHG, is replete with romantic stereotypes of the past. These include comments such as:

"It was a time when everybody knew everybody else, when you could go out and leave the door open, when you went to the chip shop for a "fish and a penn'orth, when Woodbines were five for twopence and Yorkshire were County Cricket champions again" (Spencer, 1991: 151).

In contrast, **some** rural clients are seeking genuine representations of the past. The rural clients feel this is essential in order to identify with the past and understand the “real” dynamics of the place. As a consequence, the rural clients are frustrated by the older members of the Local History Group. The discovery of the past is not forthcoming and a sense of a “Northern Pennine” past is not acquired. Rather, they feel that they are simply living out a fantasy of the “good old days”. This may be detrimental to the rural clients acquisition of a true “Northern” Pennine identity. They have no “real” sense of Hebden Bridge’s past.

#### 9.4.2 A Rural Lifestyle

Combined to the idyllic reworking of the industrial past are bucolic representations of the surrounding rural village landscapes of Hepton. The agency of commercial institutional actors is important here in instilling rurality into the urban character of Hebden Bridge. For instance, local actors admitted that local shops had been intentionally given names, such as *Countrystores Delicatessen*, *Countrywear*, *Farmstores Delicatessen*, to exaggerate the rurality of the place. Importantly, the rural construct does not incorporate the moor top rurality of Hepton. As revealed in Section 9.2.2, this landscape invokes feelings of isolation and insecurity for the rural clients.

The incorporation of the rurality into the urban character of Hebden Bridge, enables the rural clients to amalgamate rural and urban lifestyles; constructing a rural lifestyle. As one interviewee articulated:

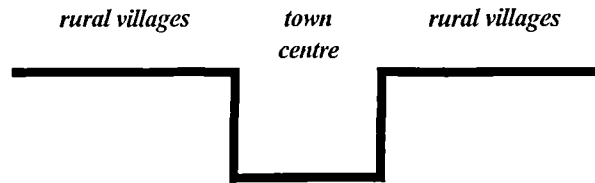
“People get the best of both worlds in Hebden Bridge. If they want they can have an urban lifestyle alongside a rural way of life. They get civilisation and the countryside in one environment. Hebden Bridge provides the atmosphere of the city without the disorder which goes with places like Manchester and Leeds” (LB).

The opportunity to adopt fragments of a rural lifestyle stems from the proximity of the surrounding countryside. This was a key attraction cited by all rural client interviewees, when asked to explain why they had chosen Hebden Bridge. Typical comments reflecting this point included:

“It was important for me to be able to walk out of my front door and get quickly to the countryside. That is why it is a terrific place to live. One of the reasons why I don’t want to move out onto the moor tops, is that I like the fact that I can walk into the town and do my shopping. Or I can walk the other way and be out in the countryside in five minutes” (CR).

This infusion of rurality within the urban form of Hebden Bridge is clearly integral to the topographical nature of the Upper Calder Valley. Numerous metaphorical images of buckets and bowls were made by respondents to describe the landscape. Perhaps the most apt analogy was an up-turned bowler hat, with

Hebden Bridge squeezed into the hat top and the moor edge village locations spread out along the brim.



It is this propinquity of the rural villages that enable the rurban clients (and commercial institutional actors) to redefine the urban character of Hebden Bridge. All rurban client interviewees referred to the reconstruction of Hebden Bridge, stressing that countryside is very much part of the place, for example:

“Even though Hebden Bridge is pretty urban you are only a few minutes away from a rural setting and the open countryside. So the people who live in the town centre class Hebden Bridge as a rural town as well as an old historical industrial Pennine town” (HAL).

Likewise, this sense of place was clearly evident in the household survey, with 41.8% and 56.4% of rurban clients defining Hebden Bridge as rural or semi-rural, respectively (see Table 8.15). As previously stated, the rural associations of place are captured from the visible moor edge village landscapes which encircle Hebden Bridge. This was confirmed by the household survey, in which 72.2% of rurban clients cited the presence of working farms and fields when asked to explain their rural or semi-rural definition of Hebden Bridge.

The rurban clients are dipping into this village rurality, drawing on images of safety and security in an idyllic village community life. Parallels can be drawn here with the village clients. Both groups are consuming notions of a neighbourly, caring and supportive community, free from the ills of metropolitan crime and violence.

These notions of a village community are transposed and maintained within the town centre location by the rurban clients. This practice is exemplified by the Steepfields Action Group (SAG), comprising a group of residents at Windsor Road who joined forces to contest development proposals on a “green open” site. This site was unofficially viewed by the residents as a “*village green*” and according to the Chairperson of the SAG had “been used by children to play on and by residents for hanging washing, street parties, sunbathing and communal bonfires for years” (*HBT*, 10/1/92). Indeed, the SAG highlighted that the site had been used for the past twenty years and the Calderdale District Council were requested to declare the site an official village green, under the Commons Registration Act (New Land) 1969. As a result of the SAG campaign, the site was designated the first official village green in Britain under the Commons Registration Act (New Land) 1969. This example highlights the well organised

political practices of the rural clients and their capacity to inscribe the imagery of Hebden Bridge as a safe and secure place by exploiting local political institutions. As one recent in-migrant pointed out: “you don’t come up against the harshness of modern daily life in Hebden Bridge, it’s got a cosy safe village atmosphere” (LM).

This imagery is a key attraction for rural clients, wishing to escape the antithetical symbolism of metropolitan areas. For instance, Hebden Bridge was viewed as a solution for one interviewee who wanted to escape the fears imposed by the Yorkshire Ripper in Bradford. The imagery attached to Bradford at the time was clearly highly detrimental, for example; “It was like being under siege”, “the atmosphere was horrific”, “everyone was worried” (RH). The rural clients’ perception of Hebden Bridge as a safe and secure place were shattered in 1993, when local schoolgirl, Lyndsey Rymer, was found murdered.

Importantly, the moor tops do not conjure up “comforting” rural images for the rural clients. As outlined earlier, the moor tops symbolise insecurity and anxiety for the rural clients, for example:

“I would hate to live on the moor tops. I lived down Burless Lane for a while and although it was very beautiful, it was terribly isolated. There were times when I was in that house on my own and my next door neighbours were away. There was another couple above, up the hillside and I knew that they were also away. I was the only person for miles and I was just surrounded by the moors. I hated this and I was terrified!” (IOB).

The rural clients do not dismiss the moor tops completely. The semi-structured interviews revealed that they were appreciative of the role played by the moor tops in reinforcing the detachment of Hebden Bridge from metropolitan space.

Furthermore, rural client interviewees stressed the recreational and mystical value of residing close to the moor tops. These locational qualities are only deemed attractive when they are experienced without residential socio-spatial isolation. For example, many rural clients talked fondly of the functional isolation of the moor tops for leisure and reflection; symbolising spaces of retreat from social pressure and stress. Typical descriptions included:

“The moors are endless in their space. You can walk, run or cycle onto the tops in no time. You feel like you are in the middle of nowhere in a very short space of time. I love the sense of isolation while relaxing and having fun” (IOB).

In contrast to feelings about home, meanings of insecurity and anxiety read into the moor top landscape were viewed positively from the point of view of recreation. Rural clients expressed pleasure at the

adventure of experiencing the unknown when interacting with the moor tops. Comments highlighting these “tales of the unexpected” included:

“This is a magical area and it is lovely from a topographical point of view. The hills are all rounded and you get very different views according to the weather and different times of the day. You can get lost because it is different everytime you go out” (BL).

The mysticism of the moor top landscape is also enhanced by regional tales of witches, wicker marriages and UFO’s. These accounts may stem from the topography of the valleys which can “play tricks” on the eye, especially in the dark. For instance, one rural client recalled that when some friends visited her from London:

“They made the comment that they saw a light in the sky and they thought it was star, it was actually someone’s house lights flickering up on the moor tops. It really is a very deceptive landscape!” (DM).

Therefore, the moor tops embody paradoxical meanings for the rural clients. It provides safe fears and secure unpredictability which is distant, but which can be experienced from Hebden Bridge whenever desired. Hence, the close proximity of the moor tops is a key attraction for the rural clients, albeit at a recreational level. At a residential level, however, the moor tops are rejected by the rural clients and discarded from the rural package.

### 9.4.3 Maintaining Rural Associations

The desire to maintain the rural associations of Hebden Bridge explains the prevalence of pro-rural movements in Hebden Bridge. This is well illustrated by the Linden Mill Orchard Preservation Group (LMOPG). The LMOPG contested the Calderdale District Council’s proposal for a site of woodland to be earmarked for housing in the Unitary Development Plan. There followed a clear manipulation of the local press by the LMOPG to publicise its case, which highlighted the professional composition of the LMOPG and its pro-rural stance. As its Publicity Officer commented:

“The inclusion of this land in the plan means that we could end up with an hillside covered in houses rather than trees” (*HBT*, 13/9/91).

The collective efforts to maintain the hillside of trees was rewarded when the Calderdale District Council not only dropped their proposals but preserved the woodland. As the Hebden Bridge Times reported:



“Hebden Bridge residents are celebrating victory in their fight to preserve a woodland area and stop potential housing development plans. Tree preservation orders have been agreed to protect a wooded area between Mayfield Road, Rose Grove and the Buttress” (*HBT*, 31/7/92).

The protection of the adjacent encircling rural boundary maintains the distinct spatial identity of Hebden Bridge. Moreover, emphasis of self-containment and detachment from other places reinforces the meanings of security and safety. The rural boundary expresses a clear beginning and ending of Hebden Bridge’s place in the world. This is particularly alluring for rural clients, who referred to a lost sense of identity in Leeds, Bradford and Manchester. Typical remarks included:

“I think the geography of the valley gives it a sense of boundary. When I go back to Leeds there is all this urban sprawl merging together. There is no break or barrier of difference. Whereas, here you get a sense of identity” (DM).

A spatially distinct Hebden Bridge is important, since many rural clients were reticent that they had not considered any part of Mytholmroyd and/or Todmorden as residential options when searching for property. Typical unprompted remarks illustrating this point included:

“I wouldn’t live in Todmorden myself, I wouldn’t fancy it. It is something to do with the fact that you don’t know when you have got into Todmorden. I don’t like the sprawling ribbon development that comes out of the town. I don’t like the canyon when driving into Todmorden” (CR).

The need to maintain a unique spatial identity explains the resistance towards the proposed Mayroyd scheme. This site is symbolic of the eastern boundary between Hebden Bridge and Mytholmroyd. As the Chairperson of the Mayroyd Action Group (MAG) argued:

“The special distinctive identity of each place will be lost in this strip development. Mytholmroyd does not want to be part of Hebden Bridge and Hebden Bridge does not want to be part of Mytholmroyd. Historically they have retained their separate identity, of which they are quite rightly, very proud” (*HBT*, 21/8/92).

The localised collective agency of the LMOPG and MAG are fundamental in sustaining the rural mythology of Hebden Bridge. The efforts enable the rural clients to remain resident in the Pennine countryside, albeit in a virtual rather than a material sense. This was confirmed by an influential institutional actor, who commented:

“They think that they are living in the countryside. They exaggerate the rural parts and relegate the nastier urban parts. So they get their little country cottage in the countryside, but in fact it’s in the Pennine Centre and not the countryside” (DD).

Issues of financial power are important here, given the rural clients’ evident preference for a country cottage in the countryside. It is debatable, however, whether the rural clients would have chosen a

rural residence rather than residence in Hebden Bridge (given unbridled financial power). For instance, preference is clearly the key motive for rural clients who purchase large Victorian villas on Birchcliffe Road (former homes of mill managers, known locally as “Snob Row”). These properties cost in excess of the majority of rural properties.

Obviously constraints upon choice exist for the majority of rural clients. As the household survey discovered many rural clients have low incomes. The move into Hebden Bridge may be a trade-off for many of these households, who are searching for a rural residence. However, in most instances the trade-off was taken in relation to other dwelling types within Hebden Bridge (i.e. the large Victorian villas on Birchcliffe Road) and not the rural locations.

#### **9.4.4 Social and Spatial Links: “Alternative People in an Alternative Place”**

“You can walk around Hebden Bridge with a paper bag on your head and nobody would blink an eye lid” (72).

The rural clients are also buying into Hebden Bridge to consume and participate in an alternative lifestyle, which is tolerant and respectful of the “other”. Social meanings are invoked from its reputation as a place of difference, offering liberation, intellectual stimulation, political and environmental awareness and freedom of expression. It is the attachment to this social imagery which provides a sense of belonging to people and place, thus facilitating the rediscovery of community. These features were noted in the household survey, with 45.5% and 33.6% of rural clients stating they were attracted to Hebden Bridge by a sense of community and the tolerance of non-conformity, respectively (see Table 8.14).

To maintain these “alternative” representations and the socio-cultural identity of the place, some rural clients play an active role in reproducing and reinforcing alternative cultural values and beliefs. To illustrate this point, reference is made to the Hebden Bridge web site on the internet; designed and managed by a former pioneer DIY rural greentriper (now a rural client). The content of the site reinforces the environmental consciousness associated with the DIY rural greentrippers in the mid to late-1970’s. For example, “*The Green Pages*” disseminates environmental information to raise awareness of the following; Pennine Green Business Network, SERA (the Socialist Environment and Resources Association), Recycling, Knott Wood Coppicers, Boulsworth Campaign, Greenpeace International, Newbury Bypass Home Page, Friends of the Earth and Centre for Alternative Technology

Through mediums such as the web site, some rural clients (i.e. the web site creator) are exercising

hegemonic power. This has enabled them to naturalise the counter-cultural values introduced by the DIY rural greentrifiers, becoming the dominant values and beliefs of Hebden Bridge.

Ironically, the counter-cultural beliefs have become somewhat of a paradox. The dominance of the alternative ideology has curtailed and undermined freedom of expression and an acceptance of the “other”; place-specific associations which attracted many rural clients to Hebden Bridge. Typical remarks expressing the suffocating effects of the now dominant cultural values include:

“You are very wary of chopping a tree down because you would be criticised for it. You have to think twice because you know that there will be quite a few people watching. They wouldn’t be approving. You would never be seen spraying your roses without anything other than “right-on” organic spray. Somebody would walk past if you didn’t and they would say “how dare you”” (IOB).

In addition, the web site reinforces the creative and artistic ambience associated with the “bohemianisation” of Hebden Bridge in the mid to late 1970’s, as described in Chapter 5. Substantial numbers of rural clients have joined the web site, advertising their creative and artistic skills on web pages which list resident poets and writers, photographers and artists. Typical descriptions include:

“Forever running short of life’s essentials - incense, corn dollies and hand-dipped candles - he [John Morrison] gravitated, naturally enough, to Hebden Bridge, where these needs are routinely met. In this delightful little mill-town you can hardly move for writers, shy poets, singer-songwriters, photographers, minimalist sculptors and commissioning editors for Channel 4, so he soon felt at home” (Hebden Bridge web site).

Not surprisingly, the web site is used as a key medium to promote the Hebden Bridge Arts Festival. For example, an extensive promotion of the 1996 and 1997 Arts Festival was undertaken on the web site (see White, 1998 for fuller discussion). Significantly, these efforts have relayed the presence of an artistic and creative community to a wide audience. The portrayal of community identity has clearly been a success, with one web surfer stating:

“I was struck by the sense of community instilled by these pages. This could be a reflection of Hebden Bridge as a place - I don’t know - but it’s a sense of community spirit I’ve never encountered on any other site purporting to support/reflect a local community” (Phillip Allen, Hebden Bridge web site).

Other rural clients have become active in the Hebden Bridge Arts Festival Committee. This committee has institutionalised and reinforced the artistic and creative ambience of Hebden Bridge. It has sought to put Hebden Bridge on the national “art map”, as is evident in the promotional literature of

the Hebden Bridge Arts Festival. Examples include:

“The connection between Hebden Bridge and the creative arts is well established, even to the point of it being described as: **“The St.Ives of the North”**” (Hebden Bridge Arts Festival Committee, 1995) .

The examples cited above reveal a very important transformation of the counter-culture of the DIY rural greentrifiers. In line with the changes experienced by the DIY rural greentrifiers, the counter-culture has matured and has become “professionalised” (i.e. Pennine Green Business Network). Importantly, these social and cultural transitions have not resulted in a modification of the underlying cultural values and beliefs. Numerous quotes illustrate this point, for example:

“Co-operative principles are still respected, socialist principles are still respected in this place. That people should care for each other is still respected” (IOB).

At the same time, these cultural values and beliefs are shared by the rural clients who have recently entered Hebden Bridge. For instance, one interviewee made the remark that:

“There are certain types of professionals living and moving into Hebden Bridge. The left-wing professionals who care about the environment and care about the past and history. People who care about each other. You don’t get the yuppie professionals moving into Hebden Bridge town centre” (CR).

Thus, although the socio-economic power of Hebden Bridge residents may have increased, the cultural values and beliefs which underpin the existence of rural greentrifiers in Hebden Bridge remains. As the examples of the Hebden Bridge web site and Hebden Bridge Arts Festival committee demonstrates, the rural clients are clearly supportive of the now dominant “alternative” ideology, albeit in a more professional sense.

## 9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the cultural consumption of the Hebden Bridge district in terms of client greentrifier types. Drawing upon the findings of the household survey and semi-structured interviews a number of conclusions can be drawn. In particular, it has been shown that all types of client greentrifiers have bought into mythical socio-cultural representations of Pennine rurality in order to acquire idealised lifestyles. In line with the geography of greentrification outlined in the preceding chapters, three main socio-spatial relationships have been identified between the cultural practices of client greentrifiers and distinct locations within the Hebden Bridge district.

First, it has been observed that the moor top location fulfils the remote clients cultural inclination for socio-spatial isolation; enabling the remote clients to experience solitude and self-realisation. It has been highlighted that the remote clients have adopted a quasi-rural lifestyle, fusing elements of the natural survivalism of the past, associated with the Pennine weaver, alongside contemporary daily commuting patterns to the surrounding conurbations. From this idealised reworking of a past lifestyle, the remote clients perceive a sense of independence in an environment which is perceived as “natural”. This is consistent with their anti-communal and insular residential existence. Indeed, the isolated retreat on the moor tops is reinforced by an appropriation, protection and reproduction of wild “Brontesque” representations of the moor tops. Importantly, it has been outlined that the reality of the remote clients representation of the moor tops is a misnomer. The isolation which they experience is an isolation of the mind rather than physical isolation.

In contrast to the remote clients, the village location fulfils the communal cultural aspirations of the village clients, who are seeking a sense of belonging within a less competitive social environment than the city. It has been stressed that some members of the village clients were former DIY rural greentrifiers in the late 1960s and early 1970s and have adopted many of the values and beliefs (albeit compromised) of the good-life counter-culture. However, rather than “dropping-out”, it has emerged that many village clients have “stepped-out” of the rat race into the village location in an effort to integrate work and home. It has been argued that the artistic and creative occupations of the village clients are well suited and necessitate this arrangement. Technological advancements are important here. Hence, it has been contended that the village location symbolises a safe place away from the ills of the modern metropolis. Residence in the village location offers the village clients the potential to obtain an higher quality of life and rediscover their self in a safe environment.

Cultural differentiation is thus a crucial explanatory factor in the segregation of the remote and village clients. Moreover, this segregation has given rise to dominant socially constructed symbolic representations of the moor top and village locations as competitive and non-competitive spaces, respectively. Such representations of the rural have in turn self-perpetuated the separation of remote and village client concentrations within the Hebden Bridge district.

In contrast to the blackened rural landscape consumed and reproduced by the remote and village clients, the chapter has noted that the rural clients are attracted by the redefined honey-coloured urban landscape of Hebden Bridge. This symbolises a site for the adoption of juxtapositional rural, Pennine and alternative lifestyles. The Pennine lifestyle is evoked by the sanitised landscape of the factory system of textile (fustian) production, which conjures up images of a close-knit small mill town

community. In search of this romanticised past and the roots and stability which it is perceived to offer, it has been observed that some rurban clients have joined and participate in the Hebden Bridge Local History Group with the aim of rediscovering the industrial past of Hebden Bridge.

At the same time, idyllised meanings of safety and security are extracted from the surrounding village countryside. This ruralisation of Hebden Bridge enables the rurban clients to adopt elements of a rural lifestyle alongside an urban lifestyle (hence the label “rurban” lifestyle). Importantly, it has been noted that the moor tops are not instilled since these locations symbolise unpredictability and insecurity for the rurban clients.

In addition, the rurban clients are attracted by the alternative connotations of Hebden Bridge. Tolerant of unconventionality, difference and the “other”, an artistic and creative community thrives in Hebden Bridge, offering the rurban clients an opportunity to rediscover a sense of community and an alternative lifestyle. Furthermore, it has been highlighted that many of the environmental concerns, values and beliefs of the DIY rurban greentrifiers have been professionalised and naturalised by the rurban clients in Hebden Bridge.

Without doubt, the diversity of the Hebden Bridge district offers different qualities to a range of individuals and households searching for differing types of landscape and location to fulfil specific cultural criteria. It is the capacity of the Hebden Bridge district to meet these cultural needs that is central to the dramatic physical, social, economic and cultural transformations which it has experienced since the late 1960s. The uniqueness of the Hebden Bridge district is thus tied up with the make-up of its *internal geography and its many faces of greentrification*.

## *Chapter 10*

### *Conclusion*

#### **10.1 Contributions of Thesis**

The preceding chapters have fulfilled the main aim of the thesis to provide an integrated theoretical account of rural gentrification. It has been shown that since the late 1960s the Hebden Bridge district has undergone a process of change, involving social, cultural, physical and economic transformations, which parallels inner city gentrification. More specifically, the nature of the transformation has involved two distinct stages. As documented in Chapter 5, the first stage (“DIY greentrification”) was initiated by in-migrant households (labelled “DIY greentrifiers”), drawn to the remote moor tops, moor edge villages and urban location by idyllic representations of rurality. Undertaking self-renovation activities, redefined rural and urban landscapes were produced and consumed by the in-migrant households. Chapter 6 and the subsequent chapters documented that as DIY greentrification gained momentum, commercial institutional actors gained control of the production activities, supplying and promoting ready-made “rural” and “rurban” packages founded upon mythical representations of lifestyles and locations (“institutional greentrification”).

Crucially, this thesis has noted the impact of the two stages of change. It has been highlighted that as the mythical packages have been consumed by an influx of “client greentrifiers”, property prices in the Hebden Bridge district have escalated. As a result, the local indigenous households have been displaced and marginalised. The outcome of the greentrification process is the production and maintenance of a number of territories associated with distinct greentrifier types. In reaching these findings, it can be argued that the thesis makes a number of important contributions to the existing literature.

First, in line with the working definition outlined in Chapter 2, processes of gentrification have been identified outside the confines of the inner city. In the context of the Hebden Bridge district, the processes of change have been associated with diverse meanings of rurality for differing groups of greentrifiers. The movement of relatively affluent households into the Hebden Bridge district, therefore, reflects a counter-urban migration pulse. This contrasts greatly with the urban (re)concentration of population associated with inner city gentrification. Hence, it can be argued that processes of gentrification are associated with differing forms of population movement.

To emphasise the rural strand of the process of gentrification, the label of greentrification has been put forward. This label implicitly reinforces the call for such processes of change to transcend the gentry connotations of gentrification. Indeed, the label of greentrification is proposed to draw greater attention to the range of affluent households who are aspiring to “greener” lifestyles and environments within the domain of gentrification, as is manifest in the migration into locations which evoke social and cultural meanings of rurality. It is important to recognise here, however, that gentrification is one of many processes which are restructuring rural areas (see Halfacree, 1997).

From this case study of rural greentrification it is impossible to identify the spatial extent of the greentrification of rural areas. As outlined in Chapter 2, an understanding of the extent of rural greentrification (and inner city gentrification) will be greatly influenced by the working definition of gentrification for research. For instance, if gentrification is viewed as an all inclusive label for processes of revitalisation, then perhaps the spatial extent of rural greentrification will be widespread, as this would subsume institutional stimulated processes of revitalisation. If, however, gentrification is viewed, in line with this thesis, as a distinct dynamic process of change instigated by counter-cultural households, then its spatial extent may be limited.

To assess the extent of gentrification within this framework, there is a need for researchers to take up the call and examine the dynamics of the process. For this reason, this thesis has suggested the metaphor of the “butterfly of gentrification”, which implies the diversity and complexity of the process. It is vital that the resting place of butterfly is identified. In locations where its presence is already known, it is necessary to monitor whether the butterfly flies away, remains in situ and/or mutates into another life form. As the DIY and institutional stages of greentrification in the Hebden Bridge district have highlighted, nothing stays the same forever; both concrete and abstract spatial constructions are in a constant flux of redefinition and change.

Importantly, whatever definition of gentrification is employed it should be acknowledged that rural greentrification is an important contemporary process of social, cultural, economic and physical change. Indeed, it is likely that its importance will rise as pressures for relatively high cost housing development encroach upon the urban fringes of surrounding metropolitan areas and the need to gauge the opportunities and/or constraints for high cost housing development in



rural areas intensify.

Bearing in mind these pressures, the findings of this thesis have reaffirmed an important issue for consideration. If the development of rural areas is viewed as an alternative to the suburbanisation of the urban fringe and the “eating away” of the green belt, its impacts upon less affluent households and the environment must be recognised. It is preferable that the social (and cultural) cost of future intensive high cost housing development in rural areas be considered in terms of the potential polarisation of less affluent households within contemporary rural societies and spaces. This thesis has illustrated one example of the negative effects which the greentrification of rural space can produce.

It is not being argued here that processes of greentrification are necessarily a bad thing per se. On the contrary, if managed sensitively greentrification may be one solution to alleviating the pressures for high cost housing development in urban areas, whilst at the same time, facilitating the revitalisation of declining rural areas. Greentrification may trigger a capital reinvestment, both economic and cultural, for the good of the wider population. The key to a “successful” process of greentrification is the need to mitigate the social, cultural and economic forces which stimulate the displacement, exclusion and marginalisation of less affluent households. For this reason, it is essential that local political institutions remain representative of the wider social system and alert to the needs of less affluent households (i.e. the supply of low cost affordable housing and services). Clearly, in the context of the Hebden Bridge district (and many other revitalised rural locations), this balance has not been case. Local political institutions have catered to the needs of the more affluent greentrifier households, maintaining the geography of greentrification which lies at the hub of the process of greentrification in the Hebden Bridge district and the displacement and/or marginalisation of the local indigenous households.

Although this thesis has not been concerned with an in-depth class analysis of the greentrifiers, it indirectly emerged that a number of class and cultural dimensions are important. These class related aspects provide a plausible direction for future research. Most notably, the findings of the thesis have intimated that links between the process of gentrification and an homogenous social class grouping cannot be assumed. In the context of this thesis, the effects of differing life-stages have been put forward as a key factor in explaining the consumption of different locations and landscapes within the Hebden Bridge district. Hence, the view that gentrification is associated with a distinct segment of the new middle class is questioned. Perhaps a greater depth of analysis of the micro diversities of the gentrified place would have uncovered this

characteristic more consistently in the urban literature. This reinforces the call made in Chapter 2 for the specifics of time and space to be instilled into studies of gentrification. Too often the urban gentrification literature has generalised, as opposed to scrutinised, the dynamics and complexities of the processes of change and the social groups and actors involved at different stages.

For instance, as outlined in Chapter 2, much of the urban gentrification literature is pre-occupied with the new middle class. Quite rightly, there is no getting away from the central role played by the new middle class in gentrification (and nor should there be). It can be argued, however, that the agency of “other” social groupings is also crucial to gentrification, expressed through self-renovation, cultural consumption and local political and voluntary action. Hence, a call is made for a wider focus of enquiry in research into gentrification, to ascertain the role of “other” social groupings during the different stages of the process.

It is important to note here the crucial role played by local voluntary institutions in enabling the process of greentrification and the remaking the Hebden Bridge district, as described in Chapters 5 and 6. The agency of local voluntary institutions has often been neglected in the gentrification literature. The need to recognise this aspect within the process of gentrification should be encouraged, especially since this level of agency (for example, indigenous local contest reflected in local movements) may prove vital to alleviating the “territorialisation” and “ghettoisation” of space associated with gentrification. Too often the local indigenous population are characterised as a “voiceless” population in the gentrification literature. In hindsight, this thesis is somewhat guilty of this charge of “smothering” the “other”, due to its focus upon the greentrifiers in the Hebden Bridge district. A focus upon the local indigenous population would therefore provide a direction for future research to follow.

Another major contribution of the thesis lies in its structurationist underpinnings, adopted to transcend the Structuralist and Humanist polarities of the gentrification literature. As the interactions between structure and agency were uncovered in the thesis, it emerged that the greentrification of the Hebden Bridge district was stimulated and nurtured by the local agency of key actors and institutions (motivated by cultural aspirations), who transformed structures of decline into structures of revitalisation. Importantly, it was noted that these structural conditions, facilitating greentrification, have been maintained and reproduced at a number of levels. First, they have been mediated by powerful local and regional institutions through an array of enabling and constraining planning frameworks over time. Second, they have been

reproduced through the profit-motivated agency of commercial institutions (e.g. estate agents) working within the institutional frameworks. Finally, the structures of revitalisation have been perpetuated through the cultural and political practices of the greentriifier households. Without doubt, the value of Hamnett's call for an integrated theoretical account of gentrification is borne out by the thesis. It is clear that the enabling and constraining effects of the structural conditions had a major influence upon the agency of local agents of change and vice versa in the Hebden Bridge district.

Despite the uniqueness and impact of the local contingent conditions upon the trajectories of the greentrification in the Hebden Bridge district, attention has also been devoted to the wider external structural conditions for change. This focus has enabled the thesis to highlight that greentrification has transformed the contingent and structural conditions for change in the Hebden Bridge district, yet has itself been transformed by the contingent and structural conditions. This reciprocal "see-saw" is the key to understanding the links between the distinct DIY and institutional stages of greentrification and the changing roles and motives of key agents of change. In particular, establishing the links between structure and agency has uncovered how and why the counter-cultural ideologies of the DIY greentrifier households have been exploited and redefined by the client greentrifiers and commercial institutional actors. It has illuminated the unique "genetic" characteristics of the greentrification process in the Hebden Bridge district. It has highlighted the meshing together of structure and agency in a particular location at a particular time.

The need to appreciate the links between agency and structure gave rise to the culture led focus of the research. It was vital to assess the extent to which the cultural consumption of differing representations of rurality was central to the transformation of the Hebden Bridge district. Importantly, the research revealed the intersection of the cultural and the economic in the greentrification process. The in-migration of greentrifiers to the Hebden Bridge district has involved a search for *affordable* Pennine rurality to fulfil cultural aspirations; not the search for Pennine rurality at any cost. Economic conditions have both constrained and enabled the cultural choices which the greentrifiers have made. Nevertheless, an understanding of cultural aspirations has provided an entry point into the workings of the process and the wider context which it has transformed and been transformed by (for example, the regional planning guidelines of the Calderdale District Council).

A further contribution of the thesis lies in the identification of the peculiarities of the Hebden

Bridge district in the wider context. In essence, the idiosyncratic nature of the case study has centred upon the importance of the locations and landscapes that exist within the diversity of the remote moor tops, moor edge villages and sanitised small town environment. Hence, the different range of combinations of small town and countryside settings have been stressed as a key factor underpinning the differing manifestations of greentrification. Clearly, the social, spatial and temporal specifics of the processes of change have had a major bearing upon the expressions of greentrification in the Hebden Bridge district. This responds to the call made in Chapter 2 for an appreciation of the local specifics of time and space within accounts of gentrification.

Given the particular locational attributes of the Hebden Bridge district (i.e. the combinations of rural and small town settings), it is questionable whether the experiences of the Hebden Bridge district are directly replicated in other contexts. However, the value of the thesis lies in the framework that has been provided for examining the revitalisation of other rural places, in terms of the stages of the process of greentrification. The identification of differing phases of the process of gentrification offers substantial scope for future research. For instance, although there is no empirical evidence that the nearby town of Todmorden has experienced a counter-cultural led stage of revitalisation, it appears to have undergone substantial rejuvenation since the early 1990s. This transformation shares many of the “institutional greentrification” hallmarks of the Hebden Bridge district. Research is required to assess whether Todmorden (or other locations) has become a significant alternative residential choice to the Hebden Bridge district for relatively affluent households searching for a rural residence in the Calder Valley.

This research agenda is extremely important, given that local media reports have recently begun to question the vitality of the Hebden Bridge district (based upon a survey undertaken by the University of Huddersfield). Fears have been expressed that the Hebden Bridge district may be losing its attraction as a commuter and tourist destination (*HBT*, 27/11/97). To alleviate these fears, there have been calls for local actors to remain vigilant and renew efforts to promote the district. Interestingly, the experience of the Hebden Bridge district calls into question whether gentrified areas experience post-gentrified phases or some other detrimental outcome. Perhaps the gentrified “monster” may eat itself, as the distinctive prerequisites which stimulated gentrification become homogenised and kitsch. Unfortunately, as previously outlined, there appears to be a lack of research interest in gentrified places after the process of gentrification has been identified. This gap in research needs addressing to enhance the understanding of the outcomes of gentrification. Perhaps future research may find that there is a need in all

gentrified locations to counteract the reimposition of structures of decline. In this sense, the structuration of gentrification will involve a constant battle with the forces of decline to maintain its survival. If local agents do not reinvent and/or reinvigorate gentrified areas, then they may spiral towards the decline that the process of gentrification extinguished. Hence, the gentrification research agenda must remain, whether it be focused on the inner city, rural locations or other spatial contexts not yet identified.

## 10.2 Reflections

Perhaps the greatest frustration encountered during the research was the constraints imposed by the practicalities of time and resources. For example, planned interviews and follow up interviews had to be abandoned when numerous attempts to make contact failed. This was particularly unfortunate when seeking an interview with the local millionaire, who financed the majority of renovation and redevelopment in Hebden Bridge (see Chapter 5). All attempts to obtain his own representation of the processes of change were either ignored or rejected.

Throughout the research it was vital to keep a grip on the focus of the research. This inevitably meant that some interesting aspects had to be put aside (or put on hold for future research!). For instance, interesting community dimensions emerged within the Hebden Bridge district from the semi-structured interviews and participant observation (especially with the Hebden Bridge Local History Group). These were not followed up since it was felt that this would deviate away from the main aims of the research and the focus upon the greentrifiers. Indeed, on reflection greater analysis of the experiences and attitudes of the local indigenous population would have been beneficial to gauge the reaction of the local indigenous population towards the process of greentrification. However, time constraints imposed here once again. Hence, there is some justification for not examining in depth the views of the “other” social groups in the Hebden Bridge district, in the context of this thesis. This does not, however, overcome the weakness of viewing the indigenous population as an homogenous social grouping.

As with the majority of studies of gentrification, the thesis has attached secondary importance to the identification and examination of the displaced indigenous population. This gap must be addressed in future research - although it is appreciated that it is difficult to follow the out-migration of indigenous households. Perhaps a solution to this problem is the collaboration with local estate agents and/or local housing authorities. In their role as “gatekeepers”, estate agents and local housing authorities not only open the “gate” to allow households to enter a

location, they also open the “gate” to let households out of a location.

It is possible that if a detailed examination of the indigenous population had been undertaken, the positive representation of the Hebden Bridge district in this thesis may have been muted. My own personal bias is important to note here. At a personal level I am fond of the Hebden Bridge district; it signifies many positive meanings and symbolises a location away from the ills of highly urbanised places. Indeed, during the final stages of the research, I too became a client greentrifier, experiencing a similar residential search process which the client greentrifiers had recounted during the research. In this sense, I too am guilty of reinforcing the academic discourse of rurality which promotes the “green and pleasant” imagery of the countryside (see Chapter 3).

Future research projects could also target the gender and racial dimensions of the process of greentrification. If time had allowed these aspects could have been investigated in greater depth. For instance, the household survey identified substantial proportions of dual career households in the Hebden Bridge district. Although these gender dimensions were acknowledged, it would have been beneficial to examine them in greater depth. Similarly, the racial dimension was briefly acknowledged in Chapter 9. It would have been valuable and interesting to follow this up, in order to clarify the links between commercial and consumer agency in terms of producing and promoting parts of the Hebden Bridge district as a “white” space. These two aspects do, however, emphasise the diversity of the processes of greentrification. Indeed, perhaps the thesis does underplay the complexity of the process of greentrification that the research uncovered. The piecing together of the story of greentrification in the Hebden Bridge district in a logical format does not “tell” the difficulties that were encountered in its construction.

If time and space had allowed it would have been beneficial to expand the focus of enquiry. The research could have been extended into other parts of the Calder Valley for comparative purposes. Ironically, although the thesis called for an appreciation of the specifics of time and space within the gentrified place, the thesis treat other places, such as Todmorden and Sowerby Bridge, as uniform entities. This was again a consequence of the constraints of time. The widening of the study area to examine the diversity of Todmorden and Sowerby Bridge, would provide an appropriate starting point for future research to build upon the findings of the thesis. This would yield a greater understanding of the factors (i.e. residential trade-offs with other places) underpinning the greentrification of the Hebden Bridge district. Clearly, the

transformation which the Hebden Bridge district has experienced since the late 1960s has not taken place in a vacuum. The process of greentrification in the Hebden Bridge district has been influenced by its wider context and as future research may identify, the process of greentrification in the Hebden Bridge district has important implications for its wider context.

In conclusion, this thesis has gone some way towards filling the rural gap within the gentrification literature on three counts. First, it has reinforced the contention that processes of gentrification are not confined to the inner city. Gentrification is a process which has no selective habits. Where there is the potential for gentrification and the conditions and/or agents to activate the process, gentrification will take place in any spatial environment. Second, this thesis has stressed the diversity and complexity of the gentrification process. Rather than taking for granted that gentrification is conceptually chaotic, the call has been made for researchers to pin down the concept and establish whether gentrification is a distinct and dynamic process of change or an ad hoc label ascribed to a multitude of processes of revitalisation. This thesis has set the ball rolling by viewing gentrification as a distinct and dynamic process. Never mind the proclamations about the death of the process of gentrification (see Chapter 2), the gentrification agenda must be reinvigorated and its focus widened. For this purpose, researchers must dispense with the spatial discrimination that has plagued the gentrification literature. It is vital that researchers are appreciative of “other” spaces in the gentrification process. Finally, this thesis provides a framework for further research into the inter-relationships between structure and agency in the gentrification process in particular time-space contexts. As the revitalisation of the Hebden Bridge district has exemplified, gentrification is a geographic phenomenon, with a sensitivity for the contextual effects of time and space.

## Appendix 4.1 - Questionnaire

### Household Survey - Hebden Bridge

*I would like to begin by asking you some questions about the members of your household*

1. How many people live in this household?

2. How many people are ABOVE school age ?

one	1
two	2
three or more	3

3. What are their ages

16-18					
19-24					
25-44					
45-65					
over 65					

4. How many members of your household are in pre-school/full-time education ?

none	1
one	2
two	3
three or more	4

If "none": skip to question 6

5. How many are in the following age groups?

0-5					
6-10					
11-16					

6. Which one of the following terms best describes your household?

Married couple with children	1
Married couple without children	2
Couple with children	3
Couple without children	4
Single parent with children	5
Single	6
OAP pair	7
OAP single	8
Other [STATE]	9



*I would now like to ask you some questions about living in Hebden Bridge.*

7. How long have you lived in Hebden Bridge?

less than 1 year	1
1 to 2 years	2
3 to 5 years	3
6 to 10 years	4
11 to 15 years	5
16 to 20 years	6
more than 20 years	7
all my life	8

If "all my life": skip to question 40

8. Where did you live before coming to Hebden Bridge?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

9. How would you describe that area?  
 [PROMPT FOR URBAN, SUBURBAN OR RURAL]

-----  
 -----  
 -----

10. How did you first hear about Hebden Bridge?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

11. What particularly attracted you to Hebden Bridge?

-----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----

12. Did you consider moving anywhere other than Hebden Bridge? If yes... where?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

13. Why did you move to Hebden Bridge rather than X?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

14. How many different properties have you lived in in Hebden Bridge?

One	1
Two	2
Three	3
More than Three	4

If "one" skip to question 26

*I'd now like to ask you about how you found your first property in Hebden Bridge?*

15. Can I begin by asking you - how long did you live in your first property?

less than 1 year	1
1 to 5 years	2
6 to 10 years	4
11 to 15 years	5
16 to 20 years	6
more than 20 years	7
Can't remember	8

16. Did you own or rent your first property?

Owner-occupier	1
Private Rented	2
Public/HA Rented	3
Other [STATE]	4

If rented; skip to question 21

17. How did you raise the finance for the purchase?  
[RECORD NAME OF BUILDING SOCIETY/BANK]

-----  
-----  
-----

18. When you started looking for somewhere, did you:  
[READ OUT]

Determine the maximum price you could afford and then look at different locations	1
Decide the location and then look within your price range	2
Other [STATE]	3

19. How important a consideration was the likely increase in capital value of the property?

Very important	1
Quite important	2
Not very important	3
Can't remember	4

20a. Did you make any MAJOR improvements to this property? If so what were they?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

If "No": skip to question 21

20b. Did you make the MAJOR improvements yourself or did you employ someone?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

20c. Did you take advantage of any grants or financial assistance when making the MAJOR improvements? If is so what were they?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

21. How did you find out about the property?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

22. If an estate agent was involved, who was it?  
 [STATE LOCATION]

-----  
 -----

23. Was your search for housing in Hebden Bridge confined to particular parts of Hebden Bridge? If so, which ones?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

24. Was your search confined to particular types of housing? If so, what were they?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

25. What in the end made you decide to buy/rent in this particular area of Hebden Bridge?

- The price 1
- Journey to work 2
- Social and Cultural mix 3
- Friends in the area 4
- Liked the house/street 5
- Liked the location 6
- Garden 7
- Other [STATE] 8

*Now I would like to ask you about how you found this particular property?*

26. How long have you lived in this particular property?

less than 1 year	1
1 to 5 years	2
6 to 10 years	3
11 to 15 years	4
16 to 20 years	5
more than 20 years	6

27. Why did you decide to move houses in Hebden Bridge?

-----

-----

-----

28. Do you own or rent this property?

Owner-occupier	1
Private Rented	2
Public/HA Rented	3
Other [STATE]	4

If renting: go to question 33

29. How did you raise the finance for the purchase?  
[RECORD NAME OF BUILDING SOCIETY/BANK]

-----

-----

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30. When you started looking for somewhere, did you:  
[READ OUT]

Determine the maximum price you could afford and then look at different locations	1
Decide the location and then look within your price range	2
Other [STATE]	3

31. How important a consideration was the likely increase in capital value of the property?  
[READ OUT]

Very important	1
Quite important	2
Not important	3
Can't remember	4

32a. Since purchasing your property have any MAJOR improvements been made? If so what were they?

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

If "NO": skip to question 33

32b. Did you make the MAJOR improvements yourself or did you employ someone?

-----  
-----  
-----

32c. Did you take advantage of any grants or financial assistance when making the MAJOR improvements, is so what were they?

-----  
-----  
-----

33. How did you find out about the property?

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

34. If an estate agent was involved, who was it?  
[STATE LOCATION]

-----  
-----  
-----

35. Was your search for housing in Hebden Bridge confined to particular parts of Hebden Bridge? If so, which ones?

-----  
-----  
-----

36. Was your search confined to particular types of housing? If so, what were they?

-----  
-----  
-----

37. What in the end made you decide to buy in this particular area of Hebden Bridge?

- Journey to work 1
- Social and Cultural mix 2
- Friends in the area 3
- Liked the house/street 4
- Liked the location 5
- Garden 6
- The price 7
- Other [STATE] 8

38. Would you mind telling me how much you initially paid for the property?

£.....

39. What do you reckon it is worth now?

£.....

40. Are you planning to stay in Hebden Bridge for the next 5 years?

- Yes 1
- No 2
- Other [STATE] 3
- Don't know 4

41. If not, where do you think you might move to?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

42. What do you think are the best things about living in Hebden Bridge?

-----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----

43. What do you think are the worst things about living in Hebden Bridge?

-----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----

44. How would you describe your "quality of life" in Hebden Bridge?  
 [READ OUT CATEGORIES IN GRID]

	Very good	Fairly good	OK	Not very good	Bad
Social eg community					
Cultural eg leisure					
Physical eg environment					
Economic eg financial					

45. Has Hebden Bridge lived up to your expectations as a place to live in terms of ...?  
[READ OUT CATEGORIES IN GRID]

	More than expected	Very much	OK	A little	Not at all
Social eg community					
Cultural eg leisure					
Physical eg environment					
Economic eg financial					

46. How would you describe Hebden Bridge ? For example, would you say that it's an urban place, a rural place or something else?

- Rural 1
- Urban 2
- Other [STATE] 3

47. Why is this?

-----  
-----  
-----

*Now, I would just like to ask you some questions about your shopping and leisure activities.*

48. Where do you shop for your weekly groceries?

-----  
-----  
-----

49. Where do you do your other shopping?

-----  
-----  
-----

50. Which of the following do you use in Hebden Bridge?  
[READ OUT CATEGORIES IN GRID]

- Antique shops 1
- Health food shops 2
- Second Hand Book shops 3
- Art/craft shops 4
- Galleries 5
- Cinema 6
- Outdoor Pursuits 7
- Local Clubs - e.g Trades Club 9
- Restaurants 10

51. If you went out for a drink in Hebden Bridge where would you go?

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52. Is the majority of your social life based in Hebden Bridge?

Yes  
No


53. If "no", where is it based?

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54. Would "YOU" now define yourself as a "local"?

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55a. Have you/your partner ever belonged to any local organisation, now or in the past?

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---

---

55b. Why did you join?

---

---

---

---

56a. Are you or your partner members of any regional/national pressure groups?

---

---

---

56b. Why did you join?

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---



*I would now like to ask you some questions about your employment situation*

57. What is the present/last occupation of your/other household members?

1	2	3	4	5

If retired; skip to question 61

58. Where is your/their place(s) of work?  
[PROMPT FOR TOWN/CITY]

1	2	3	4	5

If "work at home"; skip to question 60

59. How do you/they travel to work

1	2	3	4	5

60. Would you mind telling me which letter corresponds to your annual pay before deductions?  
[SHOW CARD]

less than £10,000	A
Between £10,000 - £15,000	B
Between £15,000 - £25,000	C
Over £25,000	D

*Finally, I would just like to ask you a few questions about your background, to provide a clearer picture of how Hebden Bridge is changing*

61. Where were you brought up?

-----

-----

62. Did your parents own their own home?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

63. What were the occupations of your parents?

Father	Mother

64. What type of secondary school did you/your partner go to?

	You	Partner
Comprehensive		
Grammar		
Public		
Other [STATE]		

65a. Did you/your partner go on to higher education?

	You	Partner
Yes		
No		

If "No": skip to question 66

65b. Where did you/your partner go for your higher education?

	You	Partner
University		
Oxbridge		
Polytechnic		
College of higher education		
Teacher Training College		
Other [STATE]		

65c. What did you/your partner study?

	You	Partner
Social Science		
Arts & Humanities		
Science, Technology & Engineering		
Business Studies		
Law or Accountancy		
Other [STATE]		

65d. What qualifications did you/your partner obtain?

	You	Partner
PhD		
MA/MSc/MPhil		
Degree		
Professional Qualification (e.g. law)		
Other [STATE]		

**RECORD****66. Address and Postcode**

-----  
 -----  
 -----

**67. Type of dwelling:**

Farmhouse	1
Converted Barn	2
Cottage	3
Detached	4
Detached (new build)	5
Terraced Villa	6
Double Decker - Upper	7
Double Decker - Under	8
Through Terrace	9
Back to Back	10
Other [STATE]	11

**68. Respondents Sex**

Male	1
Female	2

**69. Respondents Ethnicity**

White	1
Afro-Caribbean	2
Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi)	3
Chinese, Malaysian	4
Mixed-Race	5
Other [STATE]	6

## Appendix 4.2 - Sample Size for Enumeration Districts

ED Label	Total no. of H/holds	Sample Size (5%)
<b><i>Urban Location</i></b>		
New Heptonstall	143	7
Stubbings	124	6
Mytholm	140	7
Mount Skip	194	10
Fairfield	169	8
	<b>770</b>	<b>38</b>
<b><i>Rurban Location</i></b>		
Wood End	174	8
Birchcliffe	363	18
Valley Road	200	10
Central	170	8
Hangingroyd	194	10
	<b>1101</b>	<b>54</b>
<b><i>Village Location</i></b>		
Old Town	223	11
Pecket Well	107	5
Erringden	65	3
Old Heptonstall	263	13
	<b>638</b>	<b>32</b>
<b><i>Remote Location</i></b>		
Slack	83	4
Blackshaw Head	170	8
Charlestown	143	7
Colden	106	5
Hardcastle	22	2
	<b>581</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>3000</b>	<b>150</b>

## Appendix 6.1 - Six Themes for Regeneration

# THEME A—Concern for an Improved Environment



### (a) What is Mr. Black really saying?

- Top priority to be given to conserving areas of attractive environment and to improving areas of poor environment
- New housing, office blocks and other development allowed provided design standards are good and the environment is not damaged
- Public bodies to turn most of their efforts and energies to improving the environment when and wherever possible

### (b) What does Mr. Black want to see happen?

- Private developers encouraged to build new factories in the rundown inner city areas and in the coalfield and textile towns with local authorities helping by acquiring suitable sites
- Public money provided to clear away out-of-date industrial buildings and to landscape the sites
- Large scale redevelopment in town centres and out of town shopping centres discouraged; emphasis on improving existing buildings and filling vacant 'eyesore' sites
- Housing improvement favoured in most parts of the County rather than large scale redevelopment
- New houses built on derelict or waste land in urban areas in preference to the use of greenfield sites
- The "core area" of the County (see map on previous page) promoted as a main area for countryside recreation, in order to take some pressure off National Parks and beauty spots in other parts of the County
- A strict Green Belt policy to be applied
- Residents encouraged to use buses and trains rather than cars in order to sustain public transport and reduce congestion, traffic noise and fumes. More pedestrian schemes in town centres introduced
- New major road schemes largely abandoned, with heavy lorries restricted to special routes
- Leeds/Bradford Airport closed down

- Good agricultural land safeguarded and extensive tree planting encouraged, especially in the "core area"
- Waste disposal sites and mineral workings subject to strict environmental standards
- Government urged to make polluters pay pollution costs and to spend more on reclaiming derelict land

### (c) But will his ideas solve the problems?

The County's worst environmental problems could be reduced, but revised priorities for public spending would be needed and the community would face higher costs in order to achieve better environmental standards. In spite of this, economic problems would neither worsen nor improve very much, and the unemployed and low paid workers would gain little. Mr. Black is not seeking to prevent any further development. Proposals under this theme would not provide many jobs in the first few years, but environmental improvements in the inner city areas, the coalfield and textile towns may gradually help these areas to attract new industry. People dependent on buses and trains would benefit from greater investment in public transport, as would pedestrians in town centres.

On the other hand, car-owners and commercial vehicle operators would lose some of their freedom of movement and would experience a small increase in costs.

### (d) Can his ideas be achieved?

The policies imply increased Central Government aid, and a change in a number of national transport policies. They would place a substantial burden on the Metropolitan District Councils. Moreover the theme proposals could be threatened by both high rates of economic growth (putting extreme pressure on the Green Belt) or by low rates of growth (restricting the supply of money).

Given such changes it is perfectly possible to emphasise the improvement of the environment, as this would mean more efficient use of resources. The economic prospects of the County would, however, not be directly increased by Mr. Black's priorities.

## THEME B — Planned Economic Growth



### (a) What is Mr. White really saying?

- First priority to be given to fostering economic growth within the County with the full involvement of both the private and public sectors
- New industry and jobs encouraged in those areas of West Yorkshire with the best prospects for growth
- Investment by the public sector and private enterprise in the economically declining areas of the County reduced

northern extension of the M1 — to the east of Leeds

- Expansion of the Leeds-Bradford Airport
- Some Green Belt and agricultural land sacrificed to new housing where this is in the interests of promoting economic growth
- Land reclamation pursued mainly where it is profitable to do so and where it will help economic growth

### (b) What does Mr. White want to see happen?

- New jobs and industry encouraged to go to the potentially more prosperous eastern side of the County with older industries such as textiles continuing to decline, or at best to stabilise
- When choosing new industrial sites emphasis to be given at the local level to access for workers
- No restrictions on office developments, with Leeds and Wakefield benefiting most
- An ambitious programme for retraining workers to take advantage of any new jobs that can be established
- New house building by both private building firms and local housing authorities, concentrated particularly in 'growth' areas between Leeds and Wakefield
- Bus and train services reorganised to provide improved commuting facilities between the west of the County and new employment in the east
- Completion of the motorway network with priority to Kirkhamgate/Dishforth — the

### (c) But will his ideas solve the problems?

Proposals under this theme might lead to a moderate level of economic growth especially in the eastern areas of the County. The west of the County would benefit only indirectly through the improvements of east-west communications

On the other hand, the major economic and housing problems of Calderdale, Bradford and Huddersfield would persist at least in the short term, and pressing environmental problems would generally get scant attention

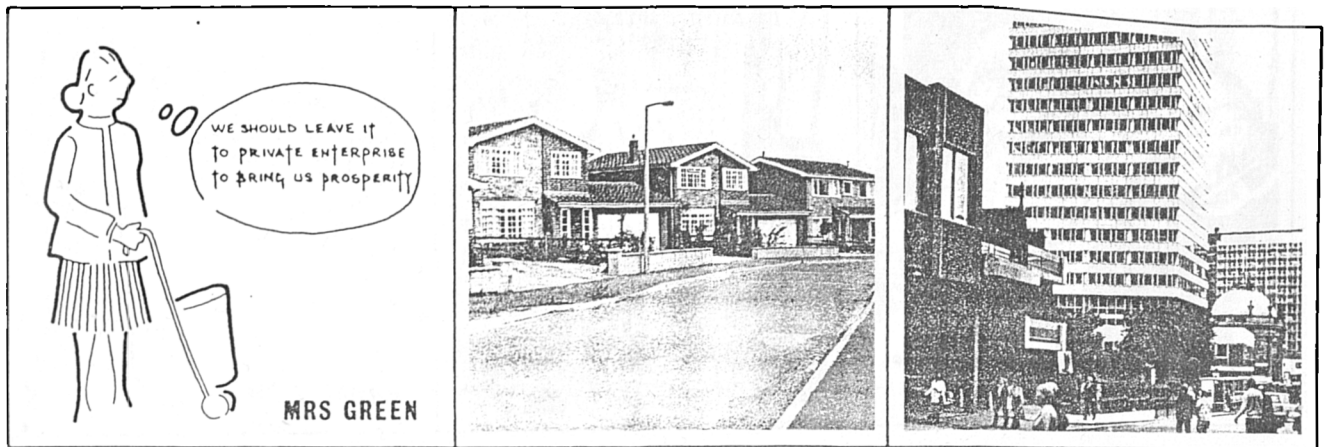
The theme proposals could benefit unemployed and low paid workers but only if they lived in, moved to, or were willing to commute to new jobs in the eastern areas of the County

### (d) Can his ideas be achieved?

The proposals demand a high level of finance from both the private and public sectors which may be forthcoming only by the relative neglect of social, economic and environmental problems in the less prosperous parts of the County.

The theme would be vulnerable to national economic performance.

## THEME C — A Market Forces Approach



### (a) What is Mrs. Green really saying?

- Priority to be given to securing economic growth within the County, even if this is at the expense of the environment
- The bulk of any financial investments in housing, factories and other activities to be made by private enterprise
- Local and other authorities to have a limited role confined mainly to minimum obligations under current legislation. Services provided to private enterprise to be on a 'break-even' basis. Rates reduced

- Bus and train fares raised to economic levels, with services cut back either partially or entirely in uneconomic situations. Employers obliged to provide more transport for workers
- Higher charges for car parking in the main city centres
- Minor motorway extensions only, notably to the M1 east of Leeds
- Land reclamation discontinued unless the land concerned could be profitably sold off. Green Belt and good agricultural land not protected from development

### (b) What does Mrs. Green want to see happen?

- Development permitted where it is most profitable
  - largely in the east of the County and/or in locations readily accessible to a motorway
- New shops and offices allowed in city centres and out-of-centre locations with developers meeting full costs of any extra public services such as roads and car parks
- Retraining of workers for new jobs financed entirely by private industry
- The great majority of new houses built by private building firms, with local authorities concerned primarily to provide homes for groups in special need
- New housing allowed in areas of high demand, notably the Wharfe Valley, north and east Leeds, in the Heavy Woollen District, north of Bradford, and south of Wakefield
- Low priority given to housing improvement except where profitable
- Leisure facilities financed mainly by private enterprise on a fee-paying basis often in Green Belt locations

### (c) But will her ideas solve the problems

A degree of economic growth achieved, with most change around Leeds, but the problems of the economically depressed western areas of the County increased. Housing problems of lower income residents would be made more difficult, and the County's existing stock of houses would deteriorate.

Environmental problems would be largely ignored and some rural areas developed. Bus and train services would be reduced to minimum levels.

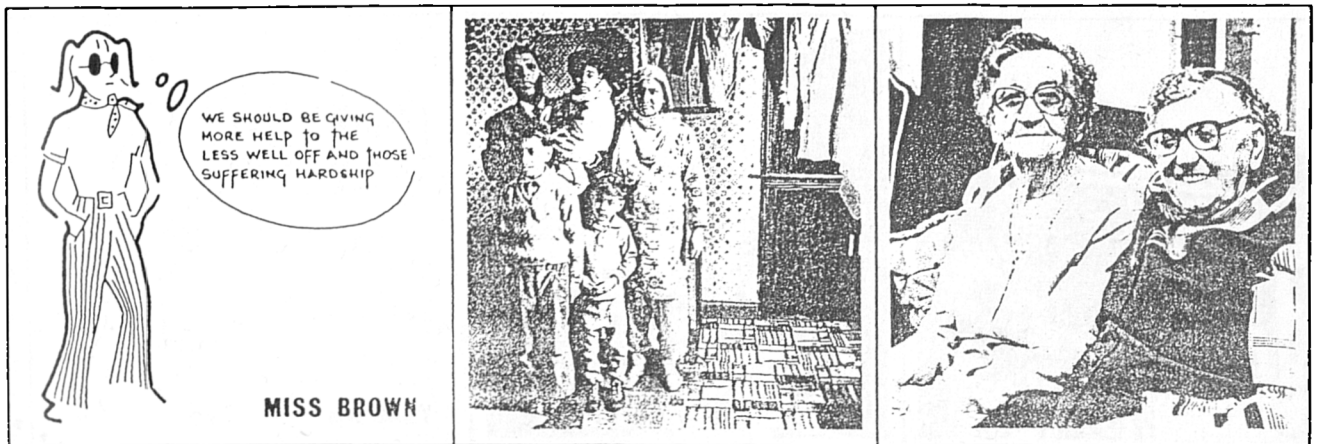
Industrialists, private developers and residents on high incomes would benefit but almost everyone else would lose.

### (d) Can her ideas be achieved?

The theme assumes that given a degree of freedom, private enterprise could achieve overall growth and indirectly in the long term benefit everyone. It implies a reversal of present trends towards increased public control and investment.

The theme rests heavily on extensive private investment and therefore is vulnerable to changes in the general level of "business confidence". Public bodies would find it difficult to plan ahead sensibly even at a reduced level of involvement.

## THEME D — Emphasis on Helping Disadvantaged Groups



### (a) What is Miss Brown really saying?

—A significant increase in the proportion of public money directed to help less fortunate people: the unemployed, those in poorly paid jobs, isolated or elderly residents, those without a car and those living in a poor environment.

### (b) What does Miss Brown want to see happen?

- Industrialists encouraged to set up factories in the less prosperous parts of the County and as far as land availability permits, in the inner parts of Bradford, Huddersfield and Leeds. Local authorities helping by acquiring and offering factory sites at low rents
- New offices encouraged away from city centres, in the suburbs and the smaller textile and coalfield towns
- Out-of-town supermarkets resisted and strong efforts made to ensure good access to existing shops
- Training and retraining of workers carried out on a major scale
- Priority given to providing lower cost housing to rent, supported by programmes for improving older houses and their environment; arrangements for the easier exchange of Council houses
- Public and private building encouraged in and around existing towns, especially in the older textile and coalfield areas
- Most recreational facilities provided in or at the edge of the main towns and well served by buses
- Bus services widely improved and heavily subsidised. Expenditure on new roads cut back except where buses benefit or freight traffic is removed from residential areas. Restraints on car use in town centres, and higher parking charges

- In rural areas, new social, medical, shopping and leisure facilities concentrated in selected 'key' villages, well served by public transport
- Leeds/Bradford Airport closed down
- The Green Belt generally safeguarded to divert development and resources into the deprived areas
- Emphasis on tackling environmental problems in those areas suffering most from problems of pollution and derelict land, particularly the coalfield

### (c) But will her ideas solve the problems?

The proposals would help the less prosperous parts of the County and the less well-off residents in the inner parts of the bigger towns in the County. Overall economic growth would be held back, but the job prospects of the unemployed, low-paid workers and those in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs living in the coalfield and textile towns and the inner parts of the big towns, would be relatively improved. Residents dependent on buses should find that services improve.

The choice open to owner-occupiers might be lessened but the proposals should greatly ease the housing problems of private tenants, families with small budgets and those in local authority housing.

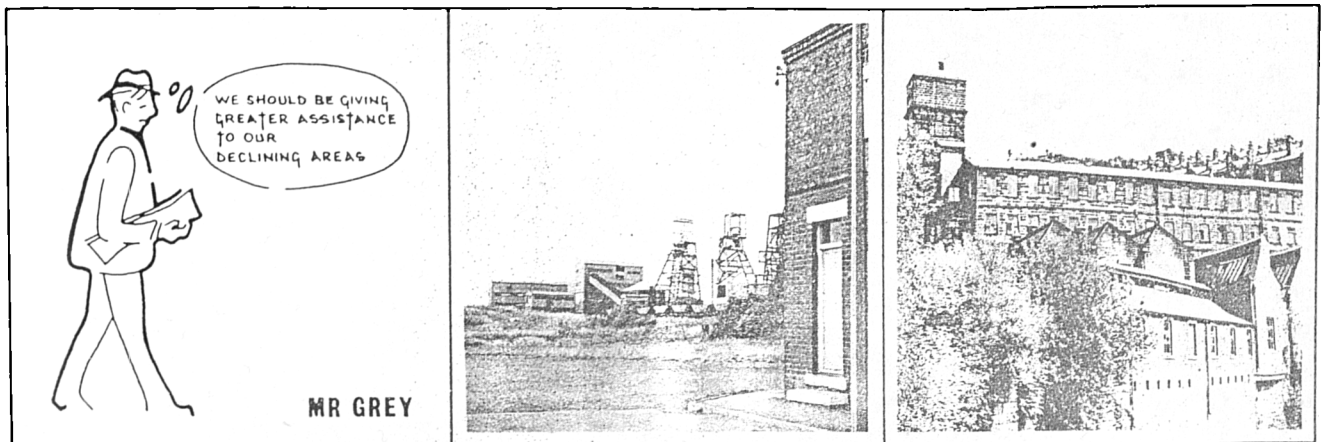
### (d) Can her ideas be achieved?

This theme implies a substantial increase in public involvement and investment in housing, transport, recreation and industrial development which the savings on roads, car parks and rail subsidies would do little to offset.

The underlying idea of increasing and redirecting money to help the less fortunate residents would, therefore, be difficult to achieve if not accompanied by at least some growth in the County's economy.



## THEME E — Helping The Less Prosperous Areas of The County



### (a) What is Mr. Grey really saying?

- Public and private finance channelled into helping those parts of the County which have suffered serious economic decline — principally the coalfield, the textile towns including parts of the Upper Aire, Upper Calder, and Colne Valleys
- A concerted attempt made to stem the outflow of jobs and people from these areas and to promote economic stability

Leeds and Bradford using the Haigh/Clifton Link in the south. Improved road connections provided between the coalfield and the A1 and in other localities to give better access to areas of potential industrial development

- Green Belt and good agricultural land protected less stringently around the textile and coalfield towns. Land reclamation and other environmental improvements concentrated in these same districts, and strict pollution controls introduced. Redundant industrial buildings converted to new uses

### (b) What does Mr. Grey want to see happen?

- Industrialists encouraged to locate in parts of the coalfield and in the west of the County, particularly in or near to the larger towns in the Colne and Upper Calder Valleys and in the Heavy Woollen District
- New commercial development limited in Leeds and to a lesser degree in Bradford but encouraged in the west, particularly in Dewsbury, Halifax and Huddersfield
- Vigorous public housing programmes supplemented by private building to provide new homes in the less prosperous areas of the County with provision made for an improved range of shops, medical and other services. New building restricted north and east of Leeds and in Wharfedale
- Private enterprise looked to for the provision of more recreational facilities because public finance would be diverted to projects with higher priority
- Bus services reorganised to give priority to the less prosperous areas, in order to provide a wider range of labour for local industries and increase the range of jobs available
- Early completion of the Aire Valley Road and of the Kirkhamgate/Dishforth motorway between

### (c) But will his ideas solve the problems?

The economic, social and environmental problems in the coalfield and textile towns would be lessened, but overall economic growth in the County would be marginal. Unemployed and lower-paid workers in declining areas would benefit, but job prospects for similar workers in other parts of the County would be only marginally worsened, on the basis that these areas could look after themselves.

### (d) Can his ideas be achieved?

The theme rests on the assumption that increased investment will lead to economic revival and on the assumption that strong controls on land release and development elsewhere in the County will help to induce new jobs in the less prosperous areas. It is questionable whether economic growth as such could be achieved but a measure of stability seems possible.

Significantly increased levels of public finance to acquire industrial sites, build factories, improve bus services and housing would be needed, to reassure private industry that its investment in these areas was worthwhile.

## THEME F — Limiting the use of Natural and Financial Resources



### (a) What is Mrs. Cherry really saying?

- Priority given to conserving good agricultural land and mineral reserves, on the basis that our dependence on these resources will remain critical
- Problems tackled on a "least cost" basis with a reduction in most subsidies, making the best, or better use of what we have and concentrating most new development within the existing urban areas

transport subsidies are reviewed. More flexible shopping hours and staggered working hours encouraged to reduce peak hour traffic. Some money spent on cycleways but very little on new roads

- Strict controls placed on mineral and coal working, with the land returned to agriculture: reclamation only where subsequent development is possible
- Costs kept down to private industry, and rates and taxes kept down by government

### (b) What does Mrs. Cherry want to see happen?

- New factories and offices directed to sites near bus and rail routes to promote public transport and reduce congestion. Industries encouraged to locate on inner city sites and/or in existing buildings such as textile mills
- Housing clearance and redeveloped minimal with stress on improvement
- The majority of new homes built on 'infill' sites at higher densities but new land developed where this involves no further costs in providing major services such as sewerage and water supply
- New shopping centres not allowed
- More efficient use of local authority owned buildings, by conversion, and by dual use for community facilities
- Little spent on new recreational facilities in the towns or in the countryside: more intensive use of existing facilities
- Agricultural land safeguarded, but Green Belt boundaries redefined and then strongly protected
- Some bus and rail services improved where these could be well used. Many local rail passenger services withdrawn when public

### (c) But will her ideas solve the problems?

This theme will not help the less prosperous areas and would not effectively tackle all the problems in other areas of the County.

Housing problems would be eased in the short term, especially for those on lower incomes, as the cheaper, older houses would be preserved and improved.

In the longer term major investment on housing renewal would become necessary. But the theme would lead to more effective use of land, particularly vacant and derelict land in the urban areas, and more sensible use of expensive buildings for recreation and social purposes.

### (d) Can her ideas be achieved?

As the main idea behind this is to make the best use of what is already available, it would be well suited to a period of uncertainty and restraint, but could be pursued in times of both high and low general prosperity. However, pressures for extensive new development would be difficult to contain if prosperity returns, but if it does not, the County's basic economic difficulties would remain largely untouched.

## Appendix 7.1 - 1981 and 1991 Census data by ED

	"Urban" Total	Slubbing	Fairfield	Mount Skip	New Heptonstall	Mytholm	"Rurban" Total	Valley Road	Central	Birchcliffe	Hangingroyd	Wood End	"Remote" Total	Colden	Charlestown	Slack	Blackshaw Head	Hardcastle	"Village" Total	Peckel Well	Old Heptonstall	Erringden	Old Town
1981 single total h/holds	277	64	54	53	46	60	334	63	79	77	59	56	82	5	23	24	9	21	163	25	97	22	19
%	957	167	190	212	209	179	949	167	241	210	166	165	493	41	141	123	90	98	381	103	137	65	76
1991 single total h/holds	28.9	38.3	28.4	25.0	22.0	33.5	35.2	37.7	32.8	36.7	35.5	33.9	16.6	12.2	16.3	19.5	10.0	21.4	42.8	24.3	70.8	33.8	25.0
%	361	70	77	77	64	73	430	76	85	115	80	74	140	24	42	20	37	17	209	49	75	27	58
1981 couple with kids total h/holds	974	165	223	217	173	196	1023	193	212	261	179	178	630	108	161	112	155	94	551	128	169	72	182
%	37.1	42.4	34.5	35.5	37.0	37.2	42.0	39.4	40.1	44.1	44.7	41.6	22.2	22.2	26.1	17.9	23.9	18.1	37.9	38.3	44.4	37.5	31.9
change (1981 - 1991)	8.1	4.1	6.1	10.5	15.0	3.7	6.8	1.7	7.3	7.4	9.2	7.6	5.6	10.0	9.8	-1.7	13.9	-3.3	-4.9	14.0	-26.4	3.7	6.9
1981 couple with kids total h/holds	216	27	48	50	45	46	193	29	51	51	32	30	123	11	37	24	24	27	66	27	22	8	9
%	957	167	190	212	209	179	949	167	241	210	166	165	493	41	141	123	90	98	381	103	137	65	76
1991 couple with kids total h/holds	22.6	16.2	25.3	23.6	21.5	25.7	20.3	17.4	21.2	24.3	19.3	18.2	24.9	26.8	26.2	19.5	26.7	27.6	17.3	26.2	16.1	12.3	11.8
%	219	35	55	56	35	38	198	36	37	50	36	39	176	29	46	35	39	27	99	21	22	10	46
1981 childless couples total h/holds	974	165	223	217	173	196	1023	193	212	261	179	178	630	108	161	112	155	94	551	128	169	72	182
%	22.5	21.2	24.7	25.8	20.2	19.4	19.4	18.7	17.5	19.2	20.1	21.9	27.9	26.9	28.6	31.3	25.2	28.7	18.0	16.4	13.0	13.9	25.3
change (1981 - 1991)	-0.1	5.0	-0.6	2.2	-1.3	-6.3	-1.0	1.3	-3.7	-5.1	0.8	3.7	3.0	0.0	2.3	11.7	-1.5	1.2	0.6	-9.8	-3.0	1.6	13.4
1981 childless couples total h/holds	220	62	52	37	35	34	292	55	68	70	42	57	173	16	43	50	31	33	134	37	52	23	22
%	957	167	190	212	209	179	949	167	241	210	166	165	493	41	141	123	90	98	381	103	137	65	76
1991 childless couples total h/holds	23.0	37.1	27.4	17.5	16.7	19.0	30.8	32.9	28.2	33.3	25.3	34.5	35.1	39.0	30.5	40.7	34.4	33.7	35.2	35.9	38.0	35.4	28.9
%	278	47	61	48	58	64	285	56	66	65	47	51	218	39	50	43	53	33	178	46	54	24	54
1981 childless couples total h/holds	974	165	223	217	173	196	1023	193	212	261	179	178	630	108	161	112	155	94	551	128	169	72	182
%	28.5	28.5	27.4	22.1	33.5	32.7	27.9	29.0	31.1	24.9	26.3	28.7	34.6	36.1	31.1	38.4	34.2	35.1	32.3	35.9	32.0	33.3	29.7
change (1981 - 1991)	5.6	-8.6	0.0	4.7	16.8	13.7	-2.9	-3.9	2.9	-8.4	1.0	-5.9	-0.5	-2.9	0.6	-2.3	-0.3	1.4	-2.9	0.0	-6.0	-2.1	0.7



1981 tot pop 0-15	602	76	152	206	54	114	428	67	100	109	89	63	291	21	108	71	71	20	196	78	69	24	25
	2470	364	541	611	442	512	2277	379	628	497	412	361	1249	107	425	334	278	105	926	284	308	158	176
%	24.4	20.9	28.1	33.7	12.2	22.3	18.8	17.7	15.9	21.9	21.6	17.5	23.3	19.6	25.4	21.3	25.5	19.0	21.2	27.5	22.4	15.2	14.2
1991 tot pop 0-15	541	75	130	159	93	84	470	85	91	140	87	67	394	66	108	72	88	60	206	44	62	18	82
	2315	357	557	575	360	466	2302	444	501	600	383	374	1699	272	441	313	404	269	1212	270	361	152	429
%	23.4	21.0	23.3	27.7	25.8	18.0	20.4	19.1	18.2	23.3	22.7	17.9	23.2	24.3	24.5	23.0	21.8	22.3	17.0	16.3	17.2	11.8	19.1
change (1981 - 1991)	-1.0	0.1	-4.8	-6.1	13.6	-4.2	1.6	1.5	2.2	1.4	1.1	0.5	-0.1	4.6	-0.9	1.7	-3.8	3.3	-4.2	-11.2	-5.2	-3.3	4.9
1981 tot pop 16-24	294	41	72	88	32	61	313	34	133	54	55	37	158	13	48	39	39	19	109	22	48	24	15
	2470	364	541	611	442	512	2277	379	628	497	412	361	1249	107	425	334	278	105	926	284	308	158	176
%	11.9	11.3	13.3	14.4	7.2	11.9	13.7	9.0	21.2	10.9	13.3	10.2	12.7	12.1	11.3	11.7	14.0	18.1	11.8	7.7	15.6	15.2	8.5
1991 tot pop 16-24	265	55	63	88	23	36	262	46	64	70	43	39	177	22	44	29	43	39	108	21	31	22	34
	2315	357	557	575	360	466	2302	444	501	600	383	374	1699	272	441	313	404	269	1212	270	361	152	429
%	11.4	15.4	11.3	15.3	6.4	7.7	11.4	10.4	12.8	11.7	11.2	10.4	10.4	8.1	10.0	9.3	10.6	14.5	8.9	7.8	8.6	14.5	7.9
change (1981 - 1991)	-0.5	4.1	-2.0	0.9	-0.9	-4.2	-2.4	1.4	-8.4	0.8	-2.1	0.2	-2.2	-4.1	-1.3	-2.4	-3.4	-3.6	-2.9	0.0	-7.0	-0.7	-0.6
1981 tot pop 25-44	687	97	161	175	120	134	683	104	186	141	124	128	402	31	138	96	106	31	244	90	75	35	44
	2470	364	541	611	442	512	2277	379	628	497	412	361	1249	107	425	334	278	105	926	284	308	158	176
%	27.8	26.6	29.8	28.6	27.1	26.2	30.0	27.4	29.6	28.4	30.1	35.5	32.2	29.0	32.5	28.7	38.1	29.5	26.3	31.7	24.4	22.2	25.0
1991 tot pop 25-44	718	104	188	217	87	122	796	156	160	203	134	143	618	93	171	107	141	106	426	91	129	42	164
	2315	357	557	575	360	466	2302	444	501	600	383	374	1699	272	441	313	404	269	1212	270	361	152	429
%	31.0	29.1	33.8	37.7	24.2	26.2	34.6	35.1	31.9	33.8	35.0	38.2	36.4	34.2	38.8	34.2	34.9	39.4	35.1	33.7	35.7	27.6	38.2
change (1981 - 1991)	3.2	2.5	4.0	9.1	-3.0	0.0	4.6	7.7	2.3	5.5	4.9	2.8	4.2	5.2	6.3	5.4	-3.2	9.9	8.8	2.0	11.4	5.5	13.2

	"Urban" Total	Stubbing	Fairfield	Mount Skip	New Heptonstall	Mytholm	"Rurban" Total	Valley Road	Central	Birchcliffe	Hangingroyd	Wood End	"Remole" Total	Colden	Charlestown	Slack	Blacksaw Head	Hardcastle	"Village" Total	Pecket Well	Old Heptonstall	Erringden	Old Town
1981 h/hold no dep child	627	123	115	108	164	117	677	130	163	146	112	126	291	23	84	90	47	47	284	68	103	51	62
tot h/holds	963	168	191	216	208	180	956	168	242	213	166	167	486	39	144	125	89	89	384	104	138	65	77
%	65.1	73.2	60.2	50.0	78.8	65.0	70.8	77.4	67.4	68.5	67.5	75.4	59.9	59.0	58.3	72.0	52.8	52.8	74.0	65.4	74.6	78.5	80.5
1991 h/hold no dep child	676	115	148	122	142	149	711	141	151	173	124	122	444	67	97	72	104	104	404	97	122	63	122
tot h/holds	972	164	223	217	173	195	1020	191	213	260	178	178	689	106	160	117	153	153	552	128	170	74	180
%	69.5	70.1	66.4	56.2	82.1	76.4	69.7	73.8	70.9	66.5	69.7	68.5	64.4	63.2	60.6	61.5	68.0	68.0	73.2	75.8	71.8	85.1	67.8
change (1981 - 1991)	4.4	-3.1	6.2	6.2	3.2	11.4	-1.1	-3.6	3.5	-2.0	2.2	-6.9	4.6	4.2	2.3	-10.5	15.2	15.2	-0.8	10.4	-2.9	6.7	-12.7
1981sgl fml 25-44	67	14	10	22	13	8	79	10	25	9	18	17	35	2	7	10	8	8	30	6	14	8	2
tot fml 25-44	316	45	75	83	51	62	348	54	89	71	67	67	244	15	76	49	52	52	125	47	43	18	17
%	21.2	31.1	13.3	26.5	25.5	12.9	22.7	18.5	28.1	12.7	26.9	25.4	14.3	13.3	9.2	20.4	15.4	15.4	24.0	12.8	32.6	44.4	11.8
1991sgl fml 25-44	121	26	34	43	8	10	178	30	34	51	29	34	90	18	26	14	16	16	69	19	15	8	27
tot fml 25-44	357	50	93	113	41	60	418	74	87	110	67	80	333	51	87	53	71	71	210	46	72	12	80
%	33.9	52.0	36.6	38.1	19.5	16.7	42.6	40.5	39.1	46.4	43.3	42.5	27.0	35.3	29.9	26.4	22.5	22.5	32.9	41.3	20.8	66.7	33.8
change (1981 - 1991)	12.7	20.9	23.2	11.5	-6.0	3.8	19.9	22.0	11.0	33.7	16.4	17.1	12.7	22.0	20.7	6.0	7.2	7.2	8.9	28.5	-11.7	22.2	22.0
1981sgl males 25-44	91	18	24	26	16	7	87	10	29	19	19	10	55	4	14	15	11	11	26	6	7	7	6
tot males 25-44	342	52	86	83	49	72	335	50	97	70	57	61	242	16	71	47	54	54	121	43	34	17	27
%	26.6	34.6	27.9	31.3	32.7	9.7	26.0	20.0	29.9	27.1	33.3	16.4	22.7	25.0	19.7	31.9	20.4	20.4	21.5	14.0	20.6	41.2	22.2
1991sgl males 25-44	136	27	40	40	16	13	171	45	30	42	34	20	105	15	29	15	23	23	83	21	17	13	32
tot males 25-44	361	54	95	102	48	62	363	83	75	93	67	45	330	52	84	54	70	70	208	45	57	22	84
%	37.7	50.0	42.1	39.2	33.3	21.0	47.1	54.2	40.0	45.2	50.7	44.4	31.8	28.8	34.5	27.8	32.9	32.9	39.9	46.7	29.8	59.1	38.1
change (1981 - 1991)	11.1	15.4	14.2	7.9	0.7	11.2	21.1	34.2	10.1	18.0	17.4	28.1	9.1	3.8	14.8	-4.1	12.5	12.5	18.4	32.7	9.2	17.9	15.9

	"Urban" Total	Stubbing	Farfield	Mount Skip	New Heptonstall	Mytholm	"Rurban" Total	Valley Road	Central	Birchcliffe	Hangingsroyd	Wood End	"Remote" Total	Colden	Charlestown	Slack	Blackshaw Head	Hardcastle	"Village" Total	Peckel Well	Old Heptonstall	Erringden	Old Town
1981 cars (2 or >)	68	7	11	24	5	21	78	13	21	18	11	15	113	17	31	32	27	6	72	20	26	17	9
tot h/holds	960	168	191	213	208	180	956	168	242	213	166	167	439	39	144	125	89	42	384	104	138	65	77
%	7.1	4.2	5.8	11.3	2.4	11.7	8.2	7.7	8.7	8.5	6.6	9.0	25.7	43.6	21.5	25.6	30.3	14.3	18.8	19.2	18.8	26.2	11.7
1991 cars (2 or >)	159	23	27	45	29	35	143	30	27	37	17	32	267	42	61	50	74	40	140	23	38	22	57
tot h/holds	972	164	223	217	173	195	1020	191	213	260	178	178	631	108	160	115	154	94	550	127	171	72	180
%	16.4	14.0	12.1	20.7	16.8	17.9	14.0	15.7	12.7	14.2	9.6	18.0	42.3	38.9	38.1	43.5	48.1	42.6	25.5	18.1	22.2	30.6	31.7
change (1981 - 1991)	9.3	9.9	6.3	9.5	14.4	6.3	5.9	8.0	4.0	5.8	2.9	9.0	16.6	-4.7	16.6	17.9	17.7	28.3	6.7	-1.1	3.4	4.4	20.0
1981 total qual>dip	16	2	2	4	2	6	27	5	6	8	6	2	18	1	5	3	6	3	6	2	3	1	0
total pop>18	172	25	37	39	35	36	159	30	43	29	29	28	96	7	28	24	19	18	70	20	24	12	14
%	9.3	8.0	5.4	10.3	5.7	16.7	17.0	16.7	14.0	27.6	20.7	7.1	18.8	14.3	17.9	12.5	31.6	16.7	8.6	10.0	12.5	8.3	0.0
1991 total qual>dip	29	5	3	7	6	8	40	7	5	12	8	8	45	7	8	11	12	7	31	3	11	8	9
total pop>18	169	25	34	39	31	40	174	37	34	48	27	28	136	22	35	30	30	19	96	21	30	16	29
%	17.2	20.0	8.8	17.9	19.4	20.0	23.0	18.9	14.7	25.0	29.6	28.6	33.1	31.8	22.9	36.7	40.0	36.8	32.3	14.3	36.7	50.0	31.0
change (1981 - 1991)	7.9	12.0	3.4	7.7	13.6	3.3	6.0	2.3	0.8	-2.6	8.9	21.4	14.3	17.5	5.0	24.2	8.4	20.2	23.7	4.3	24.2	41.7	31.0

	"Urban" Total	Slubbing	Fairfield	Mount Skip	New Heptonstall	Mytholm	"Rurban" Total	Valley Road	Central	Birchcliffe	Hangingsroyd	Wood End	"Remote" Total	Colden	Charlestown	Slack	Blackshaw Head	Hardcastle	"Village" Total	Peckel Well	Old Heptonstall	Erringden	Old Town
1981 total ancillary/artists	161	31	11	61	11	5	201	41	41	41	41	41	131	21	31	21	41	41	81	11	41	31	0
Tot pop econ act	142	23	26	36	24	33	131	22	30	26	24	29	79	6	24	25	16	8	52	15	24	7	6
%	11.3	13.0	3.8	16.7	4.2	15.2	15.3	18.2	13.3	15.4	16.7	13.8	16.5	33.3	12.5	8.0	25.0	25.0	15.4	6.7	16.7	42.9	0.0
1991 total ancillary/artists	91	31	21	01	01	4	361	41	61	121	71	71	141	31	21	71	01	2	161	01	101	41	2
Tot pop econ act	121	17	25	32	19	28	119	28	22	28	19	22	99	14	25	22	18	20	66	9	23	11	23
%	7.4	17.6	8.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	30.3	14.3	27.3	42.9	36.8	31.8	14.1	21.4	8.0	31.8	0.0	10.0	24.2	0.0	43.5	36.4	8.7
change (1981 - 1991)	-3.8	4.6	4.2	-16.7	-4.2	-0.9	15.0	-3.9	13.9	27.5	20.2	18.0	-2.3	-11.9	-4.5	23.8	-25.0	-15.0	8.9	-6.7	26.8	-6.5	8.7
1981 total professionals	121	31	01	31	21	4	191	31	51	41	51	2	121	01	31	41	31	2	91	41	51	01	0
Tot pop econ act	142	23	26	36	24	33	131	22	30	26	24	29	79	6	24	25	16	8	52	15	24	7	6
%	8.5	13.0	0.0	8.3	8.3	12.1	14.5	13.6	16.7	15.4	20.8	6.9	15.2	0.0	12.5	16.0	18.8	25.0	17.3	26.7	20.8	0.0	0.0
1991 total professionals	271	21	01	81	41	13	241	71	51	31	31	6	571	51	171	111	151	9	201	51	51	31	7
Tot pop econ act	121	17	25	32	19	28	119	28	22	28	19	22	99	14	25	22	18	20	66	9	23	11	23
%	22.3	11.8	0.0	25.0	21.1	46.4	20.2	25.0	22.7	10.7	15.8	27.3	57.6	35.7	68.0	50.0	83.3	45.0	30.3	55.6	21.7	27.3	30.4
change (1981 - 1991)	13.9	-1.3	0.0	16.7	12.7	34.3	5.7	11.4	6.1	-4.7	-5.0	20.4	42.4	35.7	55.5	34.0	64.6	20.0	13.0	28.9	0.9	27.3	30.4
1981 total manual	601	71	141	161	91	14	561	121	141	111	91	10	251	21	91	91	41	1	151	41	31	21	6
Tot pop econ act	142	23	26	36	24	33	131	22	30	26	24	29	79	6	24	25	16	8	52	15	24	7	6
%	42.3	30.4	53.8	44.4	37.5	42.4	42.7	54.5	46.7	42.3	37.5	34.5	31.6	33.3	37.5	36.0	25.0	12.5	28.8	26.7	12.5	28.6	100.0
1991 total manual	541	71	181	121	101	7	411	151	81	91	21	7	81	11	11	01	21	4	9	01	41	01	5
Tot pop econ act	121	17	25	32	19	28	119	28	22	28	19	22	99	14	25	22	18	20	66	9	23	11	23
%	44.6	41.2	72.0	37.5	52.6	25.0	34.5	53.6	36.4	32.1	10.5	31.8	8.1	7.1	4.0	0.0	11.1	20.0	13.6	0.0	17.4	0.0	21.7
change (1981 - 1991)	2.4	10.7	18.2	-6.9	15.1	-17.4	-8.3	-1.0	-10.3	-10.2	-27.0	-2.7	-23.6	-26.2	-33.5	-36.0	-13.9	7.5	-15.2	-26.7	4.9	-28.6	-78.3
1981 tradesmen	51	21	31	11	01	1	21	01	11	11	01	0	81	11	41	21	11	0	31	01	21	01	1
Tot pop econ act	142	23	26	36	24	33	131	22	30	26	24	29	79	6	24	25	16	8	52	15	24	7	6
%	3.5	8.7	11.5	2.8	0.0	3.0	1.5	0.0	3.3	3.8	0.0	0.0	10.1	16.7	16.7	8.0	6.3	0.0	5.8	0.0	8.3	0.0	16.7
1991 tradesmen	701	01	01	41	11	2	71	01	21	11	41	0	61	01	31	21	11	0	41	01	01	01	4
Tot pop econ act	121	17	25	32	19	28	119	28	22	28	19	22	99	14	25	22	18	20	66	9	23	11	23
%	5.8	0.0	0.0	12.5	5.3	7.1	5.9	0.0	9.1	3.6	21.1	0.0	6.1	0.0	12.0	9.1	5.6	0.0	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	17.4
change (1981 - 1991)	2.3	-8.7	-11.5	9.7	5.3	4.1	4.4	0.0	5.8	-0.3	21.1	0.0	-4.1	-16.7	-4.7	1.1	-0.7	0.0	0.3	0.0	-8.3	0.0	0.7



	"Urban" Total	Stubbing	Fairfield	Mount Skip	New Heptonstall	Mylholm	"Rurban" Total	Valley Road	Central	Birchcliffe	Hangingroyd	Wood End	"Remote" Total	Colden	Charlestown	Slack	Blackshaw Head	Hardcastle	"Village" Total	Peckel Well	Old Heptonstall	Kirringden	Old Town
	AG07/FC13	AG13 FC18	AB1817 FD09	AB06 FB12	AB12 FB06	AB14 FB08	AC08 9 FC14	AB15 FB04	AB13 TB07	AB16 FB05	AB03 FB10	AB10 FB02	AB04 FB11	AB09 FB01	AB01 FB26	AB02 FB28	AB11 FB13	AB20 FB03	AB07 FB27				
1991 Tot Pop	2315	357	557	104	97	110	695	144	174	140	117	120	351	36	123	91	86	15	278	85	99	51	43
1981 Tot Pop	2478	364	541	190	212	209	949	167	241	210	166	165	427	41	141	123	90	32	381	103	137	65	76
pop change (1981 - 1991)	-163	7	-16	44	-82	46	-25	-65	127	-103	29	-13	-258	165	16	-21	126	-28	-286	-14	53	-6	253
1981 total o/occ	499	91	104	97	97	110	695	144	174	140	117	120	351	36	123	91	86	15	278	85	99	51	43
total h/holds	957	167	190	212	209	179	949	167	241	210	166	165	427	41	141	123	90	32	381	103	137	65	76
% o/occ	52.1	54.5	54.7	45.8	46.4	61.5	73.2	86.2	72.2	66.7	70.5	72.7	82.2	87.8	87.2	74.0	95.6	46.9	73.0	82.5	72.3	78.5	56.6
1991 total o/occ	638	99	156	154	95	134	790	170	148	197	127	148	543	86	143	100	146	68	456	95	132	62	167
total h/holds	974	165	223	217	173	196	1023	193	212	261	179	178	630	108	161	112	155	94	551	128	169	72	182
% o/occ	65.5	60.0	70.0	71.0	54.9	68.4	77.2	88.1	69.8	75.5	70.9	83.1	86.2	79.6	88.8	89.3	94.2	72.3	82.8	74.2	78.1	86.1	91.8
change (1981 - 1991)	13.4	5.5	15.2	25.2	8.5	6.9	4.0	1.9	-2.4	8.8	0.5	10.4	4.0	-8.2	1.6	15.3	-1.4	25.5	9.8	-8.3	5.8	7.6	35.2
1981 total rented (private)	52	13	7	20	9	3	158	23	27	52	39	17	41	0	12	14	1	14	56	16	30	9	1
total h/holds	957	167	190	212	209	179	949	167	241	210	166	165	427	41	141	123	90	32	381	103	137	65	76
% rented (private)	5.4	7.8	3.7	9.4	4.3	1.7	16.6	13.8	11.2	24.8	23.5	10.3	9.6	0.0	8.5	11.4	1.1	43.8	14.7	15.5	21.9	13.8	1.3
1991 total rented (private)	50	25	7	10	3	5	146	19	35	38	40	14	51	5	15	9	8	14	54	6	28	10	10
total h/holds	974	165	223	217	173	196	1023	193	212	261	179	178	630	108	161	112	155	94	551	128	169	72	182
% rented (private)	5.1	15.2	3.1	4.6	1.7	2.6	14.3	9.8	16.5	14.6	22.3	7.9	8.1	4.6	9.3	8.0	5.2	14.9	9.8	4.7	16.6	13.9	5.5
change (1981 - 1991)	-0.3	7.4	-0.5	-4.8	-2.6	0.9	-2.4	-3.9	5.3	-10.2	-1.1	-2.4	-1.5	4.6	0.8	-3.3	4.1	-28.9	-4.9	-10.8	-5.3	0.0	4.2
1981 total rented (LA/HA)	378	43	79	94	102	60	76	0	30	17	9	20	20	0	4	15	0	1	35	0	3	0	32
total h/holds	957	167	190	212	209	179	949	167	241	210	166	165	427	41	141	123	90	32	381	103	137	65	76
% rented (LA/HA)	39.5	25.7	41.6	44.3	48.8	33.5	8.0	0.0	12.4	8.1	5.4	12.1	4.7	0.0	2.8	12.2	0.0	3.1	9.2	0.0	2.2	0.0	42.1
1991 total rented (LA/HA)	283	49	60	51	72	51	69	1	19	23	11	15	15	14	0	1	0	0	36	25	6	0	5
total h/holds	974	165	223	217	173	196	1023	193	212	261	179	178	630	108	161	112	155	94	551	128	169	72	182
% rented (LA/HA)	29.1	29.7	26.9	23.5	41.6	26.0	6.7	0.5	9.0	8.8	6.1	8.4	2.4	13.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	6.5	19.5	3.6	0.0	2.7
change (1981 - 1991)	-10.4	3.9	-14.7	-20.8	-7.2	-7.5	-1.3	0.5	-3.5	0.7	0.7	-3.7	-2.3	13.0	-2.8	-11.3	0.0	-3.1	-2.7	19.5	1.4	0.0	-39.4

## Appendix 7.2 Residential Clusters of 1991 GB Profiling System (Blake and Openshaw, 1995)

Group	Sub-group	Name	Cluster
Struggling	Council Tenants with multiple social problems	Multi-ethnic council tenants	1
		LA rented Semis	24
		Overcrowded Council Housing	33
		Council tenants in Tower Blocks	6 & 7
		Single Parents Council tenants	29 & 34
		Single Parents in Tower Blocks	28 & 30
		Unskilled Council tenants	45
	Multi-ethnic, low income areas	Bangladeshi Areas	4
		Indian Areas	38
		Multi-ethnic Bedsit Areas	8 & 27 & 32
		Poor multi-ethnic singles	62
	Less Well-off Terraces	Terraces	2 & 36
		LA rented terraces	10 & 35
	Fading Industrial Areas	Industrial terraces	43 & 61
		Industrial Council tenants	51
	Less Well-off Pensioners	Pensioners Council tenants	17 & 25 & 31
		Pensioners in converted flats	18 & 26
Pensioners in HA rented terraces		57	
Aspiring	Young Singles in Flats	Poor young singles & Students	3, 55 & 60
		Singles in PBFs	53
		Better-off singles	14 & 54
	Better-off Council Tenants Rural Communities Armed Services	Council Semis	13
		Rural areas	44 & 52
		Young Armed Services Families	12
Established	Semi-detached Suburbia	Semis	56
		Mortgaged Semis	63
		Owner Occupied Semis	5
	Better-off Pensioners	Pensioner Migrants	15, 16, 23 & 59
	Comfortable Middle Agers	Middle Class Suburbia	37
		Wholly owned Semis	21
The average		20	
Climbing	Metro Singles	Well-off singles in Bedsits	14
		Well-off singles in PBFs	19
		Well-off singles in converted flats	50
	Academic centres	Students in Bedsits	41
Prospering	Wealthy Achievers	Middle aged Managers	46 & 58
		Well-off Middle Aged Managers	9 & 47
		Self-employed Managers	48
		Educated Professionals	22
	Wealthy Rural Communities	Rich Agriculturalists	11, 49, 39 & 64
Unclassified			40
			42

### Appendix 7.3 Census Variables Employed by Blake and Openshaw (1995) for 1991 GB Profiling System.

<i>Ref</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>10%</i>
<b>Demographic Variables</b>		
1	resident persons in the 0-4 age grp.	
2	resident persons in the 5-14 age grp.	
3	resident persons in the 15-24 age grp.	
4	resident persons in the 25-44 age grp.	
5	resident persons in the 45-64 age grp.	
6	resident persons in the 65-74 age grp.	
7	resident persons in the 75-84 age grp.	
8	resident persons in the 85+ age grp.	
9	resident persons who are single	
10	hhlds (with residents) with children, that have two or more adults	
11	female residents who are between 16 & 45	
12	resident persons that are married	
13	residents who are single parents	
14	resident persons who are pensionable age	
15	persons aged 16+ who are students	
<b>Ethnic Variables</b>		
16	residents who are white	
17	residents who are black	
18	residents who are Indian	
19	residents who are Pakistani	
20	residents who are Bangladeshi	
21	residents who are Chinese & others	
<b>Migration Variables</b>		
22	residents that moved last year	
23	residents that are pensioner migrants	
<b>Housing Variables</b>		
24	all permanent hhlds that are owned outright	
25	all permanent hhlds that are mortgaged	
26	all permanent hhlds that are HA rented	
27	all permanent hhlds that are LA rented	
28	all permanent hhlds that are unfurnished rented	
29	all permanent hhlds that are furnished rented	
30	all hhld spaces that are detached	
31	all hhld spaces that are semi-detached	
32	all hhld spaces that are terraced	
33	all hhld spaces that are purpose built flats	
34	all hhld spaces that are converted flats	
35	all hhld spaces that are bedsits	
36	all permanent hhlds with no central heating	
37	all permanent hhlds with no/shared bath/shower/WC	
38	hhlds with residents which are overcrowded	
39	hhlds with residents which are very overcrowded	
40	hhlds with residents which have more than 6 rooms	
41	Number of rooms per hhld	
42	Rooms per person	
43	Average hhld size (rooms per hhld)	
44	hhlds with residents with 2 or more cars	
45	Average number of cars per hhld	

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**Household Composition Variables**

46	hhlds with residents with 2 or more e.a. persons and no children
47	hhlds with residents with a single e.a. person and no children
48	hhlds with residents with married couple
49	hhlds with residents with children
50	hhlds with residents with children and no car
51	hhlds with residents with a single pensioner
52	hhlds with residents with more than three adults
53	hhlds with residents with a single non-pensioner
54	residents aged 16+ in hhlds who are aged 16-24 and are without children
55	residents aged 16+ in hhlds who are aged 16-24 and have children
56	residents aged 16+ in hhlds who are aged 25-34 and are without children
57	residents aged 16+ in hhlds who are aged 25-34 and have children
58	residents aged 16+ in hhlds who are aged 35-54 and are without children
59	residents aged 16+ in hhlds who are aged 35-54 and have children
60	residents aged 16+ in hhlds who are aged 55-74 or more

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**Socio-economic Variables**

61	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are in SEG 1,2,3, & 4	yes
62	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are in SEG 5 & 6	yes
63	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are in SEG 8,9 & 12	yes
64	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are in SEG 7 & 8	yes
65	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are in SEG 11	yes
66	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are in SEG 16 & 17	yes
67	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are in manufacturing and mining	yes
68	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are in agriculture	yes
69	residents aged 16 and over who are self-employed	
70	residents aged 16 and over who are unemployed	
71	residents aged 16 and over who are permanently sick	
72	residents aged 16 and over who are working (employers or employees) women	
73	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are women working in manufacturing (metal etc. not other manuf.)	
74	residents aged 16+ and over (employed and self-employed) that are women working more than 41 hours per week	
75	residents aged 16 and over who work part-time	
76	male workers	
77	residents aged 16+ in hhlds who are female, married and working	
78	proportion of residents aged 18 and over with a (higher) degree	yes
79	hhlds with residents with 2 or more adults in employment	

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**Health Variables**

80	residents (SO2) with LLI
81	residents (SO2) economically inactive with LLI

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**Travel-to-Work Variables**

82	residents aged 16+ and over who work at home	yes
83	residents aged 16+ and over who go to work by car	yes
84	residents aged 16+ and over who go to work by train/bus	yes
85	residents aged 16+ and over who walk to work	yes

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