

**THE COMPLEXITIES OF FAMILY
MIGRATION IN OLD TOWN
HASTINGS**

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Abstract

This thesis advances the conceptual understanding of contemporary expressions of family migration, drawing upon the case study of Old Town, Hastings, in the South East of England. Based on rich, empirical findings from semi-structured interviews, content analyses of media sources, and household surveys, it is shown that flows of family migrants into Old Town are re-focusing attention on previously under-stated motives for migration. Furthermore, it is contended that findings signal the growing importance of emerging appeals, such as more family-friendly employment practices, enhanced qualities-of-life, and alternative lifestyles 'by the sea'. It is argued that the findings disrupt conventional conceptualisations of family migration, and illuminate more complex and complicated forms of mobility.

The thesis serves to demonstrate that economic-led motivations, as the primary impetus for family migration, are being permeated by other concerns and aspirations. This begs questions about the robustness of economic-led theorisations of family migration, and reveals the equal importance of other motives such as quality-of-life, family-ties and family forming, and place-specific appeals. It is contended that family in-migrants are adopting particular strategies to allow other concerns and desires to emerge, which include re-working employment regimes, commuting practices, and re-assessing work-life balances, allowing in-migrants to place the family 'front and centre' of migration decisions. It is argued that flows of in-migration to Old Town are increasingly underpinned by geographies of economic loss to make 'other' gains. Central to this are discourses of risk and uncertainty, representing a departure from economic-led migration as the archetype of decision-making mobility behaviour.

In-migration flows of family migrants are identified which are connected to the appeals of 'rural' qualities and characteristics, such as countryside, community and desire to reside in a safe environment. It is argued that family in-migrants are drawing on many of the cultural motives typically associated with conventional counterurban migration to distinct rural locales, but instead moving down the urban hierarchy to the coastal margins.

The thesis presents a more balanced (re) conceptualisation of the processes and experiences of family migration. The findings show the fluidity and dynamism of processes of family migration, and reveal the diverse and complex decision-making processes of contemporary family migrants.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree

Signed:

Dated:

1 Introduction

1.1 Rationale for family migration research

Internal family migration in Great Britain (GB) is becoming increasingly complex, formulating new and diverse family geographies (Halfacree, 2004; Bailey, 2009). Whilst family migration and mobility are integral parts of societal change more widely, processes and outcomes of migration instigate changes within families and households at the micro-level.

It is contended that the emergence of new family geographies requires nuanced theorisations of the diverse processes and outcomes of family movements, encouraging disentanglement from more entrenched, dominant approaches to theorising family mobilities. This thesis argues that the increasingly complex interdependencies between diverse mobilities are central to enhancing understandings and explanations of new temporal-spatial patterns and processes of family migration, and constitute a pertinent and exciting agenda for population geography more widely.

Internal migration is described as the dominant form of population movement and distribution in developed societies for the past two decades (Bailey and Boyle, 2004; Kofman, 2004). Processes and outcomes of migration and mobility underpin fundamental changes at different spatial scales; local outcomes, for example, potentially shaping neighbourhoods and communities, and changing places. It is argued that family mobilities constitute a crucial flow of internal migration that relates to different desires concerning work, family, leisure, housing, and relationships. Importantly, these flows are not fixed, but fluid and malleable in response to migrant perceptions, attitudes, desires and aspirations. The magnitude, scale and diversity of these migration flows between places and within regions has led Urry (2000) to suggest that the 'social as society' has become the 'social as mobility'; the consequence of such a transition is the growth of 'inner mobility', allowing people to come and go, being 'both here and there' simultaneously (Beck, 1999: 75-6). The increasing diversity and complexity of migration flows is key to this thesis, as is the examination of distinct themes of family migration that have perhaps been under-researched, or obscured by dominant theoretical approaches.

In light of changing migration patterns and processes, this research focuses on emerging themes of family movements, unpicking some of the established labels and categories attached to migrants. A key aim is to explore both the pertinence of enduring approaches to family migration and emerging themes, in order to contribute to a more encapsulating theoretical framework that takes into account 'other' forms and expressions of mobility that are perhaps not 'clear-cut and uncomplicated' or a 'departure from A and settlement in B' (Leverhulme Programme on Migration

and Citizenship, University of Bristol, no date). Rather than viewing family migration in a narrow perspective, as unfolding in a particular space-time, this thesis aims to contribute to previous approaches to family migration by paying particular attention to the social and cultural dimensions of the increasing diversity, fluidity and complexity of processes and outcomes of familial mobilities.

At a theoretical level, previous studies of family migration have utilised a neoclassical human-capital framework to explain processes and outcomes of family migration; the behaviour and decision-making of migrants attributed to labour market and employment concerns (Sandell, 1977; Mincer, 1978). There is, however, growing evidence that 'other' factors will have long-term implications for the conceptualisation and theorisation of family migrants and family migration. Media discourses suggest that there are a growing number of contemporary family migrants that choose to alter aspects of their lives, such as economic status and well-being, and employment related opportunities, rather than 'earn and spend more':

'Despite increasing pressure to earn and spend more, about a quarter of adults aged 30 to 59 have voluntarily made a long-term change in their lives that resulted in them earning an average of 40 per cent less' (The Telegraph, 29/4/2005).

This begs questions of the pertinence of the human-capital model to understanding processes and outcomes of family moves, and reveals the merit of incorporating a non-economic framework for analyses of family migration; testing the assumption that processes of migration, and post-migration status of migrants, is contingent on economic and employment factors. Further to this, evidence which suggests that there is an increasing desire amongst contemporary migrants to abandon rigid employment regimes rather than pursue them, often willingly accepting economic penalties to gain 'other benefits', begins to challenge the dominance of an economic and non-economic dualism within analyses of family migration:

'Leaving the rat race for a more simple and relaxed, if poverty-stricken lifestyle, has become more than a dream for millions of people' (The Times, 20/4/2003).

Although there have been important developments in understandings of family migration (Cooke and Bailey, 1998; Green *et al.*, 1998; Boyle *et al.*, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003; Mulder, 2001), it is clear that there is a considerable gap in the family migration literature. More specifically, migration behaviour and decision-making as unfolding within the non-economic realm of migration, led by 'other' motives and concerns that are intrinsically centred within the family, arguably requires more rigorous examination. Social and cultural issues and concerns are critical components of emerging non-economic motive-led migration. Emerging societal trends in media

discourses are presented as underpinned by new priorities within families which, in many ways, begin to eclipse conventional economic-led motives of migration:

‘More than a quarter surveyed who switched in the past decade did so fairly recently, suggesting a strong rising trend...The most common reason was to spend more time with family and to recapture control over their time’ (The Telegraph, 29/4/2005).

Internal migration is argued to have become increasingly relevant; reasons for and outcomes of migration flows which redistribute people in uneven ways of particular interest to policy makers. The research explores whether internal processes of migration do indeed reproduce distinct socio-spatial migration patterns, or rather re-distribute families in particular ways that produce new forms and expressions of migration. It is contended that family migrants constitute a significant new migration flow out of and between locales, revealing the importance of interconnections between people and place. The redistribution of families is contended to underpin new migration patterns, as well as accelerate particular migration flows:

‘About 115,000 people a year are leaving the city...compared with 81,000 during the 1980s and 1990s. Migration from urban to rural areas is running at four times the migration from North to South. *One of the main reasons is the exodus of young families*’ (The Times, 22/6/2004, emphasis added).

A growing number of families are further noted as increasingly trading the ‘rat race for greener pastures’, to attain a ‘relaxed, stress-free existence’ that is a ‘quiet revolt against the culture of getting and spending’ (The Times, 20/4/2003). It is posited that there is a need to address how and why migration flows within and between locations are increasingly shaped by shifting cultural values, beliefs and ideologies of contemporary family migrants, which, in turn, have implications for wider societal and demographic trends:

‘...people are concerned about terrorism, as well as lifestyle issues, such as long hours, work/life balance, commuting and stress. They have different priorities now’ (The Times, 20/5/2004).

Similarly, other emergent trends are borne out by both national media and policy discourses that allude to the increasing predilection amongst affluent families to leave inner urban and suburban areas and relocate to other locales where there is a perceived enhanced quality-of-life (Urban Task Force, 2005). In light of what some national media discourses consider an ‘urban exodus’ from ‘city smog to sylvan smug’ (The Times, 23/5/2003), it is critical to examine the movement of families out of inner urban and suburban areas towards alternative end destinations, and the

motives, aspirations and experiences of place that underpin them. The movement of families out of inner urban areas in favour of less urban locales, prompting the claim that 'the love affair with London is over' (The Times, 23/5/2003), suggests that new forms of family migration are emerging; an increasing number of family migrants selecting 'other' destinations on the urban hierarchy:

'Everybody is getting the hell out of our cities – not just London – and heading for almost anywhere else. About 350, 000 people left the capital last year; if that rate of departure continues, there'll be nobody left at all by the end of the 2020's...Oxford Street will resemble one of those scary post-holocaust films from the cold war, with nothing there but giant rats and Starbucks' (The Times, 23/9/2007).

Importantly, the movement of contemporary family migrants out of inner-urban areas is arguably characterised by different socio-economic and cultural motives, concerns and aspirations, compared to the 'typical' counterurbaniser of the 1980's/1990's. The pursuit of 'the good life' in what was perceived to be an idyllic rural setting accounted for many moves out of the city in the late 1990's; migrants trading terraced properties for the 'real' countryside:

'The late 1990's saw a wave of Londoners heading for the sticks. Disenchanted by traffic jams and pollution, they swapped their terraced houses for life in the 'real' countryside...chopping your own wood, keeping chickens and having no neighbors' (The Times, 13/11/2005).

It is posited, however, that explanations for contemporary movements out of inner-urban locales may need to be extended to include a new kind of counterurban mover; those family migrants who draw on distinct socio-cultural motives during the migration decision-making process, yet constitute new migration flows through their selection of 'other' locales and settings as place of destination:

'Instead of edging out into the suburbs or fleeing completely into rural isolation....the choice of end destination is changing' (The Times, 13/11/2005).

It can be posited that, similarly to the 'wave of disenchanted urbanites' that abandoned the city in the 1990's (The Times, 21/10/2005), there is a 'new wave' of migrants for whom the direction and timing of their movement out of inner-urban locales is determined by 'other' socio-economic and cultural motives, concerns and aspirations. Rather than leave the city for the 'idyllic countryside existence promoted on television', significant motives increasingly include 'reducing working

hours, stopping work altogether and changing careers' (The Telegraph, 29/4/2005). It is contended in this thesis that these media discourses present a partial ,and that by examining the intersection between family migration and counterurban movements, new sites and scales of analysis can be utilised that may reinvigorate studies of family movements by investigating new socio-spatial contexts of migration. The shifting terrain of 'family migration' and 'counterurban migration' shows that there is significant merit in exploring the increasingly blurred boundaries between each research agenda. It is argued that in doing so, family migration as a branch of population geography can engage with 'other' human geographies, and avoid becoming marginalised were widely (Graham and Boyle, 2001).

Other key societal changes also emphasise the need to refocus attention on theoretical and conceptual developments associated with studies of family migration. It is asserted that a family perspective will enhance understandings of some of the most significant demographic events unfolding in the UK, such as increasing level of co-habitation, marriage occurring later in life, relatively high divorce rates, and stepfamilies (Williams, 2004). The mobility trajectories of certain social groupings, and how these intersect with broader demographic trends, have often, to date, been overlooked. Explanations for shifts in population patterns and trends are contended to be entangled with the increasing complexity of families and households. The growing number of divorced and separated households with children, co-habiting couples, and dual-career households is argued to raise questions about the socio-economic and mobility trajectories of families and experiences of migration for different family members. Such significant changes in family structure, household composition and living arrangements are argued to influence the timing and direction of migration flows; migration and the family inherently interdependent, as a change in one nearly always involves a change in the other (Cooke, 2003).

It is further posited that it is crucial to explore the interconnections between gentrification and differential forms of family migration. Recent geographic scholarship on processes of gentrification and new expressions of family migration has arguably, to date, been limited (Smith, 2004). This thesis explores the possibility that family migrants are a distinct social grouping that may, potentially, encourage particular processes of social, cultural, economic and physical change that, previously, have been conceptualised as unfolding within limited spatial boundaries and exclusively tied to inner-urban areas (Phillips, 2005).

1.2 Aims of the thesis

The main aim of this thesis seeks to capture the increasingly complex relationship between family migration, counterurban migration and processes of gentrification, via the following objectives:

1. To examine the diversity and complexity of contemporary processes of family migration, using the case study of Old Town, Hastings.
2. To investigate the pertinence of the human-capital thesis for understanding the decision-making of contemporary family migrants.
3. To examine counterurbanisation movements of families moving to Old Town
4. To explore how the social, cultural and economic reach of London informs processes of family migration on the economic coastal margins of South East England.
5. To consider the interface between family migration and processes/outcomes of gentrification.

1.3 Rationale for the selection of Old Town, Hastings

‘Physically, seaside towns are peripheral to main markets and to transport infrastructure - they are at the end of things’ (British Resorts Association, 2006).

First, the case study offers the potential to explore processes of family migration as underpinned by an increasing preference for particular lifestyles; specifically, ‘alternative’ lifestyles ‘by the sea’. Preliminary content analyses of media discourses revealed that movement into Old Town, Hastings is stimulated by the predilection amongst affluent households for certain lifestyles as a primary motive for migration, rather than economic-related considerations in isolation, is central to the discussion, as is the role of place-specific appeals and enticements. The conspicuous lifestyles of in-coming migrants and social groups to the case study location is of significant interest, and raises questions related to the cultural tastes, beliefs and ideologies of migrants moving into a distinct social and cultural setting. It is argued that this will have implications for issues of social cohesion and marginalisation with the case study area, for both in-coming groups and established residents.

Second, the case study allows an investigation of possible new expressions of family *migration* and new categories of family *migrant*. Constructing a more nuanced understanding of family migration is founded on the intersection of social and cultural discourses of counterurbanisation studies with geographies of family migration. Examining migration flows to the case study location may reveal the possibility that contemporary family migrants are increasingly drawing on many of the socio-cultural motives and desires more typically associated with conventional counterurban moves.

Further to this, the importance of place-specific appeals and attractions that construct perceptions, attitudes and experiences of urban, rural and coastal destinations are explored, and may provide insight into how and why family migration processes unfold lower down the urban hierarchy.

Third, it was essential to select a location that had significant social and cultural meaning as a coastal location to examine how counterurbanising impulses are contributing to a more nuanced understanding of new trends of family migration. Hence, the case study had to be sufficiently different from other coastal environs on the South East coast that were in numerous ways defined by various socio-economic and cultural characteristics, such as a large proportion of retirement migrants (e.g. Eastbourne), or extensively gentrified landscape (e.g. Brighton). Examining migration flows to the coastal periphery in a counterurban context, investigating how and why families move to locations at 'the end of things', is intended to contribute to a fuller understanding of the changing magnitude and scale of this particular dimension of family migration. To date, how and why processes and outcomes of family migration are shaped by the shifting terrain of counterurban impulses has not been fully explored. The selection of Old Town as the case study reflects the increasing need to consider in more depth changing population trends in diverse socio-spatial contexts. In addition, it is argued that there are specific issues related to population trends and coastal locales that warrant the interest of policy makers and institutional actors. In particular, issues surrounding the economic and socio-cultural regeneration of declining coastal towns require understandings of which social groups are moving to specific locations, when and why.

Fourth, observations of the changes in use of fisherman houses and net shops suggested that processes of gentrification are unfolding within Old Town. Examining wider processes of change in other locales besides inner urban locations allows insight into the socio-spatial attachment of processes of gentrification to certain areas, and encourages family migrants to be considered in a different capacity; as possessing distinct forms of socio-economic and cultural capital that potential (re) shapes the nature of social, cultural and economic relations in place of destination in significant ways. This perspective may also offer insight into the socio-cultural structures in place that may potentially resist or absorb the social, cultural, economic and physical processes of change in the case study area.

Finally, through observations of the relationship between Greater Hastings and surrounding areas, and Old Town's place within these landscapes, the importance of place-specific appeals and enticements within the migration decision-making process became increasingly important. Preliminary analyses of media discourses confirmed this interpretation of the case study area, often recognising and succinctly capturing its distinct imagery and ethos, and place within the wider milieu, describing it as:

‘An almost claustrophobically discreet quarter, trapped in the cleft of a valley between twin sets of towering cliffs...a sense of intimacy, character and self-confident, rock-solid identity oozes from Hastings's older streets...without the Old Town it'd [Hastings] just be a jumble of shops, arcades and places to eat like many other resorts. But that old-fashioned corner gives the place smell, purpose and history’ (The Telegraph, 30/7/2005).

Old Town as a destination for family migrants is thus explored with this distinct place identity in mind; as a distinct and diverse locale positioned within a town argued to bear hallmarks typically associated with post-industrial centres, such as unemployment and struggling public services, for example, the post-industrial north. It is important to note, however, that although it may be too simplistic to bracket Greater Hastings with Britain's other ‘problem’ locations, such as older industrial areas. Although socio-economic issues such as levels of claimant unemployment may appear similar, the underlying economic trends are fundamentally different. As Beatty and Fothergill argue ‘unlike many other ‘one industry towns’, seaside towns do not on the whole suffer from a downward spiral of decline (2003: 6).

1.4 Structure of thesis

Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the conceptual and theoretical boundaries for the study of two key concepts; family migration and counterurban migration. Chapter 2 reviews the family migration literature, examining the existing theoretical and conceptual boundaries of family migrants and migration. It is argued that by scrutinising long-standing dominant theories, gaps in knowledge will be illuminated that, when investigated, may contribute towards an emerging theoretical framework underpinning contemporary family migration.

Chapter 3 reviews the counterurbanisation literature, and establishes a conceptual framework within which to consider the emergence of new geographies and expression of family migration within the case study location. This includes a discussion of the theoretical and conceptual understandings that have been developed to account for growth and decline in urban, suburban and rural locales. It is argued that the links between family migration and counterurban movements may need to be re-theorised; (re) examining the spatial boundaries of counterurban movements, and the spatial nature of family movements.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion of the rationale for the methodological approaches adopted throughout the thesis. A mixed-methods approach was utilised to capture both primary and

secondary sources of data, involving both quantitative and qualitative methods. First, the chapter describes the secondary data component of the research, followed by the primary data component, which involved identifying a sampling framework. Finally, issues of positionality are explored, alongside ethical considerations and risk.

In Chapter 5, recent media and policy discourses are examined. A wide range of media discourses are utilised to identify both local and national perceptions of recent social, cultural, economic and physical changes within the case study location. Further to this, media discourse analyses begins to reveal the changing magnitude and scale of population trends more widely, and provides evidence of a temporal juncture within migration flows to Old Town; the key patterns and themes of which are further investigated in Chapters 6 and 7. In addition, this chapter utilises semi-structured interviews with local estate agents in order to explore their interpretations of why households are moving into the case study location.

Chapter 6 presents findings from household surveys which were conducted in the case study location. The chapter takes as a starting point the assertion of a specific temporal juncture within migration flows to Old Town, and utilises both closed- and open-ended questions to tease out the complexities of motives, experiences and outcomes of migration as situated within the family and household more widely. The chapter illustrates how multiple and diverse socio-cultural factors influence processes of contemporary family migration, and highlights in particular changing ideas about family, work and home, perceptions of place and place-specific appeals, alternative lifestyles, and increasing complexity of migration decision-making processes.

Chapter 7 further explores the main themes uncovered by the household surveys, presenting findings from 40 semi-structured interviews with in-migrants into the case study location which offer a more in-depth exploration of processes of family migration. Based upon findings from the household survey, this chapter focuses on particular migrants and social groupings, and how they construct personal narratives of mobility. Utilising a more flexible, semi-structured approach is intended to allow the disentanglement of the complexities of decision-making and outcomes for migrants, and reveal new geographies and expressions of contemporary family migration.

Finally, Chapter 8 illuminates the key findings and major contributions of the thesis, and considers how these fulfil the original research aims, outlined in this chapter. The conceptual and theoretical outcomes of the research are discussed, and set within a broader context of family migration, counterurban migration and population geography.

2 Exploring the conceptual boundaries of family migration

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the family migration literature, and explores the rationale for a conceptual re-assessment of family migration processes and the family migrant. Traditional patterns and processes of family migration have changed significantly in recent decades (Cooke, 2008), the behaviour of family migrants and outcomes of migration are increasingly diverse and complicated (Halfacree, 2004). This has generated a substantial research literature within the realms of geography and spatial demography. The chapter is divided into six sections.

The first section briefly examines how the concept of the 'family' has been defined and employed in studies of migration. The second section describes how conventional representations of family migrants and migration have often been tied to economic models and frameworks. It is argued that embedded ideas of family migration are increasingly disrupted by empirical studies of migration and mobility in different socio-spatial contexts, illuminating 'other' geographies of family migration which are underpinned by increasing diversity and complexity of family composition, household structures, and labour market practices. The third section provides a discussion of a sociological perspective, and considers how a broader, gender-role approach extends the focus within family migration research activity. From this, it is argued that previous approaches have often led to a relatively narrow perspective within migration studies. Rather, it is more productive to consider family migration in broader socio-spatial contexts which emphasise wider social, cultural and economic implications of family migration processes. The fourth section examines the intersection of migration and family life-course events. It is contended that these events, which may act as a trigger/deterrent for migration, are often overlooked in family migration studies. It is suggested that this approach is important for understanding increasingly diverse processes of migration that are often obscured by conventional economic perspectives. With this in mind, the fifth section examines the rationale for a more encompassing perspective of family migration, and considers emerging lines of research and notable recent theoretical advances for understanding processes and expressions of family migration. Key here are recent investigations of the wider family context, changing meanings of the 'family', and concepts of loss and gain as considered in explicit economic and non-economic terms. The final section concludes the chapter, and argues that extending understandings of family migration is contingent on research that considers the role of non-economic factors in informing processes and outcomes of mobility for the family.

2.2 The family in migration research

Of course, it is an impossible task to capture in one brief discussion the totality of the research conducted on the family in the past three decades. Rather this section outlines the development of the family in relation to migration studies, and highlights significant contexts within which to examine the family, and family movements. Historically, understandings of family migration have been developed on the premise that it is the individual who moves; migration conceptualised as an investment decision undertaken by the individual to generate and increase productivity (Boyd, 1989). Previously, the individual or single worker in the labour market has been the primary focus of migration studies, and the motives and outcomes of migration of the individual have often been of paramount importance in explaining and understanding migration processes.

For example, in Greenwood's (1975) study, the individual is the focus of the research, whilst the family context of migration is largely ignored. There is a general tradition for migration studies to focus on the experiences of the individual, rather than distinguish between personal and family decisions. The view that 'presumably, families tend to be less mobile than unencumbered persons' (Mincer, 1978: 750) has perhaps, unsurprisingly, encouraged the family context of migration to be overlooked. In other analyses of migration, it can be argued that an awareness of the family context is largely absent, and the place of the family in the migration process consigned to a secondary role (Shields and Shields, 2001).

Arguably, processes of family migration in the British context have tended to be centred on a particular normative organisation of the family. The relationship between family context and the migration process has previously been modelled on the notion of the nuclear family; this particular formation contended to produce particular ways of moving. Previous theoretical approaches have remained focussed on this narrow perspective of the family, one that has remained isolated from changes in the composition and meaning of 'family' and changes in migration patterns and prospects (Bailey and Boyle, 2004).

Theoretical expectations for the experiences of family members following initial migration and the outcomes of migration are often based on the family arrangement of the male partner's dominant 'breadwinner' status; female partners orientating their role in both the labour market and home around their husband's aspirations and concerns. This arrangement is argued to have produced particular outcomes, with both married and cohabiting women, irrespective of the presence of children, often disenfranchised in the labour market as a result of moving with their spouse or cohabitee (Smith, 2004).

It is contended, however, that it is important to consider both ‘conventional’ family forms and household arrangements, and those that are increasingly diverse; including non-marital cohabitation, stepfamilies and those ‘living apart together’ (Levin, 2004) or ‘weekend families’. The conscious migration decision-making process is complicated by emerging forms of family life, and it is contended that the ‘post-familial family’ (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) is increasingly pertinent within analyses of contemporary family migration flows.

What has become increasingly clear is the increasing diversity and fluidity of concepts of family migration. It is important to acknowledge that the term ‘family migration’ is a fluid concept, encompassing multiple expressions of family movements which impede the construction of an unambiguous typology. Bailey and Boyle (2004) argue that family migration is not a simple unitary concept, but includes a variety of family, migration and institutional contexts that a single typology is unlikely to capture. As a working definition deployed in various studies, the term ‘family migration’ is often used to describe the process of couple, with or without children, moving within nations over long distances (Gayle *et al.*, 2008), whilst household moves over shorter distances are usually described as ‘residential moves’. Short-distance moves are often associated with housing-related issues, such as a particular destination becoming available, whilst longer moves are considered to be ‘employment-driven’ (Boyle *et al.*, 1999).

2.3 Economics and the human-capital approach

Over the last two decades, the processes and outcomes of family migration have been explored within the context of GB. Although there has been a proliferation of studies of family migration in the European context (Mulder, 2001), and the North American context (Cooke, 2001, 2003, 2005; Clark and Withers, 2002) theoretical development in the UK context has arguably stagnated. Overall, this work has been limited to an economic-led assessment of processes and outcomes of migration, whilst the non-economic realm of migration has remained largely unrecognised.

Migration studies have had a continual engagement with economic-led assessments of family migration. Migrants are thought to move to and from, and within, places depending on which localities have attractive, economic conditions, such as desirable income and job opportunities, which are considered the principle appeal for migrants (Greenwood, 1975). Early studies of migration concluded that moving to capitalise on such opportunities and enticements provided a robust explanation of how migrants navigated the decision-making process, and determined the direction and timing of their move. While attempts to examine the reasons for migration date back to Ravenstein (1885), analysis began with Sjaastad (1962), from an economic perspective,

developing a rational-migrant model that considered the cost and benefits of moving versus staying.

Early studies of family migration focussed on the determinants and outcomes, concluding that the labour market status of women subsequent to moving suffers (e.g. Lichter, 1980, 1983; Long, 1974; Mincer, 1978; Morrison and Lichter, 1988; Sjaastad, 1962; Spitze, 1988). In the UK and US context, these results were corroborated by studies that demonstrated the negative impact on women's labour market participation (Boyle *et al.*, 1999, 2001), and further supported more widely by other studies (Bailey and Cooke, 1998; Cooke, 2001; Jacobsen and Levin, 1997, 2000; Shihadeh, 1991; Smits, 1999).

The usual model adopted for studies of family migration is the human-capital model of migration (Mohlo, 1968), which treats migration as 'investment increasing the productivity of human resources, an investment [that] has costs and [that] also renders returns' (Sjaastad, 1962: 83). Following Schultz (1961) and Becker (1962), Sjaastad (1962) applied the notion of investment in human-capital to the decision to migrate. Subsequent to Sjaastad's analysis, other early works also applied a human-capital model (see, for example, Blau and Duncan, 1967; Da Vanzo, 1976; Greenwood, 1985; Long, 1974; Polachek and Horvath, 1977). This model posits that migration is a fundamentally economic process and individual act, in which geographic mobility is determined by economic considerations that will maximise monetary returns to mobility (Jacobson and Levin, 1997). Utilising this approach, migration is generally treated as an investment in human-capital intended to yield returns such as employment opportunities, increased income, and occupational status (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sjaastad, 1962).

Much of the empirical and theoretical research in the 1970's developed economic explanations of migration as grounded in a neoclassical framework, led by economists that observed a link between decreasing rates of family migration and increasing female labour force participation (Long, 1974). Economic-led approaches to migration emphasised the individual context of migration, focussing generally on the decision to move as an individual rational act, as well as individual outcomes of migration (Greenwood, 1985; Greenwood *et al.*, 1991).

The neoclassical explanation of family migration (Becker, 1981; Mincer, 1978) posits that the opportunity and / or necessity to maximise family gains was central to understanding processes and outcomes of migration, assuming that decisions are motivated by the prospect of enhancing family gains. Most early developments took place within the context of this theory, treating migration as an 'investment increasing the productivity of human resources, an investment [that] has costs and [that] also renders returns' (Sjaastad, 1962: 83).

Implicit in this perspective is the rational choice on the part of the migrant, deciding to accept or reject opportunities in light of an assessment of the (primarily) economic implications (Boyle *et al.*, 1999). Through the leverage of one's human-capital, migration is an investment that is expected to yield dividends in wage earnings (Lansing and Morgan, 1967), employment prospects (DaVanzo, 1978), and occupational status (Blau and Duncan, 1967) (in Shihadeh, 1991). Within this particular framework, the direction and timing of mobility is driven by negotiations that unfold along an economic metric, with decisions taken in light of relative earnings potential (Mincer, 1978, in Smith and Bailey, 2006: 1329). These early theories on the question of geographic mobility neatly encapsulated the processes underpinning moves by claiming that 'differences in net economic advantages, chiefly differences in wages, are the main causes of migration' (Hicks, 1932: 76).

In their seminal papers, Sandell (1977) and Mincer (1978) extended the human-capital model of migration to the context of a nuclear family with two wage earners, first, by positing that household decisions simply reflect the combination of individual decisions, and second, that decisions could be interpreted and understood with recourse to neoclassical economic logic (Bailey and Boyle, 2004). Within this familial context, it is posited that net *family* benefit motivates the migration of a family, rather than net *personal* benefit, assuming that individual and family moves are driven by simple economic motives, for example in response to job-related constraints at the place of origin and / or perceived or actual job-related opportunities at the place of destination (Green, 1992; Gordon, 1992, 1995; Lee and Roseman, 1999; Smits, 1999). So central is this assumption that there remains a continuing belief that individuals and families will undoubtedly experience favourable economic returns from migration (Withers and Clark, 2006: 275).

Although included in this cost/benefit analysis is an acknowledgement of other factors (psychic costs considered alongside economic concerns), the primary focus is on factors such as future earnings and change in earnings between current location and potential location as the most significant forces determining the timing and direction of migration. Many early studies arguably reproduced this particular orthodoxy, focussing primarily on the economic determinants and outcomes of migration. Feminist and post-structural studies of family migration (Findlay and Graham, 1991; Silvey, 1997; England and Stiell, 1997; Silvey and Lawson, 1999), argue that this embeddedness in discourses of economic development has limited dominant discourses of migration, and overlooked historically and culturally produced meanings and identities (Rouse, 1992; Halfacree and Boyle, 1993; White and Jackson, 1995).

The economic perspective of migration, in which the central assumption is that processes of

migration are transparently economic in nature (Silvey and Lawson, 1999), arguably underpins numerous studies of family migration, which can be said to be concerned primarily with the assessment of economic-related determinants and outcomes of family migration; in particular, the post-migration labour market participation of migrants, often measured by employment or occupational status (Smith, 2004). A substantial literature has explicitly examined the effects of family migration on employment status and participation of migrants; concepts that form the basis of pioneering studies that took place in the US (Boyle *et al.*, 1999).

Utility-maximising perspectives of family migration have provided considerable impetus for research on the socio-economic consequences of migratory behaviour. Initial research, however, concentrated largely on male migrants, with a relatively limited emphasis on the effects of migration on the labour market participation and occupational careers of their wives (DaVanzo 1976; Lichter 1980). As Lichter (1983: 488) contends, an absence of research devoted to the employment and economic consequences of migration for married women is consistent with the assumption that women do not initiate family moves. It is presumed, therefore, that within the household, it is the male partner's employment circumstances and residential preferences that determine the place of residence for most women (Lichter, 1983: 488). As Boyle *et al* (1999: 109) also contend, it is usually the male 'breadwinner' who both instigates, and has the most to gain from, employment motivated family migration. Migration studies that dispute this claim be traced back to even earlier explorations of migration, Ravenstein (1885: 196) contending that:

'Woman is a greater migrant than man. This may surprise those who associate women with domestic life, but the figures of the census clearly prove it'.

This early statement by Ravenstein (1885) may be argued to allude to the importance of including female migrants within analyses of family migration. Acknowledging the role of the female migrant within processes of geographic mobility, notwithstanding Ravenstein's early analysis, has, however, been limited in its application to studies of family migration. Women are assumed to migrate because their husbands do, and 60 years on, this still formed the basis for studies of family migration, deBeauvoir (1949) positing that:

'It is he who decides where they will live, according to the demands of his work; she follows him from city to country or vice versa to distant possessions, to foreign countries; their standard of living is set according to his income; the daily, weekly, annual rhythms are set by his occupation' (deBeauvoir, 1949).

Numerous studies of family migration (Shihadeh, 1991; Bird and Bird, 1985) demonstrate that it is

usually the female partner who cites accompanying their spouse as a reason for moving; the move benefiting the male partner's career at the expense of the female partners. It is further contended that household decisions and the eventual relocation of the family unit are theorised utilizing a rational economic logic that the move will follow and fulfill the male partner's career due to the sacrifice made by the female partner being offset by the net gain to the family (Lichter, 1983).

The intersection of family migration and employment is manifest in the concept of the female 'tied migrant' or 'trailing spouse' (e.g. Lichter, 1983; Morrison and Lichter, 1988; Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Bruegel, 1996; Smits, 1999; Cooke and Bailey, 1999). Tied persons in the family are 'those whose gains from migration are (in absolute value) dominated by gains (or losses) of the spouse' (Mincer, 1978: 753). In addition, Mincer also speculated that women were more likely to fulfil such roles as the 'tied person' due to their lower earning power and discontinuous labour force participation, and that the gendered social structures that favour men in education and employment are more likely to 'tie' women to their husband's occupation rather than their own (see Li and Findlay, 1997).

The introduction of the concept of the 'tied migrant' (Mincer, 1978) to academia and the study of family migration articulated the effects of family migration on women's labour market participation and supported the view that migrant wives' roles are orientated primarily around their husband's occupational desires and concerns, at the detriment to their own labour market activities and aspirations (Bonney and Love, 1991). A large literature on tied migration has provided useful insights into the effects of family migration on women's labour market participation. Initial research into this particular family migration scenario was carried out in the US in the 1970's and 1980's, and demonstrated the ways in which women were disadvantaged through migration (for instance, Lichter, 1983; Long, 1974; Mincer, 1978; Morrison and Lichter, 1988; Sandell, 1977; Spitze 1984). Interest in this area of study was renewed in the 1990's both in the US and the UK (Boyle *et al.*, 1999; Bruegel, 1996; Cooke and Bailey, 1999; Smits, 1999).

A 'tied mover' situation occurs when there are gains to the family as a whole that encourage the migration event, but losses to one of the partners (usually the wife) (Clark and Huang, 2006). Substantial work has documented the negative effects of migration on women in two-worker households, stating that women disproportionately continue to bear the costs of family migration (Shihadeh, 1991; Halfacree, 1995; Jacobsen and Levin, 1997; Bird and Bird, 1985). Conversely, when the advantages for one partner are insufficient to achieve an overall family net gain and are bound to their current place of residence, these non-movers become 'tied stayers' (Clarke and Withers, 2002).

On the whole, research in the European context has generally corroborated the ‘tied migrant’ thesis. From a comparative cross-national study of long-distance family migration in the US and GB, Boyle *et al* (2000, 2001) demonstrate that the employment status of migrant female partners in the US and GB is similar following family migration. Likewise, Smits (1999) draws attention to the similarities between the Netherlands and GB (Smith, 2004). Whether or not those in low-status occupations or high-status occupations are more greatly affected is uncertain.

The existence of ‘tied migrants’ is viewed as a direct outcome of unequal gendered power relations within the home and workplace (Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Shihadeh, 1991). Due to the traditional division of labour that still exists in many households – with the husband as provider and wife as caregiver – most long-distance moves take place for the sake of the husband’s career (Markham and Pleck, 1986; Bonney and Love, 1991; Beilby and Beilby, 1992). Crucial to this understanding is the perception that the relocation of the family unit is often initiated to fulfil the male partner’s career and ‘breadwinner’ aspirations. The implication of this is that when migrating, women do not gain as much as their spouses, in terms of economic betterment, career advancement and social mobility. This is often conceptualised as ‘the wife’s sacrifice’, or rather, as Smith (2004) argues, the female partner’s participation in the labour market and occupational aspirations are ‘satisfied’. In this scenario, part-time work or occupational downgrading are two of the limited options available to women, rather than economic inactivity or unemployment (Smith, 2004). Tied migration is also often facilitated by women restricting themselves to ubiquitous jobs and opting out of jobs which require transfer flexibility and provide some chance of occupational mobility, in the view that their male partner’s career is central within the household (Bruegel, 1996).

Several explanations have been offered for the fact that married women either sacrifice or ‘satisfice’ their own personal goals and / or gains and acquiesce to their husband’s career, often experiencing considerable personal loss. First, in line with human-capital theory, it is suggested that because married women generally contribute less to family income than their husbands, it is acceptable for any personal losses sustained by the female partner to be counterbalanced by the anticipated gain for the family as a whole (Polachek and Hovarth, 1977; Mincer, 1978). Secondly, according to the resource theory of conjugal power (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Rodman, 1972), within most conjugal units, the balance of power lies with the husband because he brings more valued resources into the marriage. Thirdly, it is contended by gender-role theorists that women often defer to their spouse when economic decisions have to be made, as they are socialised to put family before their own personal goals when critical household matters arise (Markham and Pleck, 1986; Shihadeh, 1991).

The thesis of the ‘wife’s’ labour market sacrifice following a move is, however, problematic.

Although it has become apparent in much family migration research that geographical mobility for the husband's career reasons is disruptive of wives' labour market careers, it can be said that in many instances female migrants consider any move as helpful in terms of labour market participation and quality of employment, or as making no difference, rather than a hindrance (Bonney and Love, 1991). For many women, geographic mobility is not explicitly disruptive of a career. Rather, it is considered an opportunity to deploy other skills, or as an opportunity to gain satisfaction in other realms outside the labour market, such as that of parenting or house-keeping, aspects which are not given adequate attention in earlier research (Green, 1997). As Lichter (1983: 500) asserts:

‘...many women may *willingly* sacrifice their careers provided that migration improves the economic well-being of the family as a whole’ (emphasis added).

The view that long-distance migration facilitates constrained and detrimental employment opportunities for female partners has been challenged on numerous occasions (Finch 1983; Bonney and Love, 1991). Cooke and Bailey (1996) in their study in the Midwestern US concluded that family migration increases the probability of married women finding employment by 9 per cent, questioning the limitations of the human-capital hypothesis and prompting a reconceptualisation of labour migration. What emerged, however, was the need to ascertain how the effect of migration on married women's labour force participation, or quality of employment, is influenced by household structure (Boyle *et al.*, 2003), illuminating the migration process in the context of the family, and exploring how dynamics within the household influence the patterns, behaviours and outcomes of the migration process (Shihadeh, 1991).

Some studies do find trailing status unproblematic, supporting the rationalised view that on the whole dual earner households can absorb any transfer requirements of the male breadwinner, since women's jobs are fairly ubiquitous (Bruegel, 1996). It would appear that although migrant women's roles are still overwhelmingly orientated around their husband's occupational concerns, this need not be detrimental to their own labour market activity since their skills, aptitudes and resources facilitate their adaptation to the new situation (Bonney and Love, 1991). Further to this, it is argued that any negative effect on female spouses is offset by relatively greater earnings changes for their male spouses (Sandell, 1977; Polachek and Horvath, 1977) suggesting that families as a whole receive a net positive return to migration. Thus, from the standpoint of the family as a whole, migration events are a rational process (Lichter, 1983).

Despite the growing literature suggesting that women may not fare as badly from household migration as once supposed, some empirical studies do show that within the long distance context,

the employment opportunities of female partners generally suffer subsequent to the event (Boyle and Halfacree, 1995; Gordon, 1995). The career of the male partner frequently takes precedence over that of the female partner (Bielby and Bielby, 1992).

That married women make long-distance moves primarily for their husband's career does not render them completely powerless in the migration decision, however. It has been argued that women most probably use their influence to prevent migration (Long, 1974; Spitze, 1984; Shacklee, 1989). As the ability of women to initiate a move for the sake of their own career is notably diminished within the family context (Markham and Pleck, 1986), any negative effects or disadvantageous outcomes of migration are often magnified, such as disruption to their social network and the loss of their job. In addition, Smits (1999: 136) argues that:

‘Women who are strongly work (or career) orientated and who have enjoyable or good jobs will not be easily swayed to accept a long-distance move as long as they are not sure of finding a satisfactory alternative at the new location’.

Individuals who would like to migrate yet cannot because their spouse does not want to move with them are called ‘tied stayers’ (Mincer, 1978). Husbands are often ‘tied stayers’, with their wives the inhibiting influence on the migration decision. The constraint placed upon the decision to migrate by married women remains largely unappreciated, however, and it is often difficult to distinguish between husbands who simply do not want to move from those who would but are unable to as their spouse is not prepared to ‘follow’ or ‘go with’ them (Smits, 1999: 134). Accurately identifying tied migrants and tied stayers is an area that needs further study (see Rivers and West, 1992, 1993; Cooke and Speirs, 2005; Little and Hisnanick, 2007; Swain and Garasky, 2007).

Limitations of a traditional emphasis on economic-led explanations for mobility also extend to unintended moves; those which do not have a specific motivation. Lu (1998, 1999) has examined the intention to move, and whether these are acted upon by potential migrants. Beyond these studies, however, research is arguably limited. It can be said that the dominance of economic rationality within studies of family migration often conceals unintended migration and mobility events (see Halfacree (1995) and Smith (2004) for fuller discussion).

As Mulder (1993) notes, whilst academia has been reticent to more fully understand the significance of non-economic motives and consequences of migration for the family, the law has not. In the context of liability for capital gains tax on income derived from property sales, the Internal Revenue Service has codified what constitutes unexpected or unforeseen circumstances of

moving. Triggers for relocation include death of a spouse, becoming unemployed, divorce or legal separation and multiple births from the same pregnancy (Silow, 2006, in Mulder, 2003).

According to Cooke (2008) as interest in family migration began to decline amongst economists, and determinants and outcomes of migration for members of the family more fully attracted the attention of sociologists, who challenged the assumption that migration decisions are gender-neutral. Analyses of family migration from a gendered perspective still, however, drew upon the human-capital model, but increasing evidence that the human-capital model could not fully explain family migration decisions and outcomes resulted in an alternative explanation being developed that was grounded in a gender-role model of migration (Halfacree, 1995).

Amongst others (e.g. Cooke, 2001; Boyle *et al.*, 2003), Bailey *et al* (2004) highlight other reasons for migration alongside employment-related factors, such as the ways in which households operate in relation to other factors.

2.4 Sociology and the gender-role approach

Following on from a primarily economic perspective from the 1970's onwards, in which a human-capital framework provided the main lens of enquiry in family migration research, the focus was broadened to critically examine the gender neutrality of the human-capital model and consider the importance of gender and power relations in the decision-making process. A gender-role perspective is perhaps one of the most important developments in migration research in recent years, and had considerable implications for conceptualising the family and family migration processes. Despite this advance, it can be suggested that the gender dimension of migration has generally been neglected by studies of family migration, in both the UK and US context.

In the 1980's, the focus on human-capital models was broadened to take into account gender-role theory, as empirical evidence increasingly indicated how a human-capital approach failed to adequately explain the trailing wife effect (Cooke, 2008). Cooke and Bailey (1996) demonstrate the limitations of the human-capital model of migration by noting the constraints placed upon explanations of family migration behaviour to economic factors. Further to this, Cooke and Bailey call for a reconceptualisation of family migration that acknowledges these limitations, as well as the potential more widely of the gendered migration perspective. Recognising the influence of gendered family resources is a central part of a more nuanced approach to theorising family migration, many scholars arguing for a move 'away from relatively crude human-capital interpretations' (Boyle *et al.*, 2009: 417) (e.g. Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Halfacree, 1995; Shauman and Noonan, 2007; Shihadeh, 1991). The gender-neutral human-capital model did not corroborate

many of the findings of these studies; principally, that the employment or economic activity of women following a move is likely to suffer. Other outcomes, such as psychological well-being of family members subsequent to migration are also overlooked by a human-capital framework.

It has been contended that the findings of many prior studies do not accurately reflect the experiences of women subsequent to a migration event, as well as their motivations to move initially; particularly the importance of non-economic motivations for women's migration, including family responsibilities and life-course factors, as illuminated by previous research on gendered migration (Chant, 1992; Tyner, 1994). Mincer (1978) argues that studies of migration had failed to distinguish between personal and family decisions, prompting a greater emphasis on the family context of migration and on the gender dimension of migration for married women.

The importance of how collective and individual gender dynamics of the family and household shape the migration decision-making process is argued by Smith (2004) to be obscured by an over-privileging of economic-related outcomes; concealing the social and cultural frameworks that explicitly and implicitly underpin and manipulate processes of migration. As Lawson (1999: 263) comments: 'While migration is often prompted by economic motivations, the migration literature all too frequently stops here'.

The economic focus seen in explanations of and reasons for migration is undeniably pervasive, remaining predominant from studies within the neoclassical tradition to those more rooted in radical interpretations (Halfacree and Boyle, 1999). This preoccupation with economic motivations for and explanations of how and why families migrate is argued to be equally apparent in studies of gender and migration, yet from this recognition it is contended that some of the reasons for the masculinism present within migration research can be appreciated. For example, the implied institutional nexus of the 'traditional' nuclear family in which 'rational economic man' is embedded allows little space for migration to be interpreted in ways other than a male response to employment factors (Halfacree and Boyle, 1999).

It has been a persistent claim in migration research that the interface between migration and gender has been a 'neglected area of study' (Halfacree, 1993). This is despite the advances made in both feminist scholarship and the study of human migration over the previous couple of decades. While gender relations are increasingly becoming a focus of attention in the social sciences, the limited acknowledgement of and attention to their role in the migration process is considered to be neglectful, particularly with respect to work undertaken in so-called developed nations; more recognition being paid to gender-specific migration patterns and processes in the developing world (see Chant, 1992; Lawson, 1999). As Boyle and Halfacree (1995: 44) comment:

‘Whilst there is often a recognition of gender differences in migration data sets, such as in propensity to migrate...we have yet to highlight these differences in migration research’.

Dominated by the ‘economic’ dimension of migration, the wider migration literature adopted a neoclassical approach, assuming that migration decisions are investments in human-capital and are driven by simple economic motives that will benefit the family as a collective. It may be contended that this approach naturalises or at least fails to problematise adequately the gender relations within the family and the way that the ‘negative private externalities’ of migration are ‘internalised within the family’ (Ferree, 1990). As Bonney and Love (1991) also claim, this reflects a more general problem in migration research of concentrating on the household at the expense of examining how actions stem from a problematic and contested relationship between individuals within the household. Bielby and Bielby (1992: 1245) argue, for instance:

‘Neoclassical...approaches ignore the household roles husbands and wives occupy, the gender-role beliefs they subscribe to regarding those roles, and the effect of these beliefs on both the process and the outcome of couples’ decision-making’.

It has thus been argued that dominant gender-roles and gender identities configure the lives of women and men in married couple families (Cooke, 2001). Gender-role accounts of family migration suggest that processes of migration and its outcomes are mediated by gender relations between the individuals or, more generally, by the ways in which relational power circulates through the household (Hardill *et al.*, 1997).

Most contemporary family migration research now recognises the narrowness of the economic perspective in that it does not consider how gender-roles are constructed and performed within the family migration decision-making process (Cooke, 2001). Using a gender-role perspective emphasises the roles into which men and women are socialised and how those roles influence the family migration decision-making process (Shihadeh, 1991). As women are often ‘socialised to place family first and personal goals second when it comes to critical household matters’, it may be argued that although female partners are involved to varying degrees in decision-making processes, they are more likely to defer to their husbands when making migration decisions (Shihadeh, 1991: 3).

Recognising and analysing the gender differences in the migration process is central to advancing migration theory in terms of the family and household. Lawson (1998) argues that in order to

understand the consequences of migration, it is crucial to look at feminist research on intrahousehold dynamics and power relations. The inner workings of migrant households (in both origin and destination) are key to re-examining the classic migration questions - who migrates and why, what are the material consequences of migration, and how does mobility rework gender divisions of labour and gender ideologies and identities? As Lawson (1998) states, previous migration research has paid little attention to the ways in which household divisions of labour (gender ideologies, roles and responsibilities) and significant life events shape the migration process in terms of initial motivations, the decision-making process and eventual outcomes.

Previous research that concluded migration tended to reduce the unemployment, but adversely affects the employment, of women (as tied movers) encouraged the examination of how migration is negotiated within the family, illuminating the migration process in the context of the family, and recognising the role of complex decision-making processes and outcome in migration and mobility (Clark and Withers, 2002).

Becoming disenfranchised within the labour market is often viewed as a direct consequence of disparate gendered power relations both within the private realm of the home and the public sphere of the workplace (Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Shihadeh, 1991). The perception that a migration event (which initially places the female spouse in this disadvantaged position) is often initiated to fulfil the male partner's career and 'breadwinner' aspirations is central to this understanding. Early analysis of the impact of migration argued that loss of earnings, interrupted careers, unemployment, underemployment, or leaving the labour force could all potentially affect female partners. Despite two-earner households being less likely to move than single earner households, traditional family migration theory considers those women who do migrate with their partners as sacrificial martyrs to marriage, as their husband's career will matter most (Clark and Withers, 2002).

Early studies into the effects of women's labour market attachment on migration described a situation in which women's participation deterred migration and contributed to marital instability, which, in turn stimulated migration and encouraged participation in labour markets (Mincer, 1978). The relationship between migration and women's labour market participation has been examined previously by some studies of family migration.

The relationship between the labour force participation of married women and household migration has generated considerable interest within social sciences for the past couple of decades (e.g. Long, 1974; Sandell, 1975; DaVanzo, 1976). An increasing awareness that familial-related factors, as opposed to strictly economic motivations, may influence the decision to migrate, has encouraged this interest in wider and more complex dynamics of the family, household and processes of

migration. Also central to this heightened recognition and appreciation of the connections between family mobility and the labour force is the growth during the last few decades in the proportion of married women in the labour force that has translated into significant increases in the proportion of houses in which both the male and female partner are participating in some form of paid employment (Lichter, 1980).

Labour market changes and their differential impacts on women's and men's experiences of employment are a key context for examining how individuals and households experience migration and why. The recognition that such shifts in the socio-economic landscape may have a marked influence as to places of residence – and changes in place of residence – on the part of married couples prompted questions concerning the extent to which the wife's work influences the residential mobility of families. Adhering to traditional familial and household arrangements, it is argued that if the wife's job is habitually subordinated to that of the husband, then there should be no difference in the likelihood and frequency of migration between those families in which the wife works and those in which she does not work (Long, 1974).

Alternatively, it may be contended that families in which the wife works are less migratory than family in which she does not work (Long, 1974), suggesting that the labour force participation of the female partner is considered to act as a constraining force on processes of mobility. When examining divisions of labour it is essential to recognise that how people come to organise their domestic arrangements has a significant influence on their ability to experience employment opportunities.

How gender influences the migration of couples in Britain is discussed in numerous papers. The 'gender order' which can shape motivations for migration is generally expected by such studies. Socio-cultural constructions of gender-roles, as well as a gendered construction of values and roles in relation to career and family by family members, is considered to affect how the migration process plays out as well as how the impacts of that migration act are interpreted (Li and Findlay, 1997). Examining the migration decision-making process to uncover if and how female partners influence decisions is argued to reveal the influence of gender on migration. As Li and Findlay (1997:176) caution, however, categorization of women into 'followers' and 'leaders' is arguably an oversimplification; suggesting that such a 'bipolar categorization' is inadequate to achieve an understanding of the complexity of how gender influences migration decision-making.

2.5 Dual-career households

The household remains the basic social unit around which people conduct their lives (Pahl, 1984). Whilst work (market and non-market) done by members of the household is the central process around which society is structured, the household is an enduring site of private values, meanings and potential conflict through which family life is produced and performed. It may be argued that reconciling these two previously separate domains has become a central feature of many post-industrial societies, as both men and women participate in paid employment. As members of the family increasingly organise the multiple spheres of home, work and family, women's roles have changed, complicating the migration behaviour of the household more widely (Green *et al.*, 1999; Jarvis, 1999; Smith *et al.*, 2003; Green, 2004; Challiol and Mignonac, 2005).

The UK has experienced a series of tumultuous changes over the past twenty years; key dimensions of population and labour market scenarios adapting and readjusting in response to new and diverse demographic, economic and social trends. Key demographic trends evident in the UK in the 1980's and 1990's include declining fertility rates, rising divorce rates, increasing cohabitation and the aging of the population (Champion, 1992; Cebrian and Elias, 1994). Such demographic trends have important implications for the changing numbers and composition of households, including the increase in the number and significance of one particular sub-group: dual-career households (Green, 1995).

The joint nature of the migration decision for families was first considered by Polacheck and Horvath (1977), once again with a strictly economic perspective, contending that the family tried to maximise the lifetime sum of earnings of both husband and wife; the economic focus on labour migration within much migration research in general once again equally apparent in studies of gender and migration.

A distinction is required between dual-career and dual-earner partnerships. Dual-earning partnerships are much more common than dual-career partnerships, and are likely to become increasingly so with the rise of female participation in paid labour. The most common dual earning partnership can typically be conceived of as a man in continuous full-time economic activity with a female partner in intermittent, full or part-time employment (Bonney, 1988).

Dual-career households are a subset of dual-earner households, in which both partners are working in managerial, professional or associate professional occupations. Implicit is the notion that both partners are involved in a 'career', implying long-term progression within an occupation, or through a series of occupations, with increasing levels of responsibility at each stage (Green, 1995)

(i.e. the types of occupation which tend to place particular demands and stresses on the individual and are characterised by a high level of commitment) (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976). Such occupational commitments are argued to be very infrequent for women (Bonney, 1988).

Studies which pay more attention to dual-career households may be argued to offer a broader view of family relations within migration research (e.g. Green, 1995). Whilst most of this research has concentrated on dual-career 'families' rather than households (Rapoport and Rapoport 1976) with a particular emphasis on childcare strategies (Brannen and Moss, 1987), it is contended by Green (1995, 1997) that a 'household-led' approach focus is more appropriate. This approach is apparently justified by the decline number of 'nuclear' families (Duncan, 1991) and the rising number of dual-career couples and childless couples with 'top jobs' (Elias and Hogarth, 1993).

The geographic organisation of dual-career households is particularly responsive to the challenges and opportunities faced by partners in balancing home and work tasks. Although family migration literature describes the characteristics of migrant partners and the consequences of family migration (for a recent review, see Cooke, 2003), understandings of the household context of family migration in general - and dual-career households in particular - is less well developed (Bailey *et al.*, 2004). As Bruegel (1999: 87) contends: 'household relations have been under- rather than over-estimated in much of the literature'. Networks of connections between partners, their families, friends and place of work play a central role in decisions about family migration, and understandings of how households reach decisions about geographic organisation and social mobility must consider how and why these connections have the ability to both enable and constrain such migration.

The growth of dual-career households has been fuelled by multiple socio-economic and demographic changes. Alongside changes in the structure of the population, manifest in declining fertility rates, increasing co-habitation, rising divorce rates and the aging of the population, restructuring of the labour market has led to significant changes in occupational structure, participation rates and household arrangements (Green, 1997).

Increasing female participation rates in paid work reflects a number of social and economic factors, including the availability of part-time work and changes in social attitudes which have meant that women born later in the century tend to have an underlying attachment to the labour force, such that 'not working' increasingly tends to be a 'temporary phase' (Martin and Roberts, 1984; Joshi, 1989; Green and Hardill, 1991; Brannen *et al.*, 1994).

Labour market forecasts suggest a continuing growth in the managerial, professional and associated

occupations undertaken by partners in dual-career households, while female participation rates are projected to continue to rise (Institute for Employment Research, 1994; Green, 1994). Increasing numbers of women are attaining higher educational and professional qualifications, and the economic importance of retaining and using women's capital is becoming more widely recognised (Bennett and McCoshan, 1993).

In addition to declining fertility rates and an increasing proportion of women remaining childless (Martin, 2000), those women with children are increasingly spending shorter periods out of the labour market; more women returning to work between the births of their children and returning to work sooner after the birth of the youngest child (Green, 1995), strengthening their attachment to the labour market.

As 'working' became increasingly regarded as 'normal' for women with young children, a study of women returners in Bristol in the late 1980's (Sergeant, 1989) identified a category of 'new type returner' interested in pursuing a career, alongside categories of 'traditional returner' (women who work part-time in a clerical occupation) and of 'transitional returner' (those women who are more ambitious with older children, working part-time in a female-dominated career, and are frustrated with their career development) (Green, 1995).

This growth in the proportion of women in paid employment, alongside other key demographic and socio-economic trends, has produced changing household structures, most notably the forming of a dual-career household. The recognition of the phenomenon of dual-career households in recent decades has seen this particular household arrangement identified as the vanguard of a social order in which the family and household is more egalitarian and symmetrical; a greater measure of gender equality achieved in domestic and occupational life (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; Benenson, 1984). In this particular family formation, both partners participate in the formal labour market; dimensions of connectivity between home, work and family life becoming increasingly varied and complex, both spatially and socially.

It is contended that the household provides the most appropriate locus of analysis from which to unravel the connections between home and work. Such connections between work, home and family life are most visible in research which focuses on the complex ways in which dual-career households' co-ordinate individual and group practises (Allen and Hamnett, 1991; Anderson *et al.*, 1994; Green, 1996). Dual-career households are a group that is particularly utilised due to the comparable nature of the male and female's employment, noting that there are 'grounds for anticipating a more egalitarian form of domestic labour than that found in households where the male partner is, or has traditionally been, the primary earner' (Gregson and Lowe, 1993:479).

As more women participate in the formal labour market, households are increasingly being regarded as an arena of potential conflict (Pahl, 1990; England, 1993). As household work practices adapt and change in response to economic restructuring, there is much speculation about how the power balance between individuals within households is being altered by women's formal labour market participation (Hardill *et al.*, 1997). Previous studies have claimed 'the more economic power women have, the more their husbands will be willing to take on what is traditionally women's work' (quoted in Gregson and Lowe, 1993: 476; see also Young and Wilmott, 1974). The notion of symmetry has, however, been widely challenged (Pahl and Pahl, 1971; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976), including more recently by Gregson and Lowe (1993), who focussed on dual-career households to explore the effect of women's working in full-time professional or managerial jobs on the domestic division of labour.

For dual-career households in particular, the domestic division of labour is markedly complicated as a number of important interlinked individual and household decisions are pertinent. As Hardill *et al* (1997: 315) contend, questions of whether both careers should/can be pursued to the same extent, how competing factors are weighted in such decisions, and what compromises are necessary, become more significant as households become more complex. Indeed, wider scholarship on the family recognises that the balancing of work and home tasks is of central concern to the partners in dual-career households and the viability of their relationships (Perry-Jenkins *et al.*, 2000), and the growing complexity of such scenarios is increasingly accompanied by an increased risk of household dissolution.

Despite the participation of both male and female partners in the formal labour market, Morris (1990: 500) claims that women's employment still 'does not provide a sufficient context for the renegotiation of the domestic division of labour'. While more men, on average, are taking on an increasingly active role in the domestic arena than in the past, this is often nothing more than a 'helping' role rather than a sharing role. The reality is of many women returning home from paid employment to a 'second shift' of additional (non-market domestic) work (Hardill *et al.*, 1997: 314). Thus, many women are left to occupy two roles, attempting to excel in both paid and domestic spheres (Anderson *et al.*, 1994).

For women seeking career progression, these two roles are to some extent incompatible and many women are frustrated in their ambitions (Green and Hardill, 1991; Hanson and Pratt, 1991). It appears as though those attributes most valued by employers, such as a full-time uninterrupted work life and commitment as manifest in long work hours, are not compatible with the home-work scenarios experienced by many women; attributes associated with promotions, viable long-term

prospects and general career progression. As Hardill *et al* (1997) contend, most status, well-paid jobs tend to be organised on a full-time basis, and are therefore generally incompatible with the successful management of a home and sole family responsibilities.

Simple neoclassical analysis suggests that there are considerable efficiency gains in a traditional division of labour within the household. Becker (1993) claims that a gender-based division of labour is more efficient in terms of aggregate output for a household unit, though he arguably adopts a rather restricted view of the family as a 'Victorian ideal'. Forming a two-person household with the division of labour based on one member (traditionally the man) specialising in market work (in order to benefit from increasing returns created by the accumulation of human-capital) and the other (traditionally the female member) specialising in home production is considered the most efficient economic arrangement (Ermisch, 1993; Woolley, 1993).

A characteristic of the dual-career household that may be particularly useful for the study of mobility decisions is the category of 'leaders' and 'followers'. In traditional households with a conventional division of labour, the male would have the lead career, with the woman following, but this situation may be more complex in the dual-career household. Green (1997) found that in each dual-career household an attempt was made to designate one partner as 'leader' and one as 'follower' in accordance with whether one career could be identified as leading in household mobility decisions. Of the 30 houses in one case study, there were 19 instances of 'him leading' compared to five instances of 'her leading', challenging the idea that households are rejecting traditional gender-roles and becoming more egalitarian and symmetrical.

Partners in dual-career households share a common marital career that they coordinate alongside their individual employment careers and domestic responsibilities. To accomplish this balance, partners invest in what Jarvis (1999) refers to as 'tangled webs' of connections. Among dual-career households, prior research has identified a broad range of factors that both enables and / or constrains mobility, including financial means, local commitments, laws, relocation policies, social norms, information, and labour and housing opportunities (Hardill, 2002; Shields and Shields, 1993).

Fundamentally, however, for dual-career households the advantages of a move for the career of one partner often have to be set against disruptions to the career of the other (Rose and Fielder, 1988 in Green, 1996). The traditional migration pattern is for the man to lead and for the woman to follow (Finch, 1983; Bonney and Love, 1991; Bruegel, 1996); reflecting the traditional tendency for the man to command higher pay than the woman.

The decisions and preferences associated with the propensity for a household to become residentially mobile may, however, be argued to largely depend on the connections between work and home. It is within the institutional site of the household that multiple trade-offs between individual and group preferences and goals are effectively negotiated (Jarvis, 1999). It may be contended that the complex dynamics of migrant's decision-making processes are to some extent responsible for why households which share similar socio-economic characteristics manifest different and diverse dispositions towards mobility (Jarvis, 1999).

The ways that households accommodate the demands of work and home - through particular practices and divisions of labour - are constituted through a meshing together of the action spaces and social relations of individual household members in these spheres (Jarvis, 1999). The 'public' spheres of work and institutional regulation and the 'private' spheres of domestic reproduction and self provisioning are not 'separate', but rather overlapping and independent.

Connections between home, work and family life are arguably most visible when the complex ways in which dual-career households' co-ordinate individual and group practices are revealed. For example, an association is identified between household employment structure and relative rates of residential mobility (Jarvis, 1997; 1999) whereby households with two full-time earners exhibit lower rates of mobility than single earner 'male breadwinner' households.

The decision-making processes concerning infrequent lifestyle decisions among dual-career households, such as household location and mobility decisions, may be examined through the household strategies that are adopted to coordinate home and work, or through the ways in which individual and group ways of living unfold in response to particular household scenarios. In strictly economic terms, decisions regarding intra-household resource allocation and distribution within households with two members in paid employment will involve strategies such as bargaining and compromising to maximise the gains from intra-household co-operation, whilst still considering the individual preferences of each member. As Hertz (1987, in Green, 1996) contends, decision-making in such households involved three careers: 'his career', 'her career' and 'their career'. Different strategies of intra-household co-operation in such households may be summarised using the following three 'types' (Kiernan, 1992):

- 'Traditional' home-maker/breadwinner type: a household in which only the husband works and the wife runs the home.
- Middle type: a household in which the wife's work is less absorbing than the husband's and in which she takes on more of the household tasks and looking after the children; (in a small but increasing number of households these roles are

reversed, with the woman having the dominant career

- Egalitarian type: a household in which both male and female partners have equally absorbing work, and in which household tasks and looking after children are shared equally.

2.6 Geography and the life-course approach

This section examines migration scholarship that explores migration and mobility over the life-course. It is contended that this approach considers the juncture between mobility processes and significant family life-course transitions as a fundamental framework within which to examine pre- and post- migration impacts on the family.

The intersection between major life transitions and events such as marriage, parenthood, separation and divorce was noted initially by Rossi (1955), following observations that the age of household members affected migration rates. Rossi (1955: 9) asserts that geographical mobility should be seen as the response to the 'needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life-cycle changes'. Adopting a traditional family life-cycle perspective assumes an orderly transition through adulthood, which intersects with a uniform trajectory of mobility (Geist and McManus, 2008). This model is considered problematic due to its rigid structure which does not take into account family variation; acknowledged by Rossi in his seminal study (1955, 182 – 3):

'[T]his research has not gone much beyond defining family life-cycles in terms of family age and size. Life-cycle stages can be more fruitfully approached by definitions of families of differing compositions'.

A *life-course* perspective, rather than a *life-cycle* perspective takes as its key tenet the variability of timing and sequencing of life events (cf. Dykstra and Hagestad, 2007). Rather than focussing on age-related migration trajectories in isolation, a life-course approach takes into account the diversity of events over the life-course; such as cohabitation, marriage, divorce and remarriage (Geist and McManus, 2008). An emphasis on social context also highlights how population subgroups experiences different situations, which will lead to different migration trajectories (Geist and McManus, 2008).

The role of significant life changes in mediating the direction and timing of migration is examined by Odland and Shumway (1993) and Mulder and Wagner (1993). Clark and Withers (2007) further posit that by expanding the focus beyond migration and residential mobility to include the

intersection between them and family change, considerable complexity embedded in migration and mobility is revealed.

Significant changes in family composition and household arrangement have drawn attention to how life-course events shape migratory and mobility patterns of families. Placing family migration within a life-course framework provides new insight into the intersections between migration and events such as marriage, child birth and child rearing, separation and divorce. De Jong and Graefe (2008) call for a more full conceptualisation of these major family life-course events, which is utilised within family migration scholarship as an alternative family-level explanation to micro-economic and income explanations.

Much of this complexity can be tied to the increase in dual-career household, as family members combine work, home and family spheres. The changing role of women within the labour market and the implications for the mobility behaviour of families over long distances has been well documented (Green *et al.*, 1999; Jarvis, 1999; Smits *et al.*, 2003; Green, 2004; Chailiol and Mignonac, 2005). Other factors have been increasingly highlighted as equally important in shaping relocation for households (Cooke, 2001; Boyle *et al.*, 2003, Bailey *et al.*, 2004). Clark and Withers (2007) conclude that complex responses to changing opportunities and constraints complicates the nature and impacts of migration, and overly simplistic interpretations of migration, in terms of motives for long- or short-distance moves conceal the greater complexity in migration behaviour that many current models allow.

De Jong and Graefe (2008) examine the intersection of life-course events with migration events, paying particular attention to the social and economic outcomes. The question of whether family life-course and migration events are beneficial or detrimental to economic well-being is explicitly addressed; events such as marriage, child-birth and divorce intersecting with migration events to mediate employment outcomes. This line of research is explored in response to limited migration scholarship on how and why family life-course transitions affect economic outcomes for the family (Cooke, 2006), De Jong and Graefe (2008) arguing that the focus within migration studies has been on family migration and household structure rather than life-course processes, which may further advance migration literature post-migration employment and income of families.

Distance moved also mediates the affects of life-course events, De Jong and Graefe positing that shorter distance moves have more negative and less positive impacts on economic well-being of families than longer-distance moves. Events such as divorce or childbirth, in conjunction with moving for housing-related reasons are contended to cause significant economic stress, although

this analysis does not take in account cost of living, which may, in itself, exacerbate post-migration economic stress.

The timing of life-course events in relation to migration is also contended to shape post-migration outcomes for the family; the causal order of life-course and migration events fundamental to advancing migration theory (Mulder, 2003). De Jong and Graefe's (2008) study supports this contention, positing that the timing of life-course events produce different economic outcomes for the family. Life-course events that occur before migration are argued to produce both positive and negative outcomes, whilst subsequent to migration, the impact of family life events on family economic well-being is mostly detrimental.

In addition to mediating processes and outcomes of migration, the potential of family life-course events to act as a trigger for migration is also increasingly identified as significant (De Jong and Graefe, 2008), Cooke (2006: 2) noting that 'migration and the family are interdependent because a change in one nearly always involves a change in the other'. Importantly, new lines of research, such as a life-course approach, emphasise the wider context of changes in family composition, changes in occupation and changes in employment (Mulder, 1993; Clark and Dieleman, 1996).

The discussions in this section have illustrated how some studies have sought to use other approaches to conceptualise processes and outcomes of migration and mobility for the family, and advance understandings of migration theory. Geist and McManus (2008) contend that by utilising a life-course approach, processes of mobility that may be overlooked by traditional life-cycle or economic approaches, can be identified. Clark and Withers (2007) further posit that using the life-course enriches the study of migration and mobility by giving life events and transitions a central role in processes of family migration.

2.7 Developing areas of research – a changing context for family migration?

Despite an arguably predominant focus within studies of the family and migration on the effects of moving on women's earnings, family migration research has extended its 'previously myopic obsession with the trailing wife effect' (Cooke, 2008: 260) to explore the increasingly complex interface between life-course events, family dynamics and migration decisions (see Clark and Withers, 2007). Interest in family migration amongst both economists (e.g. Costa and Kahn, 2000; Lundberg and Pollak, 2003; Nivalainen, 2004, 2005; Compton and Pollak, 2007) and sociologists (e.g. Hiller and McCaig, 2007; Shauman and Noonan, 2007) has also undergone resurgence, as new areas of research emerge. Lines of research that pursue a broader conceptualisation of the family and household, a broader family context within the migration decision-making process, and

a reconceptualisation of loss and gain within outcomes of migration, are of particular interest in the context of this thesis.

What is meant by the family has arguably expanded to reflect the 'decline' in 'traditional' family forms. The historically created 'traditional' male breadwinner / female homemaker family has often been adopted as the norm within family migration studies. The increase in cohabiting couples, same-sex partnerships, and blended families suggests that the migration decision-making process has become increasingly complex, and is quite distinct from that assumed in much previous literature (Cooke, 2005; Cooke and Rapino, 2007). The experience and circumstances of migrants that choose 'unconventional' living arrangements is also becoming more pertinent within the family migration literature. For example, migrants that choose to live apart together, or those in distance relationships and commuter partnerships merit more attention within family migration studies. (Hardill, 2002; Haskey, 2005; van der Klis, 2008; van der Klis and Mulder, 2008). The increasing number of divorced and separated households has implications for migration decision-making across different households and daily life more generally; conditions for migration increasingly complex, and new migration strategies emerging as a result.

Feelings of obligation towards family members have previously been conceptualised as family solidarity, for example, in terms of the exchange of care within families (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991), whilst economists have also emphasised the importance of local ties, or location-specific capital (DaVanzo, 1981). Mulder (2007) also recognises the need to more fully appreciate the family context outside the household; how family relationships, such as those between parents, children and siblings, impact on migration decisions and residential choice. Within the context of contemporary processes of family migration the idea of a well-defined household living in one residence and coinciding with a nuclear household is arguably less pertinent; the wider family context becoming increasingly important (Mulder, 2007). Thus, Mulder calls for new research into the influence of the wider family context on how and why family migrants select residential locations and housing quality, the results of which 'should be capable of enriching previous bodies of literature that to date have been very distinct, and contribute to the bridging of gaps between them' (p. 275). The study of migration and residential mobility by geographers and economists has arguably led to a narrow focus within migration research. The merits of extending analyses beyond individual, household and macro-determinants of residential choice, with a focus on how family outside the household influences residential choice, is paramount to Mulder's plea for studies of family mobility to consider the role of family determinants.

A growing awareness of how adult children and their parents are influenced by events in each other's lives is argued to be central to this. For example, individual migration decisions made

within the context of the family, such as divorce, increasingly take into account events in the lives of other, extended family members (Cooke, 2008). The proximity between adult children and parents is also increasingly pertinent as exchange of care and support is placed within the wider family; both children and adults moving to reduce geographical distance between family members to attain support with living arrangements, and / or support needs associated with divorce, child birth and child rearing, and change in labour market status or income.

The family influence on migrant behavior is contended to lead to preferences for particular locations or type of locations, house type and housing quality. It is argued that experiences in individual's youth can influence what conditions and location types are considered desirable or not (Feijten, 2005). Socialisation in the parental family is expected to lead to such preferences as well as being a trigger for relocations (Mulder, 2007:), whilst experiences of housing quality and type of location in their family of origin are hypothesised to lead to a preference for similar conditions as children become adults (Easterlin, 1980).

Gain and loss within the migration process has often been conceptualised in terms of employment status and earnings. It can be said that previous studies of family have focused on capturing and evaluating gains and losses, in particular, how migration is associated with loss of earnings for women (Spitze, 1984; Shaklee, 1989), and the length of time earnings are affected. It is vital, however, to acknowledge the merit of widening analyses beyond monetary gains and losses, such as labour market earnings, and consider other dimensions of monetary and non-monetary costs and benefits. The psychological and sociological outcomes of family migration have warranted some research (McCollum, 1990; Magdol, 2002). Cooke (2008), however, contends that, more practically, analysis has rarely been extended to consider other, non-monetary gains and losses.

The growing complexity of the geographical organisation of contemporary households also has significant implications for studies of family migration, and is reflected in the increasing number of partners that 'live apart together' (Haskey, 2005, McHugh *et al.*, 1995). Increasingly, families that move, but maintain labour market practices, practice other non-standard living arrangements, such as the commuter partnership, taking analysis forward from Gerstel and Gross' (1982, 1984) research into commuter marriages. Limited studies into this particular arrangement demonstrate that employment-related reasons are at the centre, one partner residing near place of work for part of the time due to the commuting distance being relatively substantial (Gerstel and Cross, 1982, 1984; Green *et al.*, 1999). Van der Klis and Mulder (2008: 2) contend that a greater insight into commuter partnerships require more research, to 'improve this insight and to connect it with research into intra-household decision-making about family migration'.

In summary, a common theme which has been stressed within this section is the value of considering ‘other’ socio-cultural and socio-spatial contexts in which processes of family migration unfold. It can be contended that it is particularly important to examine diverse family compositions and households arrangements, the influence of family members outside of the household and ‘other’ conceptualisations of loss and gains. These entrees for research explicitly relate to the aims of this thesis

2.8 Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter makes a case for new developments and perspectives of family migration by shedding light on how family migration decision-making and outcomes are contingent upon various economic, sociological and geographical contexts.

Evidence from recent academic studies increasingly suggests that the increasing diversity of family structures and household arrangements have significant implications for patterns and processes of family migration, which are becoming less dichotomous. Findings show that long-distance moves are not necessarily for employment-related reasons, whilst short-distance moves are not always associated with housing-related reasons (Clark and Withers, 2007). This arguably over-simplification is addressed in subsequent chapters, with the intention of revealing how family dynamics are a fundamental consideration alongside economic models of migration behaviour.

To extend theorisations of family migration and migrants, it can be argued that attention must be shifted away from an arguably unproductive polarisation between economic and non-economic approaches to family migration. Rather, it is beneficial to take into account the increasingly socio-cultural nature of family movements, and the implications of this for theorising processes and outcomes of family migration. The limitations of the human-capital model of family migration and the emergence of other considerations indicate the need to reconceptualise processes and outcomes of family migration, which take into account the non-economic dimensions of family migration

3 The Counterurbanisation Hypothesis

3.1 Introduction

Alongside the growth of an increasingly mobile ageing population (Warnes, 1992; Rees, 1992), the deconcentration of people from urban to rural areas is one of the most fundamental demographic trends to emerge in recent decades (Champion, 2005); the phenomenon of movement away from urban spaces towards the rural periphery and less densely populated outer regions, or what has been generally described as counterurbanisation, generating a great deal of research interest and activity (Halfacree, 2004).

Although much of these population flows are represented as involving families, counterurban flows have not been conceptualised as a form of family migration. This chapter suggests that there may be merit in taking forward this link between counterurbanisation and family migration.

The chapter is organized into two sections. The first section outlines the concept of counterurbanisation; how the phenomenon has been interpreted and defined in order to capture the processes and implications of counterurbanisation. Distinguishing the concept from other population-related phenomenon, and recognising counterurbanisation as a concept in its own right in the academic literature is also discussed. The second section explores the links between counterurbanisation and family migration. Central to this discussion is the need to identify the motives that underpin mobility, lifestyle attitudes and consumer preferences for more rural (or less urban) environments.

3.2 The concept of counterurbanisation

Between 1970 and 1973, unexpected population growth was reported in the US; population growing faster in the non-metropolitan counties than in the metropolitan areas. The identification of a resurgence of rural population totals in the US (Beale, 1975; Morrison and Wheeler, 1976) indicated that the long-term trend of out-migration from rural areas appeared to have concluded. Whereas population was once concentrated in major cities and metropolitan areas, it was now being replaced by processes of population deconcentration which in turn were producing new patterns of population distribution.

As the pattern of rural-to-urban migration recognisable after the Second World War became less widespread and familiar in the US, other advanced Western countries also experienced what was

described as ‘a major switch in the general pattern of population distribution’ (Champion, 1989). Whilst major cities and metropolitan areas were showing a net loss by migration, rural regions containing small and medium-sized towns showed signs of net migration gains (Halliday and Coombes, 1995).

Smaller communities that had been dismissed as relics of a previous era were growing at such a rate as to prompt some to claim that a ‘demographic revolution’ was underway (McLoughlin, 1991). In those four years, for example, America’s non-metropolitan and metropolitan areas grew by 5.6% and 3.4% respectively, contrasting significantly with levels recorded only a decade earlier (of 4.1% and 17.1%) (Berry and Gillard, 1977). Berry (1976) speaks of counterurbanisation as a phenomenon that acts against urbanisation, defining it as:

‘A process of population deconcentration, which implies a movement from a state of more concentration to a state of less concentration. As opposed to the essence of 19th and early 20th century industrial urbanisation (size, density and heterogeneity), the process of counterurbanisation has as its essence decreasing size, decreasing density, and a decreasing heterogeneity’ (Berry, 1976: 17).

This ‘population turnaround’ was later highlighted in Western Europe (Fielding, 1982) and more widely (Vining and Kontuly, 1978), and was generally assumed to be driven by the desire for certain lifestyles in the countryside, which were more ‘rewarding, communitarian and meaningful’, with lower levels of crime, stress and pollution (Halfacree, 1994). In the UK context, emerging trends of counterurban movements were, in part, arguably taken to represent a response to policies introduced in the 1950’s and 1960’s which aimed to exert an ambient influence on the decision-making of migrant households to encourage movement back to rural areas after a prolonged period of depopulation (Walford, 2004).

Is it useful to note at this point that this is when the conceptualisation of the term began, not the phenomenon itself. Movements from large cities down the urban hierarchy were in fact recorded before the 1970’s, although initially counterurbanisation was considered an unprecedented phenomenon. Movements from the urban to the rural, for example, were a significant component of the British migration system in the nineteenth century, if taking a minor role in the second half of the twentieth century (Pooley and Turnbull, 1996).

Although some urban-to-rural movements had been observed and recorded, the term counterurbanisation was useful initially draw attention to a phenomenon which had up to this point been subject to limited research. Soon, however, what were purely empirical observations of a

turnaround in metropolitan growth and a reversal of population concentration in general (Fielding, 1989), attracted increasing attention. As counterurbanisation began to gain increased research interest in the USA, so it became more widely discussed in European countries, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Japan (see for example Perry *et al.*, 1986; Champion, 1989; Fielding, 1989).

The term counterurbanisation has been applied in a more general way when describing the redistribution of population away from major cities and metropolitan areas for more than three decades. More selective conceptualisations of counterurbanisation before 1996 can be found by Dahms and McComb (1999). Although the concept of counterurbanisation has arguably directed geographical research to a relevant and fertile area, it has been suggested (Cloke, 1985; Champion, 1989; Walmsley *et al.*, 1995) that imprecise terminology and measurement of processes of counterurbanisation has led to difficulty in defining the phenomenon. Halfacree (2001) posits that the use of taxonomic practices can be advantageous, in terms of constructing and defining counterurbanisation; using this approach to classify, categorise and codify the 'world around us' (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, in Halfacree, 2001). In essence, taxonomic practices are concerned with 'simplifying a complex reality in order to get some kind of hold on it and (arguably) over it' (Halfacree, 2001: 397).

Although the interpretation underpinning different terms for processes of counterurbanisation often differs considerably (i.e. Mitchell, 2004; Dahms and McComb, 1999; Fielding, 1989; Dean *et al.*, 1984; Champion, 1989; Halliday and Coombes, 1995), focusing on the term itself has led to significant steps being made towards a working definition. Halfacree (2001: 400) briefly alludes to contestation surrounding counterurbanisation, noting that attempts to define the term have 'a long pedigree'. Alternatively, more vague connotations of counterurbanisation have been developed (i.e. Swaffield and Fairweather, 1998; Walmsley *et al.*, 1998), alongside other terms such as per urbanisation, rururbanisation (Dupont, 2004) and deurbanisation (Bocquier, 2004).

The emergence of terms to describe similar phenomena have also complicated matters further, such as 'rural rebound' (Johnson and Beale, 1995), 'rural repopulation' (Stockdale *et al.*, 2000), 'rural renaissance' (Morrison and Wheeler, 1976) and 'urban-rural migration' (Barcus, 2004), as well as other terms like the 'urban field' (Dahms, 1995, 1998), and 'Penturbia' (Lessinger, 1987, 1991).

In what has been described as a counterurbanisation conundrum (Halliday and Coombes, 1995), the development of a common and working definition of counterurbanisation has apparently faltered. Despite counterurbanisation receiving on-going attention in the literature, the debate surrounding interpretations, definitions and explanations of it has not been helped by a plethora of concepts and terms. The concept of counterurbanisation has been considered relatively underdeveloped by some

commentators, and even a basic definition lacks rigor. Dean *et al* (1984) attributed this to four interrelated aspects.

Firstly, the ambiguity surrounding definitions and terms has arguably been a consistent theme in studies of counterurbanisation; definitions appear to vary and are not always understood in concise terms. Secondly, rather than being a neutral descriptive term, it is imbued with explanations for the phenomenon it endeavors to identify. Thirdly, counterurbanisation is being considered a tangible force, rather than an abstract concept, and is seen as an international logic that is the cause of the re-distribution of population in many countries. Finally, more local processes and human experiences of counterurbanisation might be being obscured by viewing it as an international, highly generalised phenomenon.

In what was an extensive and analytical review of the related literature, Mitchell (2004) concludes that the problem with counterurbanisation is that it can be interpreted either as a migratory movement or as a process of settlement system change. While some commentators (Perry *et al.*, 1986; Halliday and Coombes, 1995; Dahms and McComb, 1999) interpret counterurbanisation as a population movement (migration at the centre of the counterurbanisation phenomenon), others (Fielding, 1989; Champion, 1998) view change in various aspects of the settlement system as indicative of a counterurbanisation phenomenon.

Counterurbanisation as a process of settlement change, as opposed to a migratory movement, focuses on indicators that reveal the system is transforming, such as the relationship between settlement size and net migration (Fielding, 1989), or the relationship between settlement size and population growth (Champion, 1989). Interpretations of the phenomenon as a migration movement has defined it as downward migration which often neglects implications for the broader settlement system

As commentators from various backgrounds and disciplines (i.e. geography, sociology, planning, economics etc) attempt to make sense of the complexities of counterurbanisation as one of many socio-spatial structures in the world, the need for a more consistent terminology amongst researchers have been expressed (Mitchell, 2004). It's usage as inconsistent has been noted: Champion (1992, 1998) and others (Halfacree, 1994) have suggested that it is a chaotic conception, while Cloke (1985: 14) calls it a 'stretched and diluted catch-all phrase', and Sant and Simon (1993) claim it to be an elusive hypothesis.

As a migration movement, in terms of the destination of the migrant and the motivations driving them, counterurbanisation may be considered distinctly varied. Categorising it in sub-forms is

arguable a necessity to encourage terms and phases that capture the heterogeneous ways in which migration unfolds. Mitchell (2004) proposes 3 such categories; ex-urbanisation, displaced-urbanisation and anti-urbanisation.

The term ex-urbanisation can be used to describe the movement of affluent urbanites from urban centres to the countryside surrounding them. While the emphasis here is on the desire to live outside the metropolitan core, ex-urban residents retain strong links to the city through their daily commute to work. Moves undertaken in which motives are centered on a necessity for new employment, lower costs of living and / or available housing can be described as displaced-urbanisation. In this scenario, moves taken by such urbanites are to whatever geographic location can provide this.

Those who wish to experience life in a non-metropolitan environment participate in what is termed anti-urbanisation. Encouraged by potential opportunities to escape crime, taxes, pollution and congestion, anti-urbanites do not just desire a rural environment, but for those in the labour force, working in a less concentrating setting is also a powerful enticement. Mitchell again recognises three variants of this type of movement: first, the 'back to the land movement' in which migrants aim to achieve a radically new lifestyle. Second, Penturbia, or relocating to attain a quality-of-life through both working and living in a smaller community. Third, amenity-driven retirement migration, in which the elderly move from areas of greater to lesser concentration.

It is contended that other phenomenon featured in academic and applied literature should be mentioned and viewed as distinct in their own right. Suburbanisation, which has received such attention (see for example Boyle *et al.*, 1998; Jordon *et al.*, 1998) has often been considered urban sprawl (EEA, 2006), encouraging environmental problems and putting pressure on open spaces.

Distinguishing suburbanisation from counterurbanisation has generally been based on two attributes; the location of the destination in a move and the motives behind it. Suburbanisation as involving local migration to the immediate surroundings of large cities is one example cited by Halliday and Coombes (1995); areas in which employment opportunities, crime, government taxation, social and ethnic unease, pollution and congestion are likely to be similar to the city. Similarly, in defining suburbanisation as in-migration from the metropolitan region to peri-urban locations adjacent to them, Fisher (2003) identifies strong social and economic ties that residents retain with the metropolitan region as a key feature.

One of the other ways that counterurbanisation has been reported in the academic literature is under the rubric of rural gentrification. Warde's (1991) four-tier classification of gentrification identifies

four fundamental dimensions, which prioritises the ‘transformed event’ of gentrification over the ‘unfolding events’ of the process:

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 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. It is a gathering together of persons with a putatively shared culture and lifestyle, or at least shared, class-related, consumer preference. 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. (1991: 227).

Within the rural context, studies by Phillips (1993), Smith and Phillips (2001), Smith (2002), Smith and Holt (2005), and Stockdale (2009), show how processes of rural gentrification are fuelled by affluent residents desire for the ‘rural idyll’. It has been shown that a range of counterurban appeals have motivated counterurban migration; flows of rural gentrifiers, for example, Smith and Phillips (2001), emphasise the predilection for green space, suggesting the term ‘greentrification’.

3.3 Explaining counterurbanisation and links to family migration

Whether migration to urban areas and the abandonment of the countryside has been disrupted and replaced by counterurbanisation has been at the centre of an intensified debate on thoughts of urbanisation and urban-rural migration. In the US context, Berry (1976: 17) suggested in the mid-70’s that ‘a turning point has been reached in the American urban experience. Counterurbanisation has replaced urbanisation as the dominant force shaping the nation’s settlement patterns’. In many ways, a shift had taken place, a ‘clean break’ from past trends that led migrants to the countryside in what was a complete rupture from city life (Perry *et al.*, 1986).

This ‘rural turnaround’ was, however, greeted with scepticism in European studies, which found rather limited evidence to support such claims. These studies focused more on the continuity from the 1950’s and early 1960’s as presented by many of the elements of urban change recorded in the 1970’s (Champion, 1998). According to these studies, continuation of long established processes of suburbanisation is more significant when trying to interpret and explain the movement of people, and population growth taking place within the commuting fields of existing metropolitan centres cannot be considered a break from past trends.

The identity of migrants is a significant element within counterurbanisation studies; most studies appearing to agree that counterurbanisation movements involve a highly selective group, usually young families or retired households from professional backgrounds (Boyle *and* Halfacree, 1998; van Dam *et al.*, 2002). Despite this recognition of a link between counterurbanisation and family migration, there is limited cross-fertilisation between scholarship on family migration and counterurbanisation.

The motives underpinning such moves have been discussed within the counterurbanisation literature and several explanations have been put forward. What is clear is that while individuals can 'freely' decide how, when and why specific moves from one place to another will take place, it is also recognised that such decision reflects a response to essentially autonomous changes in economy and society at large (Champion, 1998). Further, Moseley (1984) proposes that these explanations be grouped into two classes; consumption-based or people-led, and production-based or job-led.

People-led explanations are centred upon the popular preferences of the migrant in question, whereas those job-led migrants are primarily concerned with employment opportunities. Other economically deterministic positions are discussed by Grafton and Bolton (1987), distinguishing between voluntarist and non-voluntarist explanations. Voluntarist explanations posit that the repopulation of urban spaces on the periphery of city or metropolitan areas is due essentially to individuals freely making the choice to seek a more attractive rural setting. As Grafton and Bolton (1989) summarise it, non-voluntarist explanations emphasise the role of those forces operating within society as a whole as determining spatial and temporal patterns of economic and demographic change.

Moving away from economically deterministic positions, the importance of non-economic motivations rather than economic benefits as driving people to particular rural areas is being increasingly considered. Although traditionally migration was more associated with some kind of economic benefit (Barcus, 2004), advances in communication, transport and self-employment opportunities have allowed other motives to emerge. Similarly, quality-of-life considerations have also been suggested as perhaps more important to migrants than economic concerns within counterurbanisation movements (Walmsley *et al.*, 1998).

Further to these explanations of counterurbanisation, Kontuly (1998), provides a more in-depth categorisation; constructing a six-part classification of explanations. The diverse explanations of counterurbanisation given in case studies around the world are reflected in Kontuly's typology, his taxonomy detailing an array of factors that contribute to understanding the counterurbanisation

phenomenon. Explanations of the counterurbanisation phenomenon as classified by Kontuly (1998: 66) are illustrated below in Table 3.1:

1. Economic cyclic factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business cycle fluctuations - a temporary fluctuation in rural-to-urban migration as a response to economic recessions • Regional boom and bust experiences - caused by the growth of employment in localised industries in favoured non-metropolitan locations • A cyclic pattern of capital investment in property and business in which the potential returns of urban investments in residential property are depleted and the focus moves to small settlements and rural areas
2. Economic structural factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structural economic change is occurring as the proportion of tertiary and quaternary employment increases relative to secondary employment. Also the decline in primary employment has almost run its course, so there is a reduction in the stock of potential out-migrants living in rural areas. Older industrial countries have been going through a process of de-industrialisation that has had a strong negative impact on larger cities, especially on their central areas
3. Spatial and environmental factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agglomeration diseconomies - the emergence of scale diseconomies in large urban areas, combined with social (i.e. urban decay, large number of foreign migrants) and environmental problems (i.e. air pollution) serve to increase the push factor from metropolitan areas. • Housing availability and costs - a push factor • Environmental amenities - a pull factor • Expansion of tourism and employment growth in resort
4. Socio-economic and socio-cultural factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A change in residential preferences or in the ability to act on such preferences of the working-age population in favour of residences in rural or small-town environments and against large cities • State welfare payments - the growth of state welfare payments, private pensions and other benefits free a larger proportion of the population from the constraints of living near their jobs • Changing socio-demographic compositions - The emergence of large birth cohorts during the 1950's and early 1960's impacted on labour markets, and the spatial structure of young adult migration flows became more geographically focussed. The aging population has meant a rapid increase in the numbers of economically inactive people and a growing pool of potential migrants. Retirement enables those with sufficient resource to realise long-held desires for more relaxed lifestyles in attractive, uncontested surroundings. • Attitudinal changes - social values undergo changes that are sufficient to cause noticeable geographical shifts • Regional entrepreneurial skills - regionally specific historical, culture and social conditions which adjusted to the needs of deconcentrated industrial production.
5. Implicit and Explicit government policies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planned (industrial) deconcentration initiative - occurred where governments perceived that

<p>either infrastructure cost of large cities or the problems of regional decline warranted new policies to redistribute people and jobs.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvements of education, health and other social infrastructure in rural/peripheral areas
<p>6. Technological innovations</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A reduced friction of distance associated with transportation and communication technology improvements which allowed an extension of urban residences and employment into widely dispersed areas - one outcome of these innovations is telecommuting.

Table 3.1 Explanations of counterurbanisation as classified by Kontuly (1998: 66).

3.4 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that dominant conceptualisations of counterurbanisation have increasingly been challenged in recent years. Less mainstream groups, however, have not been completely overlooked and have been explored in counterurbanisation studies; groups such as homosexual households for example (Smith and Holt, 2005) and other groups that Halfacree (2001) calls ‘marginal settlers’ due to their minimal numbers. Halfacree’s (1994) work is credited with conceptually bridging the phenomenon of counterurbanisation with the rural dimension, and acknowledging aspects of counterurbanisation perhaps overlooked in the literature, such as the desire to live in a more rural residential setting. By emphasising this change from urban to rural residential preferences, the importance of both the physical quality and the social quality of the environment of the destination is acknowledged and appreciated. Examining established, long-term population trends at the local scale reveals the increasingly uneven geography of a shifting population balance between rural and urban areas. As Walford (2001) contends, the patterns of population change are more complex than initially envisaged.

The contention that counterurbanisation may not appear to be a very promising area of research is arguably increasingly destabilised as the scale and magnitude of counterurban movements increase, and conventional conceptualisations are challenged (Halfacree, 2008). The increasing complexity of contemporary population movements within and between urban and rural areas, and the social, cultural and economic implications of these processes, begs important questions for both scholars of counterurbanisation and policy makers. The blurring of socio-spatial boundaries, and ongoing debates concerning what constitutes the rural, leads Anderson (2009: 568) to question, ‘where do urban areas cease, and where do rural areas begin?’ It is thus argued that counterurbanisation is often an unstable concept, rather than a ‘docile object’ (Halfacree, 2001:400); open to myriad definitions and operationalisations (Phillips, 2009).

It is postulated that paying greater attention to the interconnections between representations of counterurbanisation and movement (s) of family migrants in different socio-spatial contexts may

lead to a more robust engagement with discourses of mobility. It is argued that considering the counterurban movements of family migrants in relation to complex mobilities which unfold in increasingly diverse spatial and temporal contexts (Milbourne, 2007), may provide valuable contributions to how conceptualisations of the motives, identities and experiences of family migrants are represented and understood.

By exploring the interface between studies of counterurbanisation and family migration, a more critical perspective of counterurban moves may be adopted, that facilitates an exploration of the gaps that remain relatively understated and thus unexplored within previous studies. Examining how counterurban motives construct particular narratives of family mobility for in-migrants to Old Town will further reveal the diversity and complexity of contemporary processes of family migration. In turn, acknowledging and exploring how family-related factors (e.g. the influence of extended family members outside of the household) shape processes of counterurbanisation will illuminate particular, atypical forms of counterurbanisation that have been obscured by dominant conceptualisations of counterurban migrants.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the rationale for the methodological framework adopted for the thesis. A mixed-methods approach was adopted to study the experience of family migrants in Old Town, using a combination of content analyses, interviews, household surveys, and census analysis. The emphasis on using a mixed-methods design was to expand and further knowledge from one method to another, thereby consolidating and contradicting findings from a variety of data sources (Creswell, 2003).

The first stage of the research process involved content analyses of local and national media discourses. This was adopted as part of the scoping stage to gain a knowledge base of the case study location, and explore perceptions of population change, as well as transformations in the economic, social and cultural construction of Old Town. Second, unstructured interviews with local estate agents were undertaken, again, as part of the scoping exercise, and were primarily used to gain further insights into the spatial and temporal dimensions of population change in Old Town, and allow any issues considered significant to come to the fore. Questionnaire surveys were used for the third phase of the research. The surveys were administered to local residents, on a door-to-door basis. The aim of the surveys was to gain information about the households in the cases study location; first by examining demographic and socio-cultural make-up of Old Town, and second, by beginning to identify motivations, experiences and outcomes of long-distance family migration. Semi-structured interviews were used for the final phase of the research, and carried out with 40 in-migrants to Old Town. The aim of the interviews was to gain rich and in-depth information about the motives and experiences of migration from which narratives of migration could be constructed, and 'migrant stories' could be uncovered.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the content analyses undertaken on local and national media discourses. The second section considers the use of questionnaire surveys within the thesis, and why both qualitative and quantitative data collection was used. The third section focuses on the use of semi-structured interviews, and what can be gained by employing this method. The fourth section discusses issues of positionality, and the ethical considerations of the research process. The final section concludes the methodology discussion.

4.2 Content analysis as a methodology

Content analysis is an approach to the analysis of texts and documents that may be applied to a variety of different media, particularly communication content (Bryman, 2008). As Beardsworth (1980) notes, content analysis shares many of the chief features of quantitative research, in that the aim is to quantify content using simple tabulations and frequency counts of pre-determined categories, in a systematic and replicable manner. The method of content analysis used within this research is more aligned with Wilkinson's (2004) assertion that content analysis need not always employ a formal coding system, nor be a precursor to any kind of quantification. Rather, a qualitative variant of content analysis is employed that reports (untabulated) extracts which illustrate particular categories (Silverman, 2004). Wilkinson (2004) explicitly highlights the differences between quantitative and qualitative-based content analyses:

These two content analyses, then, look very different, although both are derived from the same underlying theoretical framework. The second type, reporting qualitative data, is often described as a 'thematic' analysis (sometimes as 'discourse' analysis), and may be presented with the quotations integrated into the text, rather than in tabular form (Wilkinson, 2004: 186).

This thesis adopts qualitative content analysis, in that untabulated themes and ideas from mass-media outputs such as local and national media texts are extracted that most clearly illustrate particular social phenomena, and inserted into text. Examining sources so that their qualitative nature is preserved entails searching for themes, and organising and coding them as they emerge. There is an emphasis on allowing categories and themes to emerge out of data, as well as recognising the significance for understanding meaning in the context in which an item being examined appears (Bryman, 2008).

Analysing local texts can provide an insight into how societies think (see, for example, Douglas, 1966; Ritvo, 1997), and make certain local practices and systems visible where once they were opaque and diffuse (Silverman, 2004). It is, however, important to be aware of the 'positionality' of the authors, and how this constructs the case study area in different ways.

4.3 Approaching content analysis within Old Town

In the context of Old Town, an exploration of local and national media discourses was used to gain an insight into the specifics of processes of population change, socio-economic and cultural transformations, and identify key events, actors and / or institutions that had instigated and

encouraged the processes of change. The main aim of using qualitative content analysis in Hastings was to uncover contemporary ideologies, belief systems and commonly held views surrounding concepts such as population change, social and cultural changes such as gentrification and regeneration, and local economies (Birley and Moreland, 1998). Extant texts extracted from mass media sources were used, and are often valued because of their relative availability, typically unobtrusive method of data collection, and seeming objectivity (Charmaz, 2006). Care was taken to situate texts in their context, and also acknowledge who produced the text and the purpose of it.

The primary source was a local weekly newspaper, the Hastings and St. Leonards Observer (HSLO). The newspapers' archive was accessed at Hastings Library. All news items were candidates for analysis, including feature articles and letters to the editor. Analyses of the HSLO covered a nineteen year period, from 1990 – 2009. A second, key local source was About Magazine, a quarterly publication by Hasting Borough Council, which was accessed online. The analyses of this publication covered a nine year period, from 2000 to 2009, and every issue was a candidate for analysis. National newspapers including tabloids and broadsheets (including Sunday papers) such as The Times, The Observer, The Guardian, The Telegraph, The Financial Time and The Sunday Mirror, were also used. National newspaper archives were accessed on-line.

In contrast to quantitative approaches to coding data and information from different texts, an open approach was used to organise and make sense of the material. Open coding is done by vigorously examining texts, 'opening up' the data and breaking it down to allow themes and concepts to emerge from the material (Cope, 2003). Strauss (1987: 28) describes open coding as:

'Unrestricted coding of data...done by scrutinising the fieldnote, interview or other document very closely: line by line or even word by word. The aim is to produce concepts that seem to fit the data'.

As opposed to rigidly reproducing or counting codes to make sense of data and material, an open coding approach allows concepts to be generated from the data in what is an iterative process; going from the material to ideas and back again, in order to reveal any interesting relationships within the text (Crang, 1997). As Crang (1997: 188) notes, 'what is generally of interest is not so much the codes as the text they denote, not how often they occur but what is in them'. The open coding approach used in this research draws on a grounded theory approach (see Section 4. 6 for further discussion). Strauss and Corbin (1990: 61) describe open coding as 'the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising data', which yields concepts that are eventually placed into clusters and turned into categories.

Rather than seeking to extract large quantities of quantifiable data, the key themes and ideas generated by analysing media sources complemented the next stage of research and beyond; for example, shaping semi-structured interviews with estate agents which were intended to ascertain the 'why' dimensions of socio-economic, cultural and population change within Old Town and Greater Hastings.

4.4 Primary data

The overall aim of the primary data collection was to examine in more depth emerging social geographies and changing characteristics of family migration in Old Town, identified in secondary data sources. Secondary data sources arguably infer that contemporary flows of migration are underpinned by increasingly socially and culturally embedded processes. To investigate this further, the role of social, cultural and economic factors in (re) shaping migration flows are examined using two key methods, which involved three distinct phases.

First, unstructured interviews with local estates were undertaken in order to allow perceptions and interpretations of local change (s) considered significant and pertinent to emerge. Second, a household survey was conducted, to develop emergent themes, and expand on the findings from unstructured interviews and content analysis. Third, semi-structured interviews with family migrants were undertaken to uncover rich, qualitative narratives and thick description of family migration, and illuminate the complexities of migrant stories.

4.5 Unstructured interviews with estate agents

At this stage in the research, the focus was relatively unclear. Through content analyses, a general notion of the issues that may necessitate further exploration was established. Interviews with local estate agents formed the next phase of research, and unstructured interviews were considered the most appropriate approach at this stage of research, as a flexible and dynamic method. Unstructured interviews, rather than semi-structured interviews, were used primarily to allow the ideas, thoughts, memories and events considered significant by the respondent to emerge in their own words. Sjöberg and Nett (1968: 195) contend that 'the unstructured type is most useful for...discovering the existence of possible social patterns'. Local estate agents were considered well-placed to provide initial insight into unfolding patterns and processes of social, cultural and economic change in Old Town.

Burgess (1984) contends that unstructured interviewing tends to be very similar in character to a conversation. The flexibility of the unstructured interview as a 'conversation' with local estate

agents was considered integral to, first, deriving interpretations of local change (s), and second, extracting insights based on more factual information; for example, place of origin of individuals looking for property in Old Town. The flexibility of unstructured interviews further allows the questioning to respond to the direction in which the participant takes the interview, and as significant issues emerge, emphases can be adjusted to draw out rich, detailed responses (Bryman, 2008). Thus, the emphasis was on how estate agents frame and understand the issues and events considered significant to their explanation of certain events, patterns and behaviour. In this respect, the 'conversation' in unstructured interviews is steered by participants rather than set questions (Dunn, 2000).

A relatively broad range of topics were considered when interviewing local estate agents, and a key aim of using unstructured interviews was that participants respond freely according to what was most important to them. The points that appeared to require more attention were then followed up. Estate agents were encouraged to explore tangents that did not initially seem relevant, in order to give insight into the issues considered important and pertinent to the interviewee. Rather than adhere to a specified set of research questions, interviews were 'conversational' in style, and questions were asked that followed up interviewee's thoughts and ideas.

Estate agents in the case study were approached to provide locally contingent insights into the connections between social and population change and housing market dynamics. Interviews with local estate agents confirmed the perception that they were equipped with a robust knowledge of the relationships between elements such as housing stock, availability and condition, and the social, cultural and economic characteristics and qualities of incoming groups of family migrants. Estate agents were also arguably well placed to provide an insight into the mechanisms and processes underpinning change, and the wider implications for the case study area.

It is noteworthy that other estate agents in the wider Hastings area were approached; however, they were adamant that they did not have suitable knowledge of Old Town to provide the research with any insights. At this point within the research, it was decided that interviewing estate agents within Old Town would most accurately identify any patterns and evidence of population change within the local area, as well as changes in the social and cultural character of Old Town.

In total, 2 of the 3 estate agents practising in Old Town were interviewed. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 1 hour, and agents were employed by national chains. Interviews were organised and set up via a telephone conversation and carried out in person at the estate agents' offices. This was the most practical option, although interviews were sometimes disrupted. All interviews were recorded (with the permission of the interviewee) for transcribing purposes only.

It was recognised that the views and opinions of estate agents may be influenced by their position within profit making companies involved directly in the housing market. Any information provided, therefore, regarding any economic, social, cultural or physical changes within the case study area is solely the interviewees' interpretation.

Unstructured interviews were conducted to allow the interviewer to introduce key concepts and ask particular questions considered essential, whilst enabling interviewees to offer their own perspectives and raise issues and themes they believed to be important. By interviewing estate agents, it was envisaged that spatial and temporal aspects of population change would be captured, and the social, cultural and economic processes that underpin it, illuminated.

4.6 Grounded theory

The methodology introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967) is a pervasive and well established orthodoxy. Collection of data and analysis were carried out within a grounded theory framework. This differs from most empirical research, as it is based upon the development of theories to explain the researcher's observations, and consequent interpretations of these observations, which are grounded in the data collected (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As Charmaz (2000: 515) explains, 'we grounded theorists code our emerging data as we collect it...unlike quantitative research that requires data to fit into preconceived standardised codes, the researcher's interpretations of data shape his or her emergent codes in grounded theory'.

The experiences of family migrants were disentangled and conceptualised under general headings and themes that persistently emerged, and compared with the experiences of other interviewees (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The researcher does not, therefore, impose or test theory developed externally to the specific setting of the phenomenon being studied, but inductively derives theory from the phenomenon it represents, becoming 'grounded' via a systematic procedure of relating the theory back to the original data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Consistent with Blumer's (1969) depiction of sensitizing concepts, grounded theory is based on certain research interests and a set of general concepts, which, in turn, encourage the exploration of certain ideas and sensitise the researcher to ask particular questions about the topic.

Analysis of migration decision-making processes within this framework will involve an interpretation of the motives, aspirations and outcomes of family migration as interpreted by migrants. The doubly hermeneutic task(s) must be emphasised as potentially problematic and the influence exerted by positionality and narrative knowledge (Smith, 2004).

4.7 Questionnaire surveys

Questionnaire surveys form the second stage of research, and provide primary, quantitative and qualitative data on household characteristics, experiences of residing in Old Town, the migration decision-making process, outcomes of the move, and labour market practices of in-migrants to Old Town.

4.7.1 Questionnaire surveys as a methodology

The survey is defined by Denzin (1989) as a methodological technique that requires the systematic collection of data from populations or samples. The questionnaire survey is a commonly used method of social research, and is used to explore people's attitudes, behaviours, opinions and experiences. Grey and Guppy (1994) identify five main types of survey; the personal survey, the intercept survey, the main or postal survey, the telephone survey and, finally, the online survey. For the purposes of this research, the personal questionnaire survey was utilised, in which a sample of persons is approached and information about their behaviours, attitudes, and beliefs collected at one point in time.

Following a standard format, the questionnaire survey is built around providing a 'snapshot' insight into what people believe. At this level, it may be said that their potential to highlight incidences or trends is powerful (Hoggart *et al.*, 2002). In addition, the questionnaire survey can also, potentially, provide both quantitative and qualitative data. For the purpose of this research, questionnaire surveys were used to elicit information on demographic and socio-cultural characteristics of households in the case study location, but also designed to derive qualitative information. A central aim of questionnaire surveys, therefore, was to highlight incidences of social phenomena or trends within migration flows, labour market practices and the household more widely that would facilitate a more rigorous exploration using individual, semi-structured interviews.

Fowler (2001) emphasises that clear and effective questions are key to developing a 'good' questionnaire, and care was taken to ensure questions were clear and easy to understand, and that they would elicit information that was useful and consistent for research purposes. The wording of questions, the manner in which they are asked, and remaining neutral and non-committal on statements made by the interviewee are all crucial to obtaining useful information about what is trying to be measured. Avoiding double-barrelled questions, leading questions, identifying with policy or a public figure, are also important (see Fodder, 1993; Grey and Guppy, 1994). Situating

responses within their social context, and careful planning and execution, can mitigate limitations of surveys, but there are always the issues of questions being misunderstood or questions not allowing informants to express their views adequately (Hoggart *et al.*, 2002).

How questions are constructed and presented shapes the responses of interviewees. The use of open-ended and / or fixed-response questions elicits certain responses. Open-ended questions were included to encourage respondents to provide more than a minimal amount of information, and allow the opportunity to express their views adequately. There is no guarantee that respondents will do this, however. Open-ended questions allow respondents to answer in their own terms, and express their true feelings, thoughts and comments (McLafferty, 2003), and do not force respondents to answer in the same terms as those foisted on them by the response choices (Bryman, 2008). Other advantages include allowing unusual or unexpected responses to be derived. Responses that are not contemplated can highlight themes that would not have been captured by fixed-choice alternatives (Bryman, 2008).

There are also disadvantages associated with open-ended question. Deriving themes from answers can be time-consuming, and can also require greater effort and time from respondents. As Oppenheim (1992: 113) asserts; 'free-response questions are often easy to ask, difficult to answer, and still more difficult to analyse'. It is important to note that questionnaire surveys can lack the capacity of a more in-depth approach that reveals meaning and significance of family migration for participants (Hoggart *et al.*, 2002). For the purposes of this research, open-ended questions were used to try and mitigate this, and were deemed the most appropriate approach for actively seeking out in-depth, high-quality qualitative responses from respondents. Examples of open-ended questions include; asking about perceptions of the local area before moving, and why migrants decided to leave their previous place of residence

In contrast, fixed-response questions provide respondents with pre-determined answers, offering a limited set of responses. There are several advantages to using fixed-response questions in survey research. First, fixed-response questions are a means to collect quantitative data that are easy for respondents to complete and easy to process. Fixed-response questions do not necessarily encourage extensive answers or require additional information (Bryman, 2008: 235).

Disadvantages include a loss of spontaneity in respondents' answers, and that respondents may be forced into accepting a false opinion. Closed questions may also constrain responses to certain categories, or 'put words into people's mouths' by introducing them to responses which might not have occurred to them (Parfitt, 1997). In addition, there is the possibility that respondents may come up with interesting replies that are not covered by the fixed-response question provided. The

use of open-ended questions, however, to generate categories, and including a response category of 'other' that allows respondents to indicate what they mean, can mitigate this (Bryman, 2008).

It is important to note, however, that because of its interactional nature, personal questionnaire surveys introduce 'interviewer effects' into the equation, as respondents express different views according to their reaction to the interviewer (Fowler and Mangione, 1990). The problem of interviewer bias is not new. Interview results are impacted upon by the interview as a social event, as a socially contrived situation. The unequal relationship between interviewer and interviewee can influence responses, and is discussed further in Section 4. 9.

4.7.2 Using household surveys in Old Town

The main aim of the household survey was to explore the concept of emerging social geographies of family migration within Old Town. To facilitate this, data were gathered to capture a range of characteristics of the sample including demographic characteristics and household structure. The use of questionnaire surveys allows general trends to be established, offers a tabulation of tendencies, and provides indications of rationalities.

The household survey utilised a formal structured questionnaire (see Appendix 1) and was conducted using a sample of persons living in the case study area. Such surveys have a long history within geographical investigations, and the key advantage of survey methods arises from securing broad coverage of populations (Hoggart *et al.*, 2002), and providing a rapid and relatively inexpensive way of discovering the characteristics and opinions of respondents (McLafferty, 2003).

The questionnaires were undertaken in 2007-2008, and respondents were asked questions in a door-to-door interview scenario. Although more time-consuming than postal surveys and telephone interviews, the response rate for the face-to-face survey may be better, engaging the potential respondent and allowing an opportunity to 'sell' the research in a particular way (Denscombe, 1998). In addition, the data obtained may be more detailed and rich, compared to data gathered by post, internet or telephone.

Respondents were interviewed verbally according to a pre-designed and structured set of questions. Although this type of survey is more time-consuming, it usually gains a higher response rate than a telephone or postal survey. Face-to-face interviews, therefore, require careful planning, as cost and time pressures mean that it is rare for interviewers to be able to return and collect more information (Hoggart *et al.*, 2002).

The questionnaire survey incorporated both open-ended and fixed-response questions. In accordance with the aims of the research project, both types of data were required, and relied on a mix of open-ended and fixed-response questions. Fixed-response questions provided quantitative data such as demographic and household characteristics, while open-ended questions captured more in-depth, rich, personal responses that offered detailed insights about the circumstances and experience of family migration. A 'don't know' or 'other' option was included to allow for the fullest range of responses. Classification questions such as age and income were presented to respondents using a 'show card' (see Appendix 2), from which the applicable category can be selected. Care was taken so that categories, such as age, did not overlap, and were mutually exclusive.

The questionnaire survey consisted of seven sections, each one exploring a different aspect of respondent's lives and experiences. The first two sections focused primarily on fixed-response questions, with the aim of providing quantitative data that reveals household characteristics, length of residency and housing type/tenure. The following five sections sought to explore experiences of living in the case study area, the process of moving, migration decision-making, outcomes of the move, and the household before the move. A mix of open-ended and fixed-response questions was used within these sections. It was crucial to include qualitative open-ended questions in these sections, to explore the feelings and emotions that are closely tied to migration events, and provide detailed insights about the circumstances and outcomes of migration as situated within the family.

A pilot survey was conducted to check a number of design aspects, including question design and format, length and output (Parfitt, 1997). Prior to commencing with the household survey, five pilot questionnaires were undertaken to identify questions that were perhaps phrased ambiguously, made respondents feel uncomfortable for any reason, did not appear to be understood, lost the respondent's interest, and check for weaknesses in the survey design, such as the order of questioning, and how well the questions flow (Bryman, 2008). Pilot surveys were also conducted to provide some experience of using it prior to beginning the household survey proper. The pilot surveys led to a refinement of the research themes and a review of the format to include additional open-ended questions concerning particular themes that participants often wished to expand upon.

4.7.3 Identifying a sampling method

For the purposes of this research, it was decided to adopt a purposive sampling method. As opposed to mapping 'the population', from which a random sample might be taken, gaining access to participants with relevant knowledges and experiences that would facilitate an exploration of the research questions, was the key focus. Therefore, rather than seeking to sample research

participants on a random or representative basis, the aim was to sample participants in a strategic way so that those sampled are equipped to offer insights into the research questions being posed (Bryman, 2008). Using purposive sampling is argued to facilitate a more robust understanding of how 'individual people experience and make sense of their lives' (Valentine, 1997) by sampling individuals on the basis of their experience (s) related to research questions. One advantage of this sampling method is that a targeted population with particular features and characteristics can be reached relatively quickly.

In the context of this research, therefore, the criteria used to select participants was more central than the number of them, and was based upon a temporal juncture revealed during content analysis as relevant to the motives and outcomes of family migration in the case study area. As the data began to reveal important differences between groups of family migrants in relation to social and cultural motives, aspirations, experiences and outcomes of mobility, capturing participants with particular 'migrant status', with relevant experiences of a particular social phenomenon, became increasingly important.

This research utilises theoretical sampling as a form of purposive sampling advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and Strauss and Corbin (1998). According to Glaser and Strauss (1967: 45), theoretical sampling is:

'The process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. The process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory, whether it is substantive or formal'.

Therefore, this approach was considered appropriate to the research, as it emphasises sampling as an ongoing process shaped by emerging theory, rather than a distinct and single stage of research (Bryman, 2008). Charmaz (2000: 519) notes that theoretical sampling is a 'defining property of grounded theory', and is appropriate to the aims and objectives of this research as it is concerned with the refinement of ideas, rather than increasing the size of sample. It was decided that 50 responses from each targeted sub-group would be an appropriate number, allowing themes from content analysis to be developed, as well as suggesting some important themes for the interviews. Ultimately, 38 responses from each targeted sub-group were attained, with 76 household surveys in total.

4.8 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews formed the third stage of the research process. Principally, semi-structured interviews aimed to explore how family migrants construct narratives of mobility, and how they are situated in social worlds more widely. Questionnaire surveys aimed to provide primary qualitative and quantitative data on a range of topics, and the semi-structured interviews were concerned primarily with building on the information, themes and ideas raised, and examining them in more depth, producing rich accounts and understandings of migration processes.

4.8.1 Semi-structured interviews as a methodology

As Silver (1993: 19) notes, we are currently part of an ‘‘interview society’ in which interviews seem central to making sense of our lives’. This thesis adopts semi-structured interviews for the purpose of making sense of how, when and why family migrants decide to become mobile, and the effect these particular practices have on members of the family. It may be said that some personal dimensions of migration practices are not fully captured by household surveys, and that interviews can more fully pervade and produce contemporary cultural experiences and knowledges of authentic, private selves (Raply, 1994). In the context of this research, ‘the primary issue is to generate data which give an authentic insight into people’s experiences’ (Silverman, 2001: 87).

There are many forms of research interview, with many contingent variables and possibilities, from the in-depth semi-structured interview (Valentine, 1997), to the long interview (McCracken, 1988), to the narratives of oral histories (Counce, 1994).

This thesis adopts semi-structured interviews, and accepts the assertion made by Brenner *et al* (1985: 7) that ‘if you want to know something about people’s activities, the best way of finding out is to ask them’, through the ‘everyday activity of talk’. Denzin (1970) describes the interview as an ‘informal interchange of thoughts by spoken words...like a conversation’, which involves give-and-take between two persons. The interview, as a conversation, should be dominated by one person, while the other asks questions and listens. It is argued that when interviews take this form, they become authoritarian exchanges in which the ‘power and prestige of social science shape the information that is given’ (Denzin, 1970: 103). Thus, the ultimate basis of any interviews is ‘talk’ and its social organisation (Silverman, 1973).

A benefit of using semi-structured interviews is the multiple opportunities to explore in more-depth respondent’s rationalities, and tease out reasons, interpretations, meanings and the significance of acts and behaviour (Hoggart *et al.*, 2002). For this reason, semi-structured interviews were used, in

conjunction with their capacity to provide insights into how research participants view the world. As Valentine (1997: 111) notes, semi-structured interviews often take 'a conversational, fluid form' that endeavours to avoid fixed, rigid questions. The interview process is therefore imbued with varying degrees of flexibility, with some degree of structure that allows the interviewer to explore the issues and events viewed as important in explaining and understanding process, patterns and behaviour, but encourages interviewees to pursue topics of particular interest and importance to them (Bryman, 2008). In the context of this research, semi-structured interviews also encouraged respondents to explore 'other' tangents, providing an insight into the experiences and issues they view as relevant and important.

For the purpose of this research, semi-structured interviews are also adopted to facilitate an informal tone, which allows for open responses rather than 'yes or no' style answers (Longhurst, 2003). Silverman (2001) argues, for instance, that while 'open-ended' interviews can be useful, it is important to differentiate 'experience' with 'authenticity'.

In the context of this research, the use of qualitative research methods facilitates the exploration of distinct themes which have arguably been under-researched by previous studies of family migration (Smith, 2004). The main aim of the semi-structured interviews was to more rigorously examine themes that emerged in questionnaire surveys, and gain an insight into the understanding of migration held by family migrants. Longhurst (2003: 128), amongst others, notes the intrinsic value of qualitative research methods for 'investigating complex behaviours, opinions and emotions, and for collecting a diversity of experiences'.

It may be said that using quantitative methods in isolation have provided partial accounts of family migration, often over-privileging particular economic-related outcomes such as post-migration labour market status (Bonney and Love, 1991; Halfacree and Boyle, 1999). The use of semi-structured interviews arguably allows other social, cultural and psychological processes and outcomes to be uncovered, and contributes to a more rigorous theoretical understanding of family migration. It may be said that the face-to-face interview style used in this thesis enables a 'special insight' into subjectivity, voice and lived experience (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997).

Rather than seeking to be representative in a statistical sense, the purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to gain an insight into the understanding of migration held by family migrants, and from there to develop a more robust theorisation of family migration as a socially and culturally embedded process (Findlay and Li, 1997). Again, rather than seeking representative information, semi-structured interviews as a qualitative technique are used to:

‘Gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one culture construes the world...In other words, qualitative research does not survey the terrain, it mines it’ (McCracken, 1988: 17).

Accordingly, semi-structured interviews were used to more robustly understand the context in which behaviour occurs, as well as the mechanisms through which it occurs (Sayer, 1984). As Hoggart *et al* (2002) note, surveys are not capable of this, and offer thin description, rather than the thick description from individual interviews that provide information on the intentions and meanings of family migrants and migration. It is perhaps important to note that whilst interviews do aim to elicit ‘authentic accounts of subjective experience’, Silverman (2001), points out that this qualitative approach can potentially be ‘seductive’, and suggests that the portrayal of the interview process is in some ways romanticised. Similarly, Baxter and Eyles (1997: 506) are reserved about the employment of techniques to make findings ‘plausible and deserving of attention’.

The use of interviews as one research strategy was intended to advocate a non-hierarchical and interactive research process (Bergen, 1993), that was conducted as conversation rather than interrogation. Rather than negotiating difference through an objectifying distance, or fostering a sense of sameness through occupying the same position as interviewees, ‘positional spaces’ were found in which the situated knowledges of interviewer and interviewee engendered a level of trust and co-operation (Mullings, 1999).

It is noted that interviewers must endeavour to establish rapport and neutrality, rather than being judgemental. As Ackroyd and Hughes (1992: 108) contend, the dynamic between interviewer and interviewee should be founded on a ‘suitably relaxed and encouraging relationship...the interviewer must communicate trust, reassurance and, even, likeableness’. It is suggested that the role of listening in an interview is as important as talking, as Denzin (1984: 284) remarks:

‘Listening creates the grounds for understanding, which is the process of interpreting, knowing, and comprehending the meaning intended, felt, and expressed by another’.

Although the importance of rapport building and producing neutral and facilitative questions is recognised, there is also an emphasis on viewing ‘interview data’ as a product of the local interaction of the speakers. As Kuhn (1962: 194) argues:

‘The interview, far from being a kind of snapshot or tape-recording – a simple report either of fact or of emotional response – in which the interviewer is a neutral agent who simply trips the shutter or triggers the response, is instead inevitably an

interactional situation’.

There are various problems associated with using semi-structured interviews. For example, interviewees may respond to interviewers through the use of familiar narrative constructs, rather than providing meaningful and subjective views and accounts of their lived experiences. In addition, it is acknowledged that through the coding, categorisation and typologising of stories, narratives are partial, rather than presented in their ‘wholeness’ (Charmaz, 1995: 60). It is recognised that respondents may have limited time, and that the researcher may be imposing on the time/space of others:

‘If qualitative methods are important, their use in the study of modern societies is not by any means straightforward. The difficulty is that respondents lead hectic, deeply segmented and privacy-centred lives. Even the most willing of them have only limited time and attention to give the investigator’ (McCracken, 1998: 10).

Interviews were intended to construct an alternative conceptualisation of family migration which emphasises its situatedness within everyday life, rather than operating in isolation away from other influences and constraints (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). A shift away from the cognitive paradigm which stresses processes of decision-making as unfolding within the individual, towards a contextual paradigm which emphasises the social setting of daily life, is put forward by Shotter (1984), for whom we are ‘ecological beings’, and continually being made and remade within the ‘hurly-burley’ of everyday life. Thus, interviews were conducted with the intention of acknowledging a broader context; acknowledging that the decisions, experiences and strategies within practices of family migration are located within the individual biographies of family migrants, in their entirety as a continual process that occurs in continuous time (Greenwood, 1985).

4.8.2 Using semi-structured interviews in Old Town

It is argued by Bielby and Bielby (1992) that a more robust study of family migration will involve incorporating qualitative methods that involve interviews with family members. Whilst the use of questionnaire surveys was principally to identify intentions, acts, behaviour, beliefs and opinions of in-migrants to the case study area, the main aim of semi-structured interviews was to more fully explore the significance of actions and the connections between acts. The qualitative method of interviewing was chosen to facilitate an understanding of others’ understandings of their lives and experiences, and provide the interviewer with a means for exploring the points of view of respondents. As Charmaz (1995: 54) explains:

‘We start with the experiencing person and try to share his or her subjective view. Our task is objective in the sense that we try to describe it with depth and detail. In doing so, we try to represent the person’s view fairly and to portray it as consistent with his or her meanings’.

All participants were involved in face-to-face semi-structured interviews, which were a supplement to other methods. Interviews were informal in style, to facilitate the most ‘natural’ situation (Fetterman, 1998), and adopted a flexible approach to data collecting in which the participant guided the style of interaction. Interviewees were given considerable latitude to pursue seemingly irrelevant tangents, the content of which was often revealed to be of value during the latter stages of the research project.

Each interview lasted between 30 and 120 minutes and was held in a location stipulated by the participant, usually their own home. Talking with participants in a familiar environment can facilitate a more comfortable and relaxed conversation, and often, participants were keen to share other artefacts that were to hand, such as photographs of place of origin, which helped them to explain and articulate motives and experiences of migration more effectively. A list of themes was kept in mind when talking with participants, in order to keep the interview focussed, but steered away from a rigid set of questions so that the issues in the interviewees terms could be understood (Valentine, 1997). As Graham (1984) argues, allowing interviewees to tell their own stories in their own words often elicits rich, detailed information rather than imposing a rigid regime of questions and answers that can be interpreted as a rather inquisitorial approach.

The interview process was digitally recorded, for which permission was gained through consent forms (see Appendix 3), and issues of confidentiality and anonymity (re) explained. A taped recording provides a detailed record of verbal interaction, and allows interviews to be replayed, transcripts produced and selectively drawn on to provide demonstrations of various arguments (Raply, 2004). As Valentine (1997) also notes, a taped recording captures all the nuances of sarcasm, humours and so on, that can suggest or infer different meanings other than what was actually expressed. The pace of the interview was controlled mainly by the participant; silences were often treated as productive spaces in which respondents could collect and focus their thoughts and opinions. For those respondents that did not wish to be recorded, detailed notes were taken. This arguably impacted on the interaction between interviewer and interviewee, as time is spent writing and recording, rather than concentrating fully on and engaging with the interviewee.

Interview themes were identified, developed and refined through content analysis, questionnaire surveys, semi-structured interviews with institutional actors, and discussions within Chapters 1-3.

Themes discussed in interviews included motives for migration, familial and social networks, economic risk, change/non-change in labour market practices, outcomes of migration for the individual and family, status as an in-migrant/new-comer, attitudes to and use of coastal space, and community. The interviews were guided by prompt questions such as ‘why did you leave your place or origin’, ‘what attracted you to Old Town’, and ‘tell me what you like about living here’. These were often addressed in a different order as respondents were encouraged to talk freely about the experiences considered most important or pertinent to them.

Transcripts of semi-structured interviews were coded according to grounded theory (see Section 4.6 for further discussion). In contrast to quantitative data, in which data and codes are very rigid, coding in qualitative data, in grounded theory, tends to be in a continual state of potential revision and fluidity (Bryman, 2008). In relation to semi-structured interviews, the development of theory out of data is a fundamental feature, in which the approach is iterative, and there is simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis. As data began to saturate each category and the significance of a concept and / or its relationship with other concepts established through successive interviews, the next stage of research was to begin generating theory/concepts.

No absolute number of interviews was pre-defined, and contact with potential participants relied on an open and flexible framework utilised as part of snowball technique. Using this method, recruitment of participants gains momentum or ‘snowballs’ as layers of contacts are built up, and interviewees with particular experiences and insights sought out (Valentine, 1997). Ultimately, 40 semi-structured interviews were conducted. Initial contact was made with individuals who were relevant to the research topic, and then used to establish connections with others. Creating a snowball sample is commented upon by Becker (1962) who argues that this approach is most appropriate when there is no accessible sampling frame for the population from which a sample may be taken:

‘The sample is, of course, in no sense random; it would not be possible to draw a random sample, since no one knows the nature of the universe from which it would have to be drawn’ (p. 46).

In line with the sampling method used for household surveys, the sample cannot claim to be representative of the population, and is guided by a preference for theoretical sampling rather than with statistical sampling (Bryman, 2008). A central aim of employing this method was to focus on or reflect upon the experiences and interpretations of a particular group of family migrants, who would be equipped to provide relevant and rich insights into the research topic. This sampling technique was particularly effective as interviewees introduced me as a researcher to the next

respondent, endorsing my presence and enhancing levels of trust and rapport. Multiple initial contact points were used so as to avoid recruiting participants from a narrow band of like-minded people, and included contacts established through household surveys, community groups, and local events.

4.9 Positionality

4.9.1 Considerations of positionality

‘When we talk with someone else about the world, we take in account who the other is, what that other person could be presumed to know, ‘where’ that other is in relation to ourself in the world we talk about’ (Baker, 1982: 109).

In order to undertake robust and ethical research, it is important to pay attention to issues of positionality, reflexivity, and power relations. Katz (1992: 496) claims that the research relationship is ‘a peculiar relationship – unequally initiated, situationally lop-sided, spatially dislocated, temporally isolated, extrinsic in purpose – it oozes with power’. Considering the position of the researcher within qualitative and quantitative research is fundamental to understanding how the relationship between researcher and research subjects is negotiated, and knowledge produced. As Gubrium and Holstein note (2002: 15), both interviewer and interviewee are seen as ‘actively and unavoidably engaged in the interactional co-construction of the interviewer’s content’.

The position of the researcher within the research process, and the observations and interpretations from a particular point of view, can easily influence the research itself. As Valentine (1997) asserts, it is essential to reflect on who you are, and how your identity will shape interactions and social encounters with participants throughout the research process. It is, therefore, crucial that the researcher take account of their position and social location with the research process, as well as that of the interviewee, and continually reflect on their actions and observations throughout the research process to grasp how they might affect the research relationship (Reinharz and Chase, 2002). Rather than the acknowledgement of one’s positionality or subjectivity hindering the research process, however, Peake and Trotz (1999: 37) contend that:

‘It can strengthen our commitment to conduct good research based on building relations of mutual respect and recognition. It does, however, entail abandoning the search for objectivity in favour of critical provisional analysis based on plurality of (temporally and spatially) situated voices and silences’.

It is important to note, however, that constantly being aware of one's positionality throughout the course of the research is often difficult, and Rose (1997: 305) warns against pretending to be an 'all-seeing and all-knowing researcher'. Rather, the researcher should situate themselves and their interpretations of the social encounter (e.g. household survey or individual interview) by reflexively examining their positionality. Similarly, McDowell (1992: 409) contends that 'we must recognise and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and write this into our research practice'.

4.9.2 Being reflexive about positionality

As discussed in Section 4.9.1, acknowledging that knowledge is produced in specific contexts or circumstances, and that these knowledges are marked by their origin (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991), leads to the importance of recognising the 'position' or 'positionality' of the researcher (Valentine, 2002: 116). The various forms of my knowledge (such as personal experience), in turn, draw attention to the non-neutrality of my position as a researcher, and the importance of being sensitive to the power relations which are inherent in the research process (Stanley and Wise, 1983). As England (1994) notes, being sensitive to power relations is fundamental to the research relationship, but does not remove them.

Dyck (1993) views the role of the researcher through two scenarios: insider and outsider research. Those who share the same identities with their informants are positioned as 'insiders'. The position of the researcher as 'insider' may be said to encourage interviewees to reveal the true reality of their lives, providing knowledge that will produce a more accurate interpretation of informant's responses (Moss, 2002). Taking into account issues of the 'local' and dynamics of inclusivity, exclusivity, belonging and identity intimately tied to the scale of the local, it was felt that, in some sense, my position as an 'outsider' shifted power to participants, who acclaimed the authority on many issues and concerns discussed during semi-structured interviews. Accordingly, when conducting the household survey, semi-structured interviews with estate agents, and in-migrants to the case study area, I often evoked my naive identity as an outsider on local issues to encourage a more fluid interaction.

It is often assumed that it is the interviewer who is in the dominant position. In the context of this research, it was often locally embedded people acting as gatekeepers to the community who controlled access to knowledge and informants, and their endorsement of the research and myself as a researcher/interviewer in many ways legitimised my presence in the case study area which, in

some instances, became taken for granted. Rarely, interviewees refused to allow interviews to be tape-recorded, arguably influencing the research process.

In terms of my position within the research process, as a researcher, I was conscious of my status as unknown and an unfamiliar individual seeking information from people, both through household surveys and semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews often took place in the homes of participants, as this was a familiar environment for them, and other environments such as cafes, bars, the beach and places of work. The location and timing of each social encounter encouraged the relationship between myself and the participant to 'shift and mutate', depending on these circumstances (Hoggart *et al.*, 2002). Rather than remaining objective and detached, however, the emphasis within semi-structured interviews was on openness, engagement with participants, and development of a trusting relationship between the interviewer and subject (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). To ensure the respondent felt comfortable and at ease with the situation, time was spent developing a positive rapport, often by beginning the conversation by speaking informally about residing in a coastal town, as I have resided in Brighton for several years.

Acknowledging how I may affect the knowledge produced through both household surveys and individual interviews was fundamental throughout the research process, and I was constantly aware of approaching participants and the ensuing conversation with them in an appropriate manner that would partially mitigate any effects. I endeavoured to maintain an impartial and neutral stance throughout any encounter, both through verbal and non-verbal actions, to ensure that I did not influence any responses, and obtain as accurate an account as possible. Often, respondents asked me my opinion on local issues, such as the role of various institutions and agencies in regenerating Hastings. Rather than answer and risk influencing how the respondent answered, I retained an unknowing and naive identity which often encouraged respondents to speak in more depth about their experience and interpretation of particular issues, as well as shifting more power to them as 'knowing'.

Factors such as gender and race could not be controlled for, and undoubtedly shaped my positionality in particular ways. As Schoenberger (1992: 218) explains: 'questions of gender, class, race, nationality, politics, history, and experience shape our research and our interpretations of the world, however much we are supposed to deny it. The task, then, is not to do away with these things, but to know them and learn from them'.

My role in how knowledge was produced through the household survey and semi-structured interviews was also considered. Just as I may potentially affect the research process when data is collected, my influence during data entry and analysis must also be acknowledged and minimised.

For example, accurately recording data and paying detailed attention to language would allow data to be scrutinised and the interpretation of data to be thorough. The way in which people express their beliefs and opinions, rather than just what they say must be woven into analysis if truthful accounts are to be gained, and a complete and accurate account of data is necessary to facilitate analysis (Bryman, 2008).

To facilitate an encounter in which the respondent felt at ease, thus allowing my role as a researcher to be effective, certain elements were considered. First, it was considered imperative to ensure any potential participant was fully informed in clear and concise terms of the purpose of the research and how the data would be used. It was acknowledged that there are multiple possible 'influences' on the interaction and trajectory of talk between the interviewer and interviewee, and allowing silence and pauses gave participants the opportunity to reflect and amplify a response. Maintaining a neutrality and consistency when asking/phrasing questions was important, and partially mitigated any bias on the part of the researcher that may be sensed by the respondent, and influence any responses. Allowing the respondent adequate time to form their answer and fully convey their point was also key.

Being reflexive throughout the course of the research is said to influence positionality. Reflecting on self, process, and representation, and critically examining power relations in the research process should occur from the 'beginning to the end of the research process' (Sultana, 2007: 376), and encourages researchers to consider how one is inserted in 'grids of 'power'; in turn, influencing methods, interpretations and knowledge production (cf. Kobayashi, 2003). Reflexivity is defined by England (1994: 224), as:

'...self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher...it induces self-discovery and can lead to insights and new hypotheses about the research questions'.

Although reflexivity is generally advocated as a strategy for situating knowledges and a 'crucial goal' for all geographers, Rose (1997) contends that there are difficulties, anxieties and ambivalences surrounding actually doing it, as well as limits to some forms of reflexivity. Okely (1992) notes that reflexivity is often misunderstood within the research process, perceived as 'a confession to salacious indiscretions', 'mere navel gazing', and even 'narcissistic and egoistic', the implication being that the researcher 'let the veil of objectivist neutrality slip'.

Throughout the course of research, from research design to analysis, it was crucial that I was aware of my positionality and reflexive wherever possible; acknowledging that my role as a researcher is

‘part and parcel’ of the construction of knowledge, rather than someone who extracts knowledge from research encounters and transfers knowledge to an audience (Bryman, 2008). Being consciously reflexive during each stage of research and aware of my positionality informed how I conducted household surveys and semi-structured interviews, for example, when asking/phrasing questions, ensuring participants were fully aware what was being asked, and assessing different responses from participants in order to adapt my positionality accordingly.

It is important to note that whilst reflexivity as underpinning good research is generally advocated, Rose (1997) contends that it has been critiqued for implying the eventual goal of a fully known social situation, when claiming to know even our own motives is inherently problematic.

4.10 Ethical considerations

This section explores the ethical considerations of the research. It is imperative that ethical concerns should permeate the entire process of the research, from conceptualisation to dissemination (Sultana, 2007). Ethical issues will undoubtedly emerge between the researcher and research participant and in the research more widely. It is the responsibility of the social researcher, therefore, to reflect on and respond to ethical considerations throughout the course of the research, in both collection and analysis of data. Denscombe (1997: 144) asserts that researchers are:

‘Expected to be open and explicit about what they are doing – to let people know that they are researchers and that they intend to collect data for the investigation into a particular topic. Furthermore, they are expected to tell the truth about the nature of their investigation and the role of the participants in that research’.

A primary ethical consideration was that the research did not harm participants in any way, including physical harm, harm to participants’ development; loss of self esteem; and stress (Bryman, 2008). Research questions may often touch on sensitive issues, such as relationships with family members, and care must be taken that this mode of investigation does not potentially lead to trauma or stress. Disclosure of personal information can be embarrassing for participants, and ensuring that the interest of participants is protected through confidentiality of information is paramount (Denscombe, 2007). Confidentiality is the moral responsibility of the researcher, who must fulfil the subject’s expectations according to their informed consent. (Kimmel, 1998). Permission was gained through a consent form containing information about the research project (see Appendix 3).

Participants were given as much information as required for them to make an informed decision about whether or not they wished to participate in the research, and were as fully informed about the research process without influencing answers to questions (Bryman, 2008). Respondents were never forced or coerced into participating, and the voluntary nature of participation, as well as the option to withdraw from the research at any time without explanation, was reiterated at the beginning of each encounter. In addition, it was made clear to participants that they were free to refuse to answer any questions on whatever grounds they felt were justifiable, or stop the interview at any time. Interviewees that were tape-recorded were informed that only the researcher and possibly a supervisor would listen to the interview, and that all identifying information would be removed during transcription (Bryman, 2008).

Confidentiality and the right to privacy were fundamental ethical tenants of this research. To protect anonymity, all participants were reminded that any information would be treated confidentially, and that they would be referred to using pseudonyms in transcripts and beyond. All participants were assured that information, such as transcripts and contact details, would be treated in the strictest of confidence, and stored in password-accessed files. Some participants, however, explicitly waived their anonymity, and were willing to be named. It was decided, however, that all participants would remain anonymous.

4.11 Risk

Elements of risk were assessed and managed throughout the research process, both in terms of participant and researcher risk. Necessary precautions were taken to reduce the inherent dangers and potential hazards involved in field activities, and as fieldwork progressed, the assessment of potential hazards and dangers was reviewed, and revised as and when any new situation developed. With regard to semi-structured interviews, many interviews were carried out within the home of the participant to facilitate an environment in which the respondent felt comfortable and most at ease. On these occasions, a family member and / or friend was informed of the location of the interview, time of the interview, and expected duration of the interview. Interviews conducted within an 'office' environment took place in the presence of several other people. The interviews were taped with the consent of respondents.

The household survey was most often carried out on the doorstep of individual properties, with the permission of the participant. If any external factors such as noise and / or weather interfered with data collection, the participant often invited the researcher into the porch or inside of the doorway; the door remaining open at all times. Similarly to conducting interviews, a family member and / or friend was informed of the days on which fieldwork was taking place and location, duration of time

in the field and expected time of return. Surveys were conducted in daylight hours only and a mobile phone was carried at all times when out in the field.

4.12 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach adopted within this research. A mixed-methods approach was utilised to capture a range of contextual and empirical data. Each source captured different aspects of a process, so did not necessarily come up with the same answers (Hoggart, 2002). Rather, each approach was complimentary, and informed the next stage of the research, and allowed the research to evolve whilst keeping the case study area at the centre of the research process. Contextual analyses of local and national media discourses was used to clarify the spatial and temporal dimensions of processes of population change in the case study area, and establish and gain an insight into local and national knowledges, perceptions and commonly held views surrounding key local issues. The key themes that emerged from this approach were used to inform other stages of the research, such as unstructured interviews with local estate agents and the household survey. The household survey was employed using a purposive sampling framework to strategically capture specific social groups that were positioned to offer insights into the research questions. This approach was utilised so that individuals with experiences related to the research questions could be sampled. Many of the key themes that emerged from the contextual analysis findings, as well as interviews with local estate agents, informed the household survey, which was designed to obtain qualitative data alongside quantitative data. The use of individual interviews with 40 in-migrants to the case study area stems from a desire to work 'up' from data, building new understandings from 'thick descriptions' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 213), and examining in greater detail the motives, aspirations, experiences and preferences of contemporary family migrants. The themes and questions explored in semi-structured interviews were informed by each previous stage of research, and sought to collect rich, empirical data which would facilitate a more robust exploration and understanding of how family migrants experience and make sense of their mobility

The employment of mixed-methods in this research involved four main approaches, and has illustrated how each method expanded and furthered knowledge gained by the previous method, allowing a variety of data sources to inform and confirm each other.

5 Exploring perceptions of change

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines national and local perceptions of recent economic, social, cultural and physical transformations within Old Town, Hastings. First, analyses of local and national media discourses reveal notable perceptions of change on the coastal margins in Old Town and Hastings more widely. Second, the discussion draws upon semi-structured interviews with estate agents in Old Town, with a particular focus on interpretations of why households are moving into Old Town. In particular, this chapter seeks to illuminate local and national evidence and perceptions of change which suggest the influence of population change, and begins to extract some key patterns and themes of change which are investigated further using the household survey (see Chapter 6), and semi-structured interviews with family migrants (see Chapter 7).

The Chapter is structured into five main sections. First, Section 5.2 presents a local profile of Old Town and provides some historical and socio-cultural context. Section 5.3 establishes the level of analysis for family migration data, discussed in Chapter 6, and explores the temporal and socio-cultural specifics of family migration to Old Town. Section 5.3 identifies a particular temporal juncture at which new expressions of social, cultural and physical transformation and population change within the case study area are contended to unfold. Section 5.4 identifies a distinct group of in-migrants, and argues that the socio-cultural characteristics of this group inform their migration practices in particular ways. The emphasis on the temporal and socio-cultural specifics of family migration to Old Town highlights the significance of counterurban population movements, and the social, cultural, economic and physical outcomes of migration flows into Old Town. Section 5.5 examines representations and imaginings of the 'seaside' and the 'coastal'. Section 5.6 explores the place and role of the fishing industry within Old Town. Section 5.7 presents evidence of social and cultural change as revealed in national and local media sources. Section 5.8 examines a changing sense of place, identity and community in Old Town. Section 5.9 investigates property market characteristics, and seeks to identify changes which may indicate the presence of underlying processes. Section 5.10 explores wider discourses of regeneration in Hastings, and examines how Old Town is positioned within them. Section 5.11 investigates regeneration discourses in Hastings, examining the processes that underpin changes in the social, cultural, economic and physical landscape. This chapter also draws upon 2001 GB Census data to explore the demographic characteristics of the case study location – Old Town, Hastings.

5.2 Old Town

This section examines the case study location and provides some socio-economic contextual background. The discussion sets the context for an analysis of migration practices which explores location, population change, property market characteristics, transport links, industry, and cultural ambience. It is important to contextualise Old Town within the wider setting of Greater Hastings in order to understand broader processes of change.

Hastings is located in East Sussex, on the South East coast of England. The town is located 55 miles from central London in a South Easterly direction, and is 30 miles east of Brighton, another main coastal locale in East Sussex (see Figure 5. 1). East Sussex, along with 19 other counties and unitary authorities, and 55 districts, comprises part of the South East region which stretches in an arc around London (Government Office for the South East, 2007).

Image not available due to copyright restrictions

Figure 5. 1 **Location map of Hastings, East Sussex (Goggle Maps)**

Image not available due to copyright restrictions

Figure 5. 2 Location of Old Town, Hastings (Multimap)

Hastings, or Haesta Ingas, is founded on a history of Saxon settlement and Norman invasion. It's deeply embedded social, cultural and economic relationship with the sea can be traced back to the 11th century when Hastings became one of five English Cinque Ports. The Norman Conquest in 1066 is a key historical event and the '1066' culture in Hastings can be said to be pervasive, shaping the identity of Hastings more widely as '1066 Country'; the Hastings tourist board marketing the town as 'popular with visitors since 1066' (visit1066country.com) Subsequent to the Norman Conquest, Hastings thrived as a fishing settlement and small market town. In 1589 Queen Elizabeth granted Hastings a charter, granting the townspeople the right to free use of the fishing beach known as the 'Stade'. In the 18th century, Hastings was a small market town with a population of approximately 1,500, and key industries included fishing, shipbuilding and rope making, alongside more illicit practices, such as smuggling. In the 19th century, Hastings developed rapidly, the population of the town expanding to reach 18,000 by the middle of the century (localhistories.org/hastings) The fishing industry gradually declined in the late 19th century, exacerbated by the general economic depression in the 1880's, and caused considerable poverty in Old Town, amongst both the lowest paid workers and 'fishing people' (Peak, 1985: 41). By this time, Hastings had begun to develop as a seaside resort. In the latter part of the century it became fashionable among the wealthy to spend a summer by the sea. Many people believed that bathing in seawater improved health and well-being. The new seaside resort developed alongside the fishing industry, which remained the dominant industry in Hastings, and by 1901 the population had risen to 65,528. In the first half of the century, landmarks such as the Royal East Sussex Hospital, White Rock Pavilion and Marina Court were built, although many buildings were later

damaged or destroyed during World War II. During the 1950's, Hastings flourished as a seaside destination for day-trippers and 'weekenders', and offered 'holidaymakers' a slice of fun and frivolity at the seaside:

The Fifties were the Indian summer of the big raucous resorts, with their candy floss and their Kiss Me Quick hats. For generations, everyone had taken seaside holidays and had taken them for granted. There was no alternative until cheap Mediterranean packages promised dawn-to-dusk sunshine to roast you a vicious shade of pink (The Times, 4/7/2009).

Although the appeal of Hastings as a popular tourist destination has declined due to the increased accessibility and affordability of holidays abroad, the fishing industry has continued to be a dominant presence within the Town:

The last 140 years have seen first the rise and now the decline of famous British fishing ports like Hull, Grimsby and Fleetwood, yet Hastings has survived. Today, Hastings boasts the largest fleet of beach-launched fishing boats in Britain (Peak, 1985: 7).

There is an arguably complex history of population change in Hastings, migration flows from London in particular, and 'Hastings has seen an ebb and flow of people as much as any place on this coast' (BBC Coast, Series 4, 2009). The House of Commons Coastal Towns Report (2006/7) notes that 'the town had always had transient populations moving through', and national media discourses reveal that the relatively low cost of living in Hastings in the 1990's was a significant attraction, but was coupled with comparatively high unemployment and levels of deprivation that many in-coming migrants were unaware of:

People migrate here from all over the country. Rents are cheap and people think, it's the south, the living will be good. They forget that it's an area of high unemployment. The European Union has recognised Hastings as an area of deprivation (The Independent, 22/5/1995).

A complex migratory relationship between Hastings and London is further revealed in media discourses; local authorities in London 'decanting' those with social and / or psychological problems in Hastings in the 1960's and 1970's. Hastings in the 1990's is noted by the Financial Times as 'notorious as one of the country's heroin hot spots' (24/10/2009). The movement of disadvantaged individuals and families into declining coastal towns and 'faded resorts' such as

Hastings is echoed by Dorling *et al's* research findings (BURA, 2009), and the impact of this migration flow is keenly felt by residents:

Many Hastings residents believe that the high level of mental health and social problems in their town is due to "dumping" by local authorities in London and further afield. It has happened, unofficially, since the war.... London boroughs bought land here, built council houses and shipped people out here. Then, when big mental institutions were being closed down in the 1960s and 1970s, people were sent this way (The Independent, 22/5/1995).

Hastings has a population of approximately 85,000 (85,029 – 2001 GB Census) and originally grew from a market town in the early 18th century with a population of 1,500, to a seaside resort in the latter part of the century. Hastings traditional industries were rope-making and ship-building, and it currently has the largest beach launched fishing fleet in the UK. The mean price for a three-bedroom property in Hastings in September 2009 was £204,759 (home.co.uk, 2009). This means Hastings is arguably one of the less expensive residential locations in the region (see Section 5.9.1 for further discussion).

Indices of deprivation 2007 reveal that Hastings is amongst the more deprived districts in England on a range of measures, alongside Southampton and Medway (Government Office for the South East, 2007), and is ranked as the 27th most deprived local authority area in England (Rank of ward Ranks, Index of Multiple Deprivation, 2000). The Hastings and St. Leonards Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy (online, no date) cites disproportionate levels of education underachievement, unemployment, crime and poor health as underpinning 'significant issues of social cohesion', and five wards are ranked amongst the worst ten per cent nationally.

In 2001, the Hastings and Bexhill Task Force was convened to coordinate the town's regeneration, focusing on five points of activity that would form the basis for the economic, social and cultural revitalisation and rejuvenation of the town; education, business, urban renaissance, Broadband technologies, and transport (Hastings Borough Council, 2001). In 2002, Hastings Borough Council was awarded £38 million in regeneration funding by the Government. The Hastings and Bexhill Task Force, an alliance of local and regional organisations led by the South East England Development Agency (SEEDA), Hastings Borough Council, Rother Council and East Sussex Country Council, established a development company in 2003 called Sea Space to manage and secure funds from central government, Europe and other sources (Hastings Borough Council, 2001 online). Various projects and developments have been initiated from 2003, including University Centre Hastings, Creative Media Centre and Broadband Centre, Innovation Centre Hastings, the

Priory Quarter Project, Marina Pavilion, Lacuna Place, Station Plaza, and the Jerwood Gallery (Sea Space, 2009).

5.3 The temporal and socio-cultural specifics of family migration to Old Town: Identifying the level of analysis

5.3.1 ‘The turning tide’: Post-2001 change in Hastings

This section presents evidence from local and national media sources of events and processes that have unfolded within Old Town and Greater Hastings, and provides an insight into local patterns of change. The local newspaper, the Hastings and St. Leonards Observer (HSLO), a local publication, ‘About Magazine’, and various national newspapers allow a variety of social, cultural, physical and economic issues to be explored.

Fundamentally, it is argued that there are distinct temporal dimensions of local change in Hastings, with 2001 marking a temporal juncture at which new expressions of social, cultural and economic processes unfolded in Hastings. Reflecting on processes of change in the town, local publication ‘About Magazine’ describes how ‘in the year 2000 we [Hastings] were a deprived community unsure of our future...since then, the tide is turning for us’ (Issue 31, 2006). The following quote illustrates the shift in perception from a ‘run down’ town to ‘hip and happening’ town in 2001:

‘What do the words, ‘hip’, ‘happening’, and ‘hurry’ have in common? It’s quite simple – they’re all being used to describe Hastings. Three years ago, all national press coverage said the same thing about our town; run down, a haven for beggars, rocketing social problems – and of course there was THAT headline – Costa del Dole’ (About Magazine, Issue 10: 2001).

Discourse analyses also reveal that both national and local media reported the signs of an emergence in 2001 from ongoing economic decline and degeneration that has deterred the cultured classes for who it can be said the English seaside resort was intended. Precursors to change such as investment in business initiatives, education, and the public realm are pulling Hastings out of its ‘post-stagnation phase’ (Smith, 2004: 18), and enticing the high-spending ‘cultured classes’ back to what was once the ‘most genteel resort in the country’:

‘Tentative signs are there that Hastings may be about to be reclaimed by the cultured classes for whom it was built’ (The Telegraph, 16/7/2001).

It is not being argued here that the town of Hastings was entirely transformed in 2001. Rather, that from this point onward, particular mechanisms and precursors to change unfolded. The following quote demonstrates how wider socio-economic problems are still prevalent in 2001, yet the potential for Hastings to become 'the hippest place on the South East coast' is nonetheless recognised, and arguably marks a shift towards expectation and optimism:

'Hastings and St. Leonards is a town in the middle of a massive shake up. Just look around you – there are still social problems, there is still plenty of work to be done – except now it seems that both the resources and the commitment are in place to tackle it. So maybe, just maybe – you're living in a town which is about to become, as one headline claimed, the 'hippest place on the South East coast' (About Magazine, Issue 10: 2001).

Regeneration as a significant precursor to change is identified by property developers as a key attraction for both potential investors and residents, who can expect improvements in realms such as housing and education:

'So what is there to attract buyers? One of the things that property investors look for are areas that are being regenerated. And Hastings is certainly one of those. The local regeneration plans cover transport, business initiatives, education, culture and housing. All of which give encouraging signs that this area is 'up and coming'. For example, the South East England Development Agency (SEEDA) has allocated £38 million to the local task force for regeneration over the next three years' (Professionalpropertyinvestor.com, 2001).

Initial signs of revitalisation and rejuvenation in Hastings are, however, situated within wider discourses of heritage and preservation. Although pre-2001 years of 'decline and decay' are replaced with 'fresh' projects and ideas that will give a 'new lease of life to the town'. The importance of conserving the place-specific appeals and characteristics that are distinct to the seaside locale of Hastings is recognised:

'I believe our town is beginning to improve...the test for us all is how to give a new lease of life to the town with fresh projects to attract visitors and to improve life for locals, without undermining the unique character and appeal of Hastings and St. Leonards and its buildings, Things have to change – to stand still is to go backwards, back to those years of decline and decay and we are not prepared to ever allow that again' (About Magazine, Issue 13: 2001).

Alongside regeneration schemes, institutions and agencies concerned with the revitalisation of Hastings also draw on history and heritage to inform place-shaping activities within the town. The centrality of the fishing fleet in Old Town to sense of place and identity more widely is reflected in economic investment decisions made in 2001:

‘The Old Town’s unique Net Shops are to benefit from a total of £240,000 funding to renovate and repair them. The scheme is known as a Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme (HERS). It will be funded by £120,000 from English Heritage, £30,000 from Hastings Borough Council and £90,000 of European money’ (About Magazine, Issue 12: 2001).

Processes of social and cultural change in 2001 were initially closely tied to physical transformation and regeneration. The influx of buy-to-let landlords in the 1990’s arguably affected the condition of property, particularly along the seafront, and large Victorian properties were often turned into houses of multiple occupancy:

‘The owners of hostels, bedsits and B&Bs receive government money for housing people living at a financial and psychological subsistence level...the big Victorian houses have been turned into residential homes and hostels or broken up into bedsits’ (The Independent, 22/5/1995).

The enforcement of Section 215 of the Town and Country Act 1990 was central in 2001 to the superficial transformation of more visible spaces, such as the seafront. This piece of legislation allowed Hastings Borough Council to take action against property owners if the ‘poor condition of a building or piece of land is considered to be adversely affecting its surroundings’ (Hastings Borough Council). The ‘changing face of Hastings’ is noted in ‘About Magazine’ in 2001:

‘Some of our seafront buildings are quite stunning architecturally, and it is vital that we both preserve and make the most of them, after all it is the seafront that is effectively the gateway to the town. Already, 50 properties have received warning letters or Section 215 Notices’ (About Magazine, Issue 13: 2001).

The shift in perception of Hastings arguably underpins other, initial changes in population in 2001. Local media in particular begin to identify changes in the local population and local housing markets, as flows of in-migrants ‘down from London’ highlight the presence of underlying processes (e.g. counterurbanisation to the ‘coastal margins’). The following quote succinctly

captures how contemporary migration flows from London to Hasting unfolded in 2001, driven by in-migrants who place significance on quality-of-life issues, and make compromises in their work lives:

‘People who work away from the town are moving here to live because life in Hastings beats life in London hands down.... a lot of people are moving into the town who work elsewhere and they are not joining the labour market...because the quality-of-life is so good compared to London’ (HSLO, 3/8/2001).

Participating in these migration flows are individuals that local and national media identify as (re) shaping the trends and direction of movement within migration practices. For example, The Telegraph identifies two in-comers to Old Town in 2001 as ‘Britain’s coolest organic couple’; ‘moving to the coast from Notting Hill...to live the good life’. It is argued that such incomers act as ‘trail blazers’, leading the ‘invasion’ and encouraging other potential in-migrants to make the move from the city to the coast:

‘Craig Sams, the founder of the Green & Black’s chocolate empire....and his wife Jo Fairley, a former magazine editor, led a new invasion, this time of well-heeled, creative people choosing to make Hastings their home. A number of the Sams’ London friends have joined them in the town, where there is a growing band of novelists, artists and journalists who claim to prefer Hastings to the more fashionable Brighton’ (The Telegraph, 14/7/2004).

Other in-migrants to Old Town are also considered to have ‘played a part’ in shifting perceptions of Hastings more widely through their migration practices:

‘Though property prices have been rising, and Paula Yates used to have a house here, Hastings still remains something of a well-kept secret. The high cliffs, promenade, the 1872 pier, peeling Victorian houses and old wooden net shops on the beach make it an intriguing seaside town’ (The Telegraph, 8/8/2001).

The following quote also alludes to the appeal of Old Town among ‘Londoners’ in particular, recognised as an emerging trend. The socio-economic characteristics of this social group, and the appeals and enticements of Old Town, are discussed further in Section 5. 2. 2.

‘The Paula Yates connection has certainly played a part in helping boost its profile, but the Old Town is a beautiful and much sought-after area anyway, particularly among Londoners’ (The Telegraph, 19/4/2001).

The filming of the television series 'Foyle's War', which was first aired in 2001, is also contended to have more widely enhanced the reputation of Old Town. The nostalgic (re) imaginings of war-time and post-war Britain in Foyle's War can be said to evoke particular dominant representations of Old Town; with in-migrants to the town perhaps drawing on images of a more 'simple' era in migration decision-making processes:

'Hastings Old Town was once again flung back into wartime Britain when the cast and crew of Foyle's War returned to the town in April to film a fourth series. Each episode attracts around nine million viewers and is as popular abroad as it is at home, with fan bases in the States and Australia' (About Magazine, Issue 28, 2005).

Local publication 'About Magazine' suggests that there is a 'simple message' underpinning increasing coverage of Hastings in both local and national media, and succinctly captures the economic, cultural and social processes unfolding in the town:

'There is no doubt that Hastings is crawling back up the respectability ladder...property prices can only rise, millions are being pumped into the town to regenerate it and social problems are being tackled passionately and pro-actively' (About Magazine, Issue 10, 2001).

In summary, it is contended that 2001 marks a significant temporal juncture at which structural changes and new social and cultural expressions unfolded. Similar temporal junctures are identified in other media discourses, and it is important to note that some expressions of social, cultural and physical change only begin to emerge once the mechanisms for change are established in 2001:

'The turnaround began in about 2002, when £38m in government grants was awarded to the twin towns [of Hastings and St. Leonards], sparking a resurgence in civic pride and a change of cultural outlook' (Financial Times, 24/10/2009).

Reflecting on the initial stages of social, cultural, economic and physical transformation in Hastings in 2001, local publication 'About Magazine' considers the development of the town over twelve months as a 'rebirth', and anticipates further progress in 2002:

'As another year closes we can look back on 12 months of further progress in the rebirth of our town...Now we look forward to progress in 2002. After decades of

decline for the borough it is what you all have the right to expect' (About Magazine, Issue 14: 2001).

5.3.2 'Down from London': From the city to the coast

This section presents findings from semi-structured interviews with estate agents in Old Town, and also draws on some qualitative data from questionnaire surveys (see Chapter 6). There is a particular focus on the characteristics of particular social groups and households moving into Old Town, and an emphasis on emerging expressions of counterurban migration from the city to the coastal margins. The discussion seeks to identify relatively recent changes which differentiate contemporary family migration flows from other flows of migration to Old Town. In particular, the discussion explores some of the linkages between population change, gentrification and counterurban migration. This focus is important, as contemporary migration flows to Old Town highlight the relatively high incidence of long-distance family migrants moving out of the city and towards the coast:

'A sea change in happening in the patterns of relocation: as Halifax research highlights, there is a shift from the cities to the coast, with families taking advantage of lower prices to make a permanent move or acquire a weekend home' (The Times, 13/3/2009).

The out-migration of people from London more generally has been noted previously, and is investigated by one national newspaper, which reports the number of 'Londoners' leaving the capital to be sizable:

'A survey by the Halifax found that from 1994 to 2003, almost 2.3m Londoners had left the capital...Where do all the Londoners go? Last year, 116,000 people moved out of London, according to the Office for National Statistics' (The Times, 13/11, 2005).

It is argued that to capture more robust understandings of social, cultural, economic and physical change in Old Town, the role of in-migrants 'down from London' must be examined. How processes of change are, in many ways, intrinsically linked to this particular sub-group of in-migrants is fundamental to this discussion. In the case study area, the significance of family in-migrants 'down from London' is noted by a local estate agent, observing a pronounced increase within the previous year (2006) in interest from London-based residents in moving to Old Town:

‘I would say around 90% of enquiries over the past year [2006] are from people based in London, wanting to move. Sam, my colleague, has been doing this for 25 years and he says this is the busiest he’s ever been. The majority of our buyers are cash buyers, those people down from London, selling a tiny flat in London and buying a £400, 000 house outright, no mortgage. They want to get out of the rat race, want to be by the sea. A lot of people are working from home more which they used to not be able to do’ (EA1).

This quote not only indicates a potential increase in London based in-migrants to Old Town, but also alludes to the relative affluence of incoming migrants from London, as well as the increasing significance of socio-cultural lifestyle appeals and adjustments to work practices within migration processes and the lives of migrants more widely. Further empirical findings from interviews with estate agents reveal how diverse place-specific appeals and enticements have encouraged the in-migration of people from places such as London and Brighton that are perhaps attracted by Old Town’s distinct socio-cultural qualities and undeterred by comparatively elevated property prices:

‘Over the last 7...years it’s become more popular, it’s the character properties, the individual properties, everybody sort of seems to think it’s become this ‘in’ place, with all the trendy restaurants and cafes. It’s about 25% more expensive than anywhere else in the town, which, it’s sort of putting off some of the local buyers, because they think they can get more for their money in other parts of Hastings. But people coming in from elsewhere, from London, from Brighton, they don’t seem to mind’ (EA2).

This observation suggests that at this temporal juncture, households ‘on the move’ to Old Town are perhaps beginning to re-evaluate the importance of housing and distinct socio-cultural qualities in their decision-making process. Place-specific characteristics are argued to have become increasingly considered by migrants as a significant, and less tangible, appeal; for example, the appeal of living somewhere largely undiscovered and ‘up and coming’. Also, it is argued that this particular observation by a local estate agent identifies some initial processes of gentrification, reflected in elevated property prices that are increasingly inaccessible for ‘local buyers’. Estate agents in Hastings more widely are also observing increasing interest in Hastings from ‘Londoners’:

‘Paul Warren of estate agency Andrews says ‘Already many Londoners are moving down here; it’s only 60 miles away. Currently we are receiving around 50-65 applications weekly and about one-third of those are from people living in London

who are looking to relocate to Hastings to reduce their mortgage payments and improve their quality-of-life' (Financial Times, 24/10/2009).

The affluence of many post-2001 in-migrants is described in an interview with one local estate agent, who observes that it is the enhanced economic capital of some in-migrants within this group that is central to changes within the property market in Old Town:

'I think it's the money that people moving down from London have at their disposal, it pushes the prices up so they're out-pricing the local people, again, only in this area, because there are plenty of houses you can get elsewhere in town within a normal budget, you can still get a three bedroom family home for £150 - £200, 000, but not here in the Old Town; in the Old Town it will be £250 - £300, 000, you know, and that's just one of the knock on effects' (EA1).

The previous quote also illustrates how property ownership is often linked to long-established and embedded familial ties. It may be argued that an inherited right to own property is considered a more legitimate form of ownership and more beneficial to the town than an 'outsider' purchasing property. The following observation from a local estate agent, however, indicates that Old Town is becoming increasingly popular with in-migrants from London looking to purchase properties:

'The Old Town is fast becoming the preserve of Londoners, it's where they like to go, but the property prices are high down here compared to the rest of Hastings, but people coming down from London can afford it if they've sold places in London' (EA2).

The above quote also illustrates how Old Town is becoming increasingly differentiated from wider Hastings, evident here in elevated property prices, and reveals that this is perhaps beginning to create a 'pocket' of privilege in which only those in-migrants 'down from London' can participate. There is clearly a tension between this finding and recent research (Dorling *et al.*, 2009) on the movement of disadvantaged families into declining and 'faded' coastal towns, such as Hastings and Blackpool (BURA, 2009); further compounding the socio-spatial and economic dislocation of Old Town from Greater Hastings which arguably underpins uneven family geographies in each locale. It can be said that findings reveal an emerging divergence between affluent families moving into the 'exclusive' area of Old Town, with access to high-quality private education in surrounding areas, and deprived families moving into less 'desirable' neighbourhoods in Greater Hastings; illustrating the socio-spatial differentials and diversity of migration flows to the coastal periphery.

Alongside arguably detrimental outcomes of in-migration to Old Town, some positive outcomes are also noted and succinctly captured by local estate agents. The following quotes reveal how relatively recent in-comers 'down from London' are considered to bring economic benefits to the town, which encourage the maintenance of older properties and further the provision of particular kinds of restaurants and bars:

'I don't think people are resentful of this, well, most people in the Old Town aren't I think. It's bringing money into the Old Town, it's improving it, the properties are improving, it's bringing more business into the Old Town as well, and there have certainly been more restaurants and things opening in recent times because of the type of people moving in so I think that's all good. There are certain types of people...there are still those other elements of people in the town who maybe might be a bit more resentful, from certain parts of town that aren't as wealthy' (EA1).

'I think the type of people who are moving down there, the Londoners for example, I think they [Old Town residents] welcome them to be honest. They bring something to the area which only popularizes it, they stir up a bit of hype about the place because everyone is wondering what the fuss is all about and what could be so wonderful or new and unique that it attracts people from the Capital which supposedly has everything you could ever ask for, and lures them away to this tiny corner of the South East coast. Hopefully some of that will rub off more widely on Hastings' (EA2).

The above quote also illustrates how relatively recent in-migrants 'down from London' are often viewed as the source of other, less tangible outcomes, such as 'hype' and wider interest in Old Town. That the in-migration of a particular social group is adequate to steer the trajectory of change within Old town in particular ways, arguably raises some interesting questions about the agency of in-coming migrants, and the impact on socio-cultural structures already in place.

The movement of family migrants from Brighton to Hastings is also discussed alongside flows of migration from London, and explores the out-migration of gay migrants and same-sex partnerships in particular. Out-migration of this sub-group from Brighton to other locales besides Old Town is examined by Smith (2004). The appeals of Old Town for gay in-migrants are considered by local estate agents, citing a close-knit community, safe environment, and relatively less expensive property as potential enticements:

'There are more gay people here than elsewhere in the town, perhaps because they feel safer here. There's more of a community here, it's a bit like being in village, you can

walk down the street and everybody will know you, they'll say good morning, hi and ask you what you're up to. It's a village within a town really. And another reason why you get more of a gay community in the Old Town is because they have more of a disposable income than other people, they probably don't have children, they've re-located here from London or Brighton generally and Brighton has become very expensive and Old Town comparatively is not as expensive' (EA1).

Further to this, local estate agents also notice increasing 'unconventionality' in other migration flows, as in-migrants move to Old Town at a particular stage of life-course. The following quote illustrates that rather than the 'traditional' retired migration often associated with coastal locales (e.g. Eastbourne), in-migrants are generating substantial economic capital in their 50's by selling relatively high-priced property in London and choosing to migrate with 'big pay-offs', rather than remain in London:

'There's not a big retired community down here, early retirement perhaps, you know, they're not pensioners really, they're coming from London with big pay offs from their London property, I mean the property in London just keeps going sky high so they sell up and come here where property is still relatively cheap' (EA2).

In the second group (pre-2001 in-migrants), there are also in-migrants that have moved to Old Town from London. It is not being suggested that a migratory relationship between London and Hastings is a contemporary trend; rather that the processes underpinning these practices have changed (Pahl, 1975). It is argued, therefore, that perhaps a distinction between those that moved to Old Town in 2001 or after and those that moved before 2001 can be identified.

Of course, there may be some overlaps in terms of how and why migrants within each of these two groups decided to move. It is contended, however, that largely, a distinction can be made based on this temporal juncture that reveals different migration decision-making processes and outcomes for each group. In the following sections, it is argued that this distinction is important for understanding the changing dynamics of family migration, and exploring how different flows of in-migration are contesting engrained representations of family migrants.

5.4 Stories from the city...

National media discourses reveal the increasing proportion of migrants moving out of city spaces in favour of comparatively less urban areas, prompting the claim that 'the love affair with London is over' (The Times, 23/5/2003). In what is described as an 'urban exodus' from 'city to sylvan

smug', (The Times, 23/5/2003) an increasing number of migrants are feeling the city in favour of alternative end destinations to urban spaces:

'Everybody is getting the hell out of our cities – not just London – and heading for almost anywhere else. About 350, 000 people left the capital last year; if that rate of departure continues, there'll be nobody left at all by the end of the 2020's...Oxford Street will resemble one of those scary post-holocaust films from the cold war, with nothing there but giant rats and Starbucks' (The Times, 23/9/2007).

It appears that particular locales are increasingly attracting family migrants that wish to escape the city and other urban spaces. National media discourses reveal that although there is a conspicuous 'escape' from metropolitan areas such as London, the choice of destination for migrants is less clear:

'A survey by the Halifax found that from 1994 to 2003, almost 2. 3m Londoners had left the capital...where do all the Londoners go? Last year, 116,000 people moved out of London, according to the Office for National Statistics' (The Times, 13/11/2005).

During the 1990's, abandoning the city entailed fleeing to distinct rural spaces, popular imaginings of the 'real countryside' in part constructed by property and lifestyle programmes such as 'Build a New Life in the Country' (2006, TV, Channel 5) and 'Escape to the Country', which 'helps prospective buyers find their dream home in the country' (2000, TV, BBC 2). The desire to 'chop wood and keep chickens' is more closely aligned with imaginings of the 'typical' counterurbaniser, who draws upon distinct cultural motives and aspirations to inform the direction and timing of migration, and ultimately attain the 'good life':

'The late 1990's saw a wave of Londoners heading for the sticks. Disenchanted by traffic jams and pollution, they swapped their terraced houses for life in the 'real' countryside...chopping your own wood, keeping chickens and having no neighbors' (The Times, 13/11/2005).

National media discourses highlight the increasing predilection of contemporary migrants for less distinct spaces, noting that for those migrants moving out of the city, elements associated with the rural or the suburbs are less enticing:

'Instead of edging out into the suburbs or fleeing completely into rural isolation...the choice of end destination is changing' (The Times, 13/11/2005).

Just as there was a 'wave of disenchanted urbanites' that escaped the city in the 1990's (The Times, 21/10/2005) media discourses arguably point to a 'new wave' of migrants that are drawing upon similar cultural motives associated with 'conventional' counterurban mobilities, but shifting representations of the 'typical' counterurban mover. Engaging with studies of counterurbanisation is intended to provide an additional conceptual framework that can be drawn upon to further understandings of family migration; the intersection of family migration and counterurbanisation processes perhaps revealing how, why and when migrants draw on the socio-cultural motives, desires and aspirations that are more typically associated with counterurbanisers to inform the migration decision-making process.

5.5 ...Stories from the sea

Whilst there is a clear distinction between the country and the city, the coastal has perhaps occupied an ambivalent position in the popular imagination. Representations and imaginings of the 'seaside' are often closely tied to nostalgic reminiscence of experiences 'by the sea', and often include:

'The smell of fish and chips, the squawk of seagulls and the splash of bracing briny waves...few childhood memories are as evocative as that of the British seaside holiday, which holds a unique place in the national psyche' (BBC News online, 21/8/2006).

Positioned against these arguably idealised representations of this particular environ, however, are other imaginings of the coastal, as a place which has suffered a steady economic decline and cannot be revived. Following the demise of the seaside holiday, it can be said that there was a 'collective realisation that British poverty was not just to be found in the inner cities' (BBC News online, 21/8/2006).

It is the more positive imagery of the seaside, however, that is invoked to provide those fleeing the city and urban centres with the antithesis to the modern metropolis with its 'unreliable tube carriages, pollution; congestion; congestion charges...and double the UK average for a home or three times the average rent' (The Times, 20/5/2004). The potent imagery of the seaside can be said to be underpinned by nostalgic memories and meanings of the seaside with its 'donkey rides, full-moustached men in three-quarter length striped bathing suits, Punch and Judy show, carriages of the rich and famous, ladies in full-length bustle dresses, hats and parasols, and brazen scullery maids flashing their ankles' (The Times, 4/6/2006). National media discourses, however, reveal

that those fleeing the city have renewed and even transformed 'Britain's love affair with the sea' (The Guardian, 2005), re-working traditional imagery of and uses for coastal space, and visualising the 'seaside' in new ways:

'The seaside has been written off more times than the English novel, and just as often has been reinvented' (The Times, 23/4/2006).

It is the capacity for reinvention, the seaside as a fluid social space yet with a distinct social fabric, which can be said to entice in-coming social groups, who are provided with an opportunity to perform different practices and behaviours 'by-the-sea'.

Similarly to 'Escape to the Country', 'A Place by the sea' focuses on property and lifestyle issues, but offers a new perspective on traditional moves from the 'urban' to the 'rural', in which 'house-hunters seek to relocate to a new property on the British coast', highlighting 'what's on offer, right on our own beautiful shores' (A Place by the Sea, 28/7/2008).

5.6 'Hook, line and sinker': The fishing industry in Old Town

National and local media discourses reveal that the fishing industry and related community in Old Town as a site of diversity and authenticity; positioned differently from other coastal locales that have active fishing fleets. Hastings has a fishing fleet dating back to before the Battle of Hastings, and despite 'firmly planting itself in the 21st century,' retains its traditional fishing methods. That the fishing industry sits 'at the heart' of the town is vividly captured in local publication, 'About Magazine':

'At the heart of Hastings lies its fishing industry. For hundreds of years generations of families have taken to the seas in all weathers. Rather than dying out, the industry in our town has firmly planted itself in the 21st century, continuing the tradition of fishing of the coast of East Sussex' (About Magazine, Issue 29, 2005).

Many small coastal towns with fishing communities that developed into seaside resorts have seen the decline or decimation of their industry, for example those fishing communities in Brighton, Eastbourne and Worthing. Hastings, however, remains a relatively thriving fishing town, and its durability is a distinctive feature that positions it differently from other seaside towns (Peak, 1985: 7). Local media discourses reveal the centrality of the fishing industry to Old Town, citing the 'unique fishing heritage' as a 'vital part of Hastings...and a fantastic attraction in its own right' (HSLO, 19/9/2009). The fishing industry is considered a fundamental enticement for visitors and

tourists, and the presence of the active fishing fleet and wider fishing community shapes both landscapes of production and consumption:

‘Were it not for the fishing Indus try, why would anyone go to the port of...Old Town of Hastings for that day or weekend away?’ (MP Michael Foster, in HSLO, 28/12/2006).



Plate 5. 1 Fishing boats on the Stade, and local fisheries and net huts

The Stade (the Saxon term for ‘landing place’) can be said to be a boundary or ‘in-between’ the sea and the shore, comprising the land between the high-water mark and Rock-a-Nore Road, and serving as the working fishing beach. This particular space is continually constructed as a space of production through the actions and practices of fishermen and members of the fishing community, and equally consumed by visitors and tourists attracted by authentic artefacts, signs and symbols of a traditional industry.

The traditional fishing methods employed by the industry are considered to underpin widely acclaimed sustainable fishing practices. The fishing fleet's sustainability was recognised by the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) in 2005, who praised the use of static nets, which is an eco-friendly method. Other sustainable practices include targeting fish stock that are at healthy sustainable levels, managing fisheries effectively and employing methods to catch fish that do not damage the environment (Hasting Borough Council, 2003 – 2009).

Local media discourses reveal that Hastings Borough Council is keen to promote Hastings as a location for high quality seafood restaurants, and seek to emulate other coastal towns with successful seafood restaurants. Padstow and Whitstable, for example, are widely renowned for thriving commercial landscapes based around their links with the sea, and Hastings Borough Council hope to imitate similar successes:

‘Who could want more than a restaurant using local produce to provide high quality fish dishes in a beautiful beach setting? The idea for the restaurant has been based on other successful restaurants in coastal towns, including Rick Stein’s restaurant in Padstow and the Royal Native Oyster Stores restaurant in Whitstable. These are good examples of how beneficial renowned eating places can be to a town’ (About Magazine, Issue 11, 2001).

It is argued that Hastings Borough Council recognise how marketing the fishing industry in a particular way, taking advantage of contemporary trends for organic, fresh food, is fundamental to promoting Old Town more widely:

‘With the trend towards organic, fresh food and a glut of cookery programmes and chefs, including fish fiend Rick Stein, getting our fish recognised in a competitive market is vital’ (About Magazine, Issue 29, 2005).

Seafood restaurants in Old Town appear to be aimed at particular cultural consumers, those visiting for the day or weekend for example, that are relatively high-spending. Plate 5.2 shows a seafood restaurant on George Street, in Old Town.



Plate 5.2 Whites Seafood and Steak Bar – George Street, Old Town

Similarly, the annual Seafood and Wine Festival in Old Town illustrates how the fishing industry is being utilised to produce a cultural product for both residents and visitors to consume. The

particular kind of cultural consumer attracted by the local festival is considered to facilitate the emergence of Hastings as a key cultural and tourism site in the South:

‘As many as 50,000 foodies are expected to flock to Hastings...for the Seafood and Wine Festival. The annual event...has grown into one of the 1066 country’s most popular events – scooping a tourism award for being one of the best festivals in the south’ (HSLO, 19/9/2009).

The use of The Stade for the Seafood and Wine festival, as well as other local and international events, is considered key to attracting new, high-spending visitors from London and elsewhere, and will ‘make the town a year-round destination, and catalyse new boutique and mainstream hotels, restaurants and other activities’ (Hastings Borough Council). The fishing industry is argued to be part of a ‘strong cultural product’ playing a vital role in stimulating the cultural and tourist sectors, reinforcing a ‘new, vibrant image’ that will ‘draw in new businesses and residents looking to relocate’ (Hastings Borough Council).

Arguably influential individuals endorse other aspects of the fishing industry in Old Town, such as Rock a Nore fisheries (Plate 5.3), a family-run business that is recommended by Rick Stein in his book ‘Taste of the Sea’, as well as celebrity chef Delia Smith (Deliaonline.com), and the Good Food Channel (uktv.co.uk):

‘Given the seal of approval from Rick Stein, this is a fantastic family run business offering amazingly fresh, highest quality seafood’ (Good Food Channel, 2006).



Plate 5.3 Rock a Nore Fisheries, Old Town

Similarly, local cafes in Old Town and locally produced food are noted nationally as excellent, and further enhance the town's burgeoning reputation for high quality produce:

'The Sunday Telegraph has previously voted Maggie's as one of the top three best fish and chip restaurants in England and Time Out Food and Drink Guide described the food as "the best fish and chips in Hastings, perhaps the world". The foody accolades keep on rolling in for Maggie's Cafe at the Fish market in Rock-a-Nore-Road...the cosy cafe has just landed a place in The Independent's 50 Best Fish and Chips in England list' (HSLO, 30/1/2008).

Post-2001 investment in the fishing industry, which supports over 60 sea and shore-based jobs, facilitates improvements in multiple spheres, such as environment and security, business development, and tourism and education. Similarly, various institutions and agencies, such as English Heritage, consider the Old Town's net huts to be of historical and cultural importance, and, post-2001, took action to continue their repair:

‘You could soon see the continuation of the programme to repair the town’s Net Huts. Repairs to around half of them have now been completed, but a further three year programme funded by English Heritage, Hastings Council, Old Hastings Preservation Society and the European Union will mean that all the huts will be finished’ (About Magazine, Issue 11, 2001).

Protecting and enhancing the fishing industry, wider fishing community and related heritage is arguably a key strategy in wider discourses of regeneration. The Hastings Fishermen's Protection Society has played a central role in ensuring the continuation of a time-honoured tradition; by preserving the fishing community's medieval right to continue using The Stade free of charge. Hastings Fisherman’s Protection Society also manages the Fisherman’s Institute, responsible for raising funds for fishermen and their families in times of distress (hastingsfish.co.uk).

Many of the rich, local traditions in Old Town are often tied to the sea and fishing industry, and similarly to the Hastings Fisherman’s Protection Society, are centred around service in the community. Hastings Winkle Club, for example, was formed in 1900 by Hastings fishermen to assist under-privileged families in Old Town, and is an internationally recognised charitable foundation (Hastings Winkle Club, 2009) (see Plate 5.4)



Plate 5.4 Hastings Winkle Club Headquarters / Fisherman’s Club

A small island area of pavement in Old Town, known as Winkle Island, is the symbolic gathering place of the Winkle Club, and is a central meeting point for various carnivals, events and street

performances, further illustrating the centrality of the fishing community to social and cultural spheres within Old Town.

5.7 A ‘new dawn’? Emerging expressions of change

Perceptions of Old Town and Greater Hastings occupy a polarised place in both local and national media discourses. Positive references to Old Town and Hastings often draw on a rich local history, a deeply embedded relationship with the sea, and ‘traditional’ imagery of the English seaside. By contrast, Hastings pre-2001 is often associated with social deprivation, unemployment and crime, and is perceivably positioned on the margins of the orderly sphere of ‘good governance’ that reigns over other regions (Shields, 1991). Headlines such as ‘unemployment shock figures’ (HSLO, 21/11/1997) and ‘Shock figures on under-16 mums’ (HSLO, 18/9/1998) are arguably a consistent feature of local media, and Hastings has often been characterised as a ‘post industrial northern town on the South East coast...where a wealth of history and heritage meets so many social and economic challenges’ (Hastings Borough Council). These complexities are consistently noted in national media discourses:

‘Hastings has had a hard time of it for decades, despite its Georgian architecture and pleasant surroundings. First the holidaymakers it traditionally depended on headed for the Costas, then it had an influx of benefit claimants and asylum seekers. The slow train service hasn’t helped – London is a ponderous 90 minutes away’ (The Times, 6/8/2006).

It is argued, however (see Section 5.2.1) that in 2001, local and national media begin to identify a shifting social, cultural, economic and physical landscape. Post-2001, it is contended that initial expressions of change are identified in local and national media discourses. It can be stated that both local and national media discourses acknowledge the increasing momentum, post-2001, with which the town is pursuing various ambitions and aspirations, prompting one national newspaper to report that: ‘a makeover of theatrical proportions is turning a faded old beachside glamour girl into a born again sexpot’ (The Telegraph, 30/7/2005). Another national newspaper reinforces this assertion, proclaiming that:

‘Hastings has shaken off the sad and seedy image that haunted it 10 years ago...it is no longer the poor neighbour to fellow Sussex resort Brighton...it has risen phoenix-like from the ashes due to hard work by the locals, plus massive private and public sector investment’ (The Sunday Mirror, 12/6/2005).

Post-2001, it may be said that distinct patterns and evidence of change may be recognised within Old Town and Hastings more widely; transforming the social, cultural, economic and physical landscape for both residents and visitors. The increasing coverage of Hastings in both local and national media highlights the position of Hastings as ‘up and coming’:

‘You only have to see the national newspaper and Magazine coverage the town has had recently to know Hastings is really up and coming’ (HSLO, 5/10/07).

‘Everyone is looking at Hastings differently these days. The national press are taking notice of us and at last giving us some positive headlines. New people are moving to Hastings, to work often from home or set up their own business...local people are feeling different nowadays too – finally they can see the town beginning to change and improve’ (About Magazine, Issue 29, 2005).

Similarly, emerging expressions of change in Hastings encourage comparisons with locales in London that have been transformed from ‘tatty and broken’ to ‘trendy and fashionable’. National media discourses note the trajectory of change in Notting Hill and predict that the ‘steep and pretty streets’ of Old Town in particular will have similar opportunities. The presence of ‘fashionable’ people and enterprises, and ‘new money’ in Old Town are considered to facilitate this shift:

‘It’s a tatty and poor broken town for the South of England. . . . but that was Notting Hill only a few years ago, and Hastings already has its share of new trendy money, at least in the steep and pretty streets of the Old Town....fashionable gardeners and eco-business entrepreneurs have moved in...Paula Yates had a house there’ (The Telegraph, 29/10/2002).

The HSLO reveals that local residents are increasingly aware of the necessity for change within Hastings, and recognise that processes of regeneration and the associated economic, social and cultural gains will filter down into other areas of the community (see Shah, 2009). Within many divisions of the community, the outcomes of change are potentially very positive, and benefits are expected to filter down to the entire community:

‘We cannot afford to remain rooted, Canute like, in the past. Change can be frightening, but also exciting and productive and of benefit to the entire community’ (HSLO, letters page, 19/7/2002).

Pre-2001, however, residents consider representations of the town to be dependent on a historical sense of place and heritage, and argue that only by carefully enhancing and marketing the town's historic character, will its economic prospects be secure:

'All the visitor surveys show that the chief attraction of the town is its historic character; the town's prosperity depends on the protection of this and its careful enhancement and marketing. It is an issue for concern for all...not just those who live in the Old Town' (HSLO, Letters Page, 6/3/1998).

Similarly, the HSLO reveals the tension between historical discourses and economic, social and cultural expressions of change post-2001; residents often having difficulty reconciling the 'old' and 'new' elements of the town. This is vividly revealed in the HSLO, the 'old world' element of Old Town cited as a fundamental attraction for visitors, and positioned against undesirable plans for new, 'space-age' developments on The Stade, such as the Jerwood Gallery:

'People come to Old Town because of that very word – old.... we don't need another space age building to bring tourists to Hastings, people have been coming to Hastings for years and years' (HSLO, Letters Page, 19/7/2002).

It can be said that the town's historic character is a fundamental, initial enticement for visitors to Old Town, alongside an 'unconventional' socio-cultural ethos. A desire to maintain these elements, rather than change them, is highlighted in the letters page of the HSLO:

I love the Old Town. People come here because they like the history and because it is different. People just don't want the Old Town changed' (HSLO, Letters page, 20/9/02).

Although many residents draw on historical and heritage discourses to characterise Old Town, the importance of reconciling the rich history of Hastings and long-term strategies for regeneration is acknowledged, for example: 'We must look towards the long term...this is our heritage and our future' (HSLO, Letters Page, 21/5/2007). 'About Magazine', does, however, recognise the need to retain the 'charm and character' of the town, whilst encouraging economic, social and cultural strategies to initiate and sustain processes of regeneration:

'The area needs a 'light touch', not a drastic change of use...retaining the charm and character of the area, making the most of its history and heritage and promoting its uniqueness. In the long run, this is likely to lead to a positive image of Hastings & St

Leonards and attract different types of visitor to the town' (About Magazine, Issue 11, 2001).

Local media discourses reveal that residents are becoming increasingly aware of the need to not only utilise the traditions, history and cultures of Old Town to maintain a distinctive identity and sense of place, but support processes of change within the town more widely:

'All people know about Hastings is 1066, and I am for exploring the history and culture of the town, but you cannot survive on that' (HSLO, letters page 2/8/2002).

It is contended that competing discourses concerning change and progress, and history and preservation, raise compelling questions when an 'old' quarter is situated within the wider milieu of a town experiencing significant regeneration; a town for which progress and change form the foundation of strategies to reduce unemployment and social deprivation.

5.8 A changing sense of place and identity

This section explores perceptions of identity and sense of place in Old Town and Greater Hastings in local and national media discourses. Discussions will highlight the significance of place-specific appeals and socio-cultural qualities that encourage counterurban movements to the coastal margins. Although Beatty and Fothergill (2003) note strong employment growth in seaside towns, they also assert that 'put simply, many people move to seaside towns because they want to live there...work-related reasons for moving are cited less often' (Beatty and Fothergill, 2003: 6). Thus, 'other' factors, such as distinct socio-cultural characteristics and qualities of place are increasingly pertinent within processes of counterurban movements to coastal peripheries.

In national media discourses, other coastal locales on the South East coast appear to have a relatively established and familiar identity, and historically are considered to entice particular groups, for example the young, the old, or families. Contemporary flows of migration to the coastal margins are, however, being steered towards other, less well known locales, in part by the desire for smaller, less well known 'seaside towns' which are less populated and can provide incoming migrants with desirable seafront properties:

'Ask anyone to name the finest seaside towns in Sussex and you can bet your candyfloss they'll come up with the usual suspects: Brighton for the young, Eastbourne for the old, Bognor for families. Those in the know, however, are heading

for smaller places....little pockets of loveliness where the beaches are less populated and you can still find homes directly on the seafront' (The Times, 13/9/2009).

It is argued that, post 2001, constructing the identity of Hastings as an emerging 'pocket of loveliness' is increasingly complex, negotiating the 'traditional' imagery of 'candy floss and amusement arcades', and a desire to establish Hastings as a 'destination of intrigue':

'So the question is how do we make best use of the area to benefit the town, and put Hastings firmly on the map as a destination of history and intrigue, rather than candy-floss and amusement arcades?' (About Magazine, Issue 11, 2001).

Hastings has often been positioned on the socio-economic margins of East Sussex, eclipsed by more familiar coastal locales such as Brighton and Eastbourne. Despite this, however, it is contended that the identity of Hastings as a seaside town has been intrinsically shaped by remaining on the periphery; drawing on its 'unique' qualities and characteristics to remain distinct from what are considered to be more insalubrious seaside locales such as Margate and Great Yarmouth. Local media discourses reveal the desire amongst local residents to position Hastings differently to other, seaside towns, by maintaining what are perceived to be Hastings most valuable assets. Protecting and enhancing the sea and 'traditional' seaside charm is considered crucial to preventing the town from being identified alongside other places such as Margate and Great Yarmouth:

'We are anxious to ensure that the elements that have drawn new residents and visitors to the town are valued and cared for future generations. Chief of these elements is the sea and the character of our seaside which is unique and which we wish to protect from becoming another Great Yarmouth' (HSLO. letters page, 6/3/1998).

Any proposed change, therefore, to those elements considered as the main 'draw' for both visitors and residents, is contentious. Maintaining and enhancing particular representations of Old Town as historic and traditional appears to be fundamental, and there is entrenched imagery of Old Town and what is aesthetically and culturally 'right'. Any development that does not 'fit in' with the physical landscape of Old Town and Greater Hastings is considered 'out of place' (Sibley, 1991).

Image not available due to copyright restrictions

The response to plans to construct new sites and ‘modern’ facilities on the site of the Stade, the section of beach in front of Old Town, reveals how the identity of Old Town is relatively fixed and narrow, and founded upon traditional, ‘old-fashioned’ imaginings of the ‘seaside’. Proposals to position the Jerwood Gallery, an arts and cultural centre, on The Stade are met with accusations that the design will not ‘look right’ or ‘go with’ the landscape of Old Town. (See Section 5. 10 for further discussion of the Jerwood Gallery). Plate 5.5 shows an artist impression of new buildings on The Stade, which may be positioned alongside the Jerwood Gallery on The Stade site:

‘I don’t think it [Jerwood Gallery] fits in with the Old Town...It doesn’t go with the rest of Old Town which is old-fashioned and if they stick an up-to-date building in the centre I don’t think it will look right’ (HSLO, letters pages, 19/7/02).

Rather than ‘upgrading’ the Old Town, local media discourses reveal a desire to maintain and enhance the ‘natural’ elements of Old Town. Natural resources such as the sea, the beach and the hills are constructed as intrinsically valuable and significant, and positioned differently to the ‘man-made’ attractions of Ferris wheels and traditional seaside arcades which are perceived as inherently detrimental to the natural landscape of Old Town:

‘If this is their idea of upgrading the Old Town I dread to think what they would do if they were down grading it. I think the natural resources – the sea, the beach and the

hills – are our greatest assets. People come here to look at them. If they want a Ferris wheel they should go to Margate’ (HSLO, letters page, 24/5/02).

In the context of Old Town, local media discourses evoke a distinct sense of place and identity, engendering a desire amongst local residents to promote and protect the elements that are considered to construct it as ‘different’ in comparison to other coastal locales on the South East coast. Old Town is often presented as a unique and distinct place in terms of its coastal landscape and social and cultural qualities and characteristics, which may be said to situate it differently in relation to Greater Hastings. For example, whilst travel guide ‘Lonely Planet’ (1997) describes Hastings as ‘run-down, grey and depressing’, Old Town is described as ‘atmospheric in a decaying sort of way’.

That Old Town and Hastings, respectively, are perceived differently in both local and national media discourses, is reinforced by some Old Town residents, considering this particular part of Hastings to contribute more to the economic, social and cultural prosperity and value of the town more widely. The following quote illustrates how some residents in Old Town advocate a separation from what is considered the ‘main town’ of Hastings and demand to be considered independent:

‘Residents in a picturesque part of an East Sussex town have called for it to be made an independent state. The suggestion was made by people in Hastings Old Town who say it is more prosperous than the rest of Hastings and contributes more to its economy. "It's a different place from the rest of Hastings," said resident Ted Doyle’ (BBC News online, 19/3/2005).

The emerging identity of Hastings as a cultural centre appears to be encouraging comparisons with those locales in London that have experienced similar socio-cultural and economic transformation. It can be said that local newspaper, the HSLO, is consciously nurturing many of the comparisons with places such as Hoxton and Notting Hill, promoting Hastings as an ‘up and coming’ cultural hub for the arts:

‘Having recently been compared to the Wild West, Hastings is on the up again after a top magazine described the town as the new Notting Hill...with a dynamic clean-up and a thriving arts community’ (HSLO, 23/3/07).

Representations of Hastings as the ‘new’ Notting Hill or ‘new’ Hoxton are vividly distinct from the ‘disreputable and civic embarrassment’ noted in national media discourses in 2001. The HSLO

recognise the potential for such portrayals to impact on local property markets, which may 'benefit' from the kinds of social groups that may be attracted by the 'Hoxton-like' qualities of Hastings:

'Six years ago Hastings – impoverished, disreputable and, according to the red-tops, no great friend to its many Eastern European migrants – was a source of civic embarrassment...now (and as the local property market is beginning to realise), Hastings is becoming the new Hoxton' (HSLO, 27/7/2007).

Although the qualities and characteristics of London locales such as Notting Hill and Hoxton are considered positive, the movement of people out of London to Hastings is consistently revealed in local media discourses. In-migrants from London note the physical environment, thriving community, local shopping and quality-of-life generally in Old Town as key appeals and enticements:

'I love Hastings, I really do. I have been here for four years, there are lots of nice places to walk, I love the Old Town, the cliffs, the views are fantastic. We do have lots of nice shops and the bus men do not drive like mad men, they wait until people are seated, this does not happen in London. It's a fab life here, no regrets; I wish I could have brought all my London friends here to live' (HSLO, letters page, 30/1/2009).

The community can be said to be a significant appeal for in-comers, and is considered in multiple guises, such as the community and business community:

'It is the Old Town's community that makes it unique, and the visitors who come to be part of it for a holiday benefit the traders many of whom have moved their business to the Old Town from elsewhere because of the market created by the ambience of this rare community with its fishermen and artists and magnificent miscellany of eccentrics' (HSLO, Letters Page, 2/11/2009).

Local residents often consider Old Town to be a refuge for those that perhaps feel they do not 'fit in' elsewhere. The following quote illustrates how the community in Old Town accepts those 'cast out' from other areas, and suggests that it is the alternative, bohemian nature of Old Town that underpins its ability to accept those 'cast out' by other, 'conservative' areas:

'The community has a wonderful ability to accept those cast out by other more conservative areas' (HSLO, Letters page, 29/1/1999)

It can be said that particular social structures in Old Town often create a distinct sense of community, encouraging a sense of self-governance. In reference to a meeting held to discuss the Jerwood Gallery in Old Town, the HSLO notes how residents believe in a particular social order that is self-governing, and often perceive 'outsiders' as imposing their own views and opinions on an established and thriving community:

'Some speakers said the Old Town was doing all right and didn't need anyone coming in from outside telling them what to do' (19/7/2002).

Distinct social structures within Old Town also construct informal networks of action, which are often enacted in place of formal authority. It can be said that members of the fishing community in particular are legitimised by locally embedded personal histories that allow them to become, inadvertently or otherwise, informal leaders and gatekeepers. The following quote illustrates how informal networks of surveillance are enacted in response to a perceived threat to the community:

'An element of vigilantism was creeping in as fishermen were forced to patrol the beach after hours in a bid to catch offenders. It has the potential to lead to violence' (HSLO, 22/6/01).

Similarly, distinct social networks within Old Town are utilised by residents to manage actual threats. The following quote illustrates how conflict caused by a group of football supporters from London in Old Town is managed by 'townspeople clubbing together' and resisting the 'gang':

'It was quite good to see the townspeople club together to stop this turning into a riot...it was the local people against the gang' (HSLO, 22/6/07).

These informal networks of power and authority within the fishing community are, however, often perceived as constructing an insular social order. The following quote demonstrates how particular members of the community are accused of wielding 'toy town power' to disrupt the work of the partnership responsible for negotiating the potential positioning of the Jerwood Gallery on The Stade in Old Town:

'The fishermen, in turn, were accused of exerting 'toy town power' to disrupt the work and progress of the partnership' HSLO, 13/6/2003).

5.9 Changes in local property markets

This section examines evidence of changing characteristics of local property markets, and considers these changes in the wider regional and national context observed in national media. In particular, the discussion seeks to identify changes which indicate the presence of underlying processes, such as gentrification and counterurban migration.

5.9.1 Property and the appeals of Old Town

With the rising property prices within the South East of England over the last decade (Cochrane, 2006), it seems appropriate to make a comparison between Hastings and other locales in the South East, such as London and Brighton, in order to assess the relativity of property prices in Old Town and Hastings more widely.

Hastings appears to be relatively ‘cheaper’ in comparison to the main coastal towns of East Sussex such as Eastbourne and Brighton, which have some of the highest average property prices on the South East coast. Table 5.1 illustrates average property prices for the case study location of Hastings, and the average property prices for two main seaside locales (Brighton and Eastbourne) and London. It can be seen that lower average property prices are evident in Hastings for all types of property, when compared to other coastal locations and London:

‘The regeneration over the past decade has already boosted the local housing market, which for many years was in the doldrums. Even today house prices are a fraction of those in other South East coast locations such as Brighton (30 miles away) and Eastbourne (20 miles along the coast to the west)’ (Financial Times, 24/10/2009).

This difference exemplifies how Hastings often stands out as distinctive amongst coastal locales on the South East coast and in the South East region

	Hastings	Brighton	Eastbourne	London
Detached	£260,040	£337,744	£306,940	£1,309,209
Semi-detached	£194,012	£224,216	£205,030	£575,040
Terraced	£164,897	£287,927	£184,308	£432,866
Flat/Maisonette	£103,283	£178,727	£156,912	£329,297
All properties	£179,220	£240,975	£198,710	£395,737

(Source: HM Land Registry, cited in Proviser, 2009)

Table 5. 1 Average local and regional property prices (year ending 2008)

That Hastings generally has lower-priced properties is arguably a significant initial appeal for potential in-migrants, in-comers from places such as London in particular. In comparison to more ‘established’ towns on the South East coast, such as Brighton and Hove, Hastings is often viewed as a ‘value’ location that offers in-comers the opportunity to capitalise on the relative disparity between average property prices in Hastings, other, higher priced coastal locales such as Eastbourne, and the city:

‘Buyers looking for capital growth and the ability to scale the ladder more quickly may prefer to opt for a ‘value’ location such as Hastings, as they will have great potential than an already established town, such as Hove’ (The Times, 30/4/2009).

Although property prices in Hastings generally have remained steady, the HSLO reports a rise in property prices in Old Town in 2002. Despite this increase, property prices in Old Town remain low in comparison to other places on the South East coast and London.

‘In the Old Town, we have had a few properties where the prices have gone up 25 to 30 per cent. But they are still cheaper than other places and I think people will continue to move here’ (HSLO, 18/1/02).

Table 5.2 compares towns in East Sussex, and illustrates that property prices in Hastings remain relatively low. It is thought that relatively low property prices will be a continual attraction for potential in-migrants, drawing people to a place which may have initially been overlooked.

Area	Average Price
Robertsbridge	£363,845
Battle	£308,587
Winchelsea	£271,955
Pevensy	£255,565
Rye	£252,135
Etchingham	£211,550
Bexhill-On-Sea	£186,528
Hastings	£179,220
St Leonards-On Sea	£135,770

(Source: HM Land Registry, cited in Proviser, 2009)

Table 5. 2 Average property prices in towns near Hastings (all properties – year ending 2008)

The comparatively 'cheap' price of property in Hastings is expected, however, to be affected by 'major regeneration' in the town, and national property agents encourage potential buyers to 'snap up' property before significant capital investment inflates property prices:

'Property for sale in Hastings should be snapped up, as the town is currently going through major regeneration. A new rail station has been built to improve communications and the University Centre Hastings has been created as a higher education institution in the town. Further major capital investment is incoming, and a range of vocational training, community development and neighbourhood regeneration projects are also in place' (Prime Location, 2001-2009).

In terms of local property markets, Hastings is often presented in local and national media discourses as an opportunity for first-time buyers to access property markets, those wanting to ascend the property ladder to do so relatively quickly, as well as an investment that will yield tangible returns:

'This edition of 'About Magazine' comments on a survey that placed Hastings near the top of the league for towns that are most attractive to first-time home-buyers. The reasons given were – prices that are still relatively low but rising quickly giving a good return on investment and regeneration that is visibly reviving the town' (About Magazine, Issue 29, 2005).

Hastings as a 'property hotspot' is a common theme in post-2001 media discourses, and is closely tied to Hastings as an emerging cultural 'hotspot' as a result of regeneration initiatives and economic investment:

'Town leaders have welcomed a report that describes Hastings as a property hotspot. The report, issued in September by the Royal Bank of Scotland, rates Hastings as seventh in the top 20 best places to buy for first time buyers. Council leader Jeremy Birch said: "This report really confirms what we already know, that Hastings is the place to be and is an up and coming area. We are being recognised for the huge improvements that are happening to the town through regeneration. Buy now because Hastings...is a great investment"' (About Magazine, Issue 29, 2005).

Evidence in the HSLO, however, suggests that Old Town appeals to in-migrants for other reasons, such as the number of character properties in the town. The following quote also alludes to the

outside demand for second homes in Old Town, as well as those in-migrants that initially maintain links to place of origin through employment regimes:

‘The Old Town is of particular appeal to character seekers. There are quite a proportion of people who will buy second homes here, but many of them take the view they will commute at the beginning and hope to get a job in the area permanently’ (HSLO, 18/1/02).

It is contended that relatively affluent households from London and Brighton are moving into Old Town to both ‘escape’ urban spaces and purchase a property with ‘character’ for a relatively low price. In the HSLO, Old Town is described as a ‘haven’ from the ‘stress of city life’, and migration flows are arguably underpinned, in part, by advantageous house prices, perhaps facilitating a lesser mortgage or the purchase of a property outright. The following quote illustrates how Old Town as an escape space, offering sanctuary and refuge from the city, is a significant appeal for specific groups:

‘The Old Town is becoming a haven for high-flyers from Brighton and London eager to escape the stress of city life – and snap up a bargain’ (HSLO, 18/1/02).

The emerging trend, post-2001, of distinctive migration flows from London to Hastings is often noted in the HSLO. Whilst relatively low property prices are considered a significant appeal, other enticements, such as diverse communities and enhanced physical environment are also noted. Evidence of motives for moving to the coastal margins from the city is presented in local media discourses, and also suggests that in-comers from London still maintain links with the city through work and associated practices, such as commuting:

‘We’ve seen so many people in recent years opt to move away from London and down to Hastings...we have thriving, diverse communities, relatively low property prices and beautiful surroundings...it is a shame that the commute to London is such a long one...but it’s worth it to come home to Hastings everyday’ (Council Leader Peter Pragnell, HSLO, 17/6/2008).

The considerable commuting time from Hastings to London is also demonstrated in the previous quote. Whilst commuting by train from Brighton to London takes no longer than approximately ninety minutes, it may take up to two hours from Hastings. It is argued, however, that in-migrants to Old Town are willing to make compromises in terms of work-related practices such as commuting, if other gains can be made, such as an enhanced quality-of-life. The Telegraph

identifies a growing trend of affluent migrants moving greater distances out of London in order to seek out 'hotspots' which are 'up and coming', and accepting longer commuting times in exchange for other benefits:

'In the last five years, commuters with wallets fattened on London house sales have been pushing previously acceptable travel times in their search for a better quality-of-life. Stations that are 80 – 120 minutes' journey from London saw commuter numbers grow by almost 9 per cent over the last year, while those closer to London saw growth of just four per cent. As a result, London commuters now represent the most powerful force in the property market. Like honeybees, they pollinate the hotspots across the country' (The Telegraph, 21/7/2007).

Hastings as 'awash' with commuters is again anticipated by the HSLO, following a national newspaper identifying the town as one of the 'cheapest' alternatives to residing in London. It is perhaps interesting to note that Hastings is considered a more 'unconventional' destination for those maintaining links to London, in comparison to 'traditional commuter hotspots' on the South East coast, such as Brighton:

'Hastings could soon be awash with commuters after coming top in a survey to find the cheapest alternative to living in London. A national newspaper picked out the top nine places for workers in London to up sticks and move to...although facing competition from traditional commuter hotspots like Brighton, Reading, Windsor and St. Albans, Hastings was declared the winner' (HSLO, 17/6/2008).

Hastings as part of an 'extra ring' of towns not traditionally associated with those migrants moving out of London is arguably facilitated by changes within employment regimes, such as in-migrants increasingly working from home:

'Many people are prepared to commute further away – particularly if new technology and changing work practices allow them to work one or two days a week from home...this has created an extra ring of towns within reach of London where we can expect to see rising demand over the next few years' (The Times, 16/7/2006).

The property market characteristics of the county of East Sussex are also noted in The Times, as is the 'counterbalance' of a longer commute to London which arguably deters some potential in-migrants despite the appeal of 'cheap' property. Interestingly, the following quote illustrates that

despite the ‘cumbersome commute’, certain social groups are still attracted; younger, more mobile migrants in particular:

‘In East Sussex....the pull of cheaper property is counterbalanced by a more cumbersome commute keeping steep prices at bay. Buyers here are young people moving out of Brighton or London with a view to finding a larger home’ (The Times, 21/2/2003).

The increase in those from London ‘downshifting’ from the city to the coastal margins is again noted in the following quote; family migrants abandoning the city as a residential space, but maintaining ties through employment regimes:

‘In recent years the lifestyle downshifting trend has seen more people move their families out of the cities, and....more weekly or part-week commuting’ (Financial Time, 29/8/2009).

Although Hastings is identified in national media discourses as an ‘unconventional’ commuter town in comparison to place such as Brighton and Reading, it may be said that Old Town is attracting in-migrants that consider an enhanced quality-of-life and physical environment as increasingly significant in their decision-making. Structural conditions such as the relatively large gap in property prices in London and Hastings, as well as increased insecurity in the labour market are identified as encouraging the movement of people out of the city and the emergence of ‘greenshifting’:

‘The movement from cities to commuter towns, known as ‘Greenshifting’, is a consistent trend as homeowners start families and seek more space and a better quality-of-life. Agents say the trend has experienced a recent fillip on the back of strong house prices and rising job insecurity in London’ (Financial Times, 18/8/2009).

It may be said that family migrants to the case study area are increasingly adopting cultural motives often associated with conventional counterurban moves out of urban spaces towards rural spaces. More specifically, it is contended that rather than choosing ‘typical’ countryside locales, family migrants are moving to less distinct spaces on the urban hierarchy such as Old Town, which provides in-migrants with elements of the rural, urban, and coastal, and offers many of the attributes of ‘traditional’ rurality, such as countryside and community:

‘There’s something for everyone; both town life and beautiful tranquil countryside, and of course great beaches’ (Find a Property, 16/11/2006).

An emerging reimagining of the ‘countryside’ and the ‘urban’ is presented in national media sources. Typical characteristics of rural and urban ‘life’ are becoming increasingly blurred, and in-migrants are arguably increasingly enticed by locales that provide the benefits of one, without the disadvantages of the other. Sussex more generally is highlighted in the following quote as attracting ‘ex-urbanites’ down from London; those that draw on counterurban motives and appeals, yet desire some characteristics of urban life and maintain some socio-economic ties to London:

‘There is a total restructuring of the countryside going on...people now talk of the ‘ex-urbs’ where you find all the people and characteristics of urban life in the countryside. This is particularly so in parts of Sussex and Kent, where there isn’t a strong local economy but a definite reliance on London’ (The Telegraph, 21/7/2007).

5.10 Evidence of physical change in Old Town

It is contended that Old Town as a cultural focal point within Hastings more widely attracts particular social groups, who, in turn, encourage particular social, cultural and economic changes in the town. The regeneration of Hastings is, in part, attracting a ‘new cultural crowd’, who are combining the ‘fading funfairs and candy floss’ of the traditional seaside, with a ‘new wave’ of bistros, bars and galleries:

‘It has a vibrant Old Town full of vintage shops, gourmet bakeries and other enticing retail...it’s bound to bring the foodies and a whole new cultural crowd down to the charming but still old-fashioned...resort. The candy-floss stalls and fading funfairs are still around, but they’ve been joined by bistros, cocktail bars and galleries’ (travel.sky.com, 2009).

Emerging expressions of social, cultural and physical change in Old Town point to the influence of processes of gentrification, underpinned by the in-coming of particular social groups. It is interesting to note, however, that whilst ‘independent cinema’ and ‘organic food shops’ are accepted as conventional hallmarks of gentrification, content generated by online property agents cites the distinct, potent ‘creative atmosphere’ of Old Town as absorbing these ‘21st century insignia of gentrification’:

‘The beauty of Hastings Old Town attracts artists and other creative freelancers whose presence has stimulated the birth of art galleries, independent cinema and organic food shops...but the creative atmosphere of the place is so potent it absorbs these 21st insignia of gentrification’ (Find a Property, 18/5/2007).

Similarly, other media discourses also note the presence of art galleries and independent cinema in creating an ‘exciting and eccentric atmosphere’ that appeals to potential migrants, and suggest that these elements construct the ‘perfect place’ to reside:

‘Hastings Old Town is the perfect place to buy Hastings property for creatives and artists - Hastings history is prevalent here with art galleries and independent cinemas adding to the exciting, eccentric atmosphere’ (Friday-Ad, 2010).



Plate 5.6 Local art gallery, George Street, Old Town

Content generated by Hastings Borough Council reveals that ‘culture’ is considered both a ‘catalyst and barometer’ of physical transformation; processes of culture-change encouraging the emergence of new cafes, galleries and boutiques in Old Town (see Plate 5.6):

‘A new Hastings is visibly emerging. Culture is both a catalyst and a barometer of change and key early signs of transformation are apparent. The seafront and town centres have improved; there are new cafés, restaurants, galleries and boutique hotels’ (Hastings Borough Council, 2009).

An emerging ‘cafe culture’ is also evident in Old Town, and often utilises the slightly bohemian seaside setting to brand and market this aspect of the commercial landscape (see Plate 5.7).



Plate 5.7 The emerging café culture in Old Town

The position of Hastings on the periphery of a global city region arguably exposes it to the influences and cultural tastes of the city, brought down the urban hierarchy by those family migrants moving from the cities to the coastal margins. The post-2001 evidence in local and national media discourses of particular social groups moving to Old Town from places such as Brighton and London, arguably begs questions of the place and role of new-comers in a town shaped so intrinsically by history. Those residents within Old Town, whose position is embedded through familial networks and histories, are perhaps considered more critical of the influence of in-comers to the town:

‘My family goes back many generations in this town and I am sick and tired of people moving here and, after five minutes...wanting to alter our Old Town’ (HSLO, letters page, 12/9/2008).

In moving to the community, there is arguably a risk that in-migrants will dilute the distinct appeals and enticements that attracted them initially:

‘Twenty London friends have pitched up here in the past six years. [My motive] has always been to put something back into the local community. But of course, if you do that and you succeed, people hear about it, and the community itself starts to change’ (HSLO, letters page, 27/7/2007).

5.11 'Making waves': Regeneration in Hastings

In the context of seaside towns, it is argued that the concept of sustainability was the 'buzzword' for the 1990's. Smith (2004) contends, however, that 'regeneration looks set to take over the mantle for the 2000s'. It can be said that regeneration is central to a post-2001 transformation of the social, cultural, economic and physical landscape in various coastal locales, and, in the context of Hastings, has shifted perceptions of the town from 'down-at-heel' to the 'new Brighton':

'Regeneration is the buzzword ringing around the country's more down-at-heel coastal resorts. Planners are trying to find the 'wow factors' that will make every faded seaside town 'the new Brighton'' (The Times, 28/2/2008).

The role of regional development agencies such as the South East England Development Agency (SEEDA) in rejuvenating 'more shabby than chic' seaside towns is noted in national media:

'We all like to be beside the seaside these days...buying in spots that are more shabby than chic now doesn't mean you will be stuck in a backwater forever. Although it may seem many seaside communities have had more than their fair share of socio-economic problems, investment by regional development agencies is making a difference' (The Times, 6/8/2006).

That Hastings will become both a cultural and economic 'hotspot' on the South East coast is closely tied in the national media to regeneration plans, encouraging potential in-comers to 'flock in'. Again, becoming the 'new Brighton' is considered more widely as inherently positive, and is facilitated by the revitalisation of the public realm, investment in education and expanding business opportunities:

'The beaches of the South East coast may not have sizzled as much as we would have liked this summer but there is one hot spot on the South East coast that is not reliant on the weather. After years of less than kind press, Hastings is finally being touted as "the new Brighton"...now that Hastings...have unveiled their regeneration plans, including a proposal to spend £400m on a seafront revamp, a campus for the University of Brighton and expanding business opportunities, buyers flock in' (The Independent, 31/8/2002).

Similarly to comparisons with Brighton, the transformation of Hastings is predicted to follow a similar course to the regeneration of other waterfront developments:

‘Council boosters talk of a £400 million regeneration budget that is about to float Hastings into a new existence as something resembling Sausalito, the redeveloped settlement on San Francisco Bay’ (The Telegraph, 29/10/2002).

Central to this transformation is the emerging status of Hastings as a cultural centre. The selection of The Stade in Old Town as the site for a new art gallery is integral to establishing the town as a cultural focal point and ‘arts hotspot’ in Britain. Plate 5.8 shows an artist impression of the Jerwood Gallery:

‘The Old Town could become Britain's latest arts hotspot, following an announcement that The Stade has been chosen for a new gallery’ (HSLO, 17/1/2008).

Image not available due to copyright restrictions

Plate 5.8 Artist impression of the Jerwood Gallery (Hastings Borough Council)

It can be said that various institutional actors and agencies in Hastings look to other coastal locales that have utilised art to revitalise communities and enhance their profile nationally, to partially inform the regeneration agenda in Hastings. Those coastal locales that have used single cultural enterprises such as an art gallery are noted in particular, and the economic benefits generated by a particular cultural consumer and clientele, the ‘culture vulture’, are considered increasingly significant:

‘One of the benefits of having Jerwood come into Hastings is the sheer amount of quality publicity and interest it will generate for the town. Since the Tate opened their regional in St. Ives, Cornwall in 1993, St. Ives has benefitted from a massive increase in ‘culture culture’ visitors, who are relatively high spending, year round visitors, often staying for one than one night’ (Graham How, Chairman, Hastings and St. Leonards Town Centre Management Board, in HSLO, 8/4/2008).

The emerging status of Old Town as a ‘honey pot’ is illustrated in the following quote, and it can be said that the relatively high spending cultural consumer is actively sought and considered highly desirable by institutional actors in Hastings:

‘The Jerwood Foundation is, arguably, second only to the Tate Modern for its collections of modern art and it will be like a honey pot to the culture-vultures that we all strive to attract’ (Graham How, Chairman – Town Centre Management Board, in HSLO, 1/2/08).

The use of The Stade, the fishing beach in Old Town, as the sight for the Jerwood Gallery prompts fervent debate in the HSLO on the place and meaning of ‘culture’ within Old Town and Greater Hastings, as well as the appeals and enticements which attract visitors and residents alike. A local history of artistic endeavours and a growing cultural class is considered key to the cultural identity and status of Old Town. Local media discourses reveal that the ‘artistic reputation’ of Hastings more widely is contingent on localised, place-specific qualities and distinct social networks, rather than ‘grandiloquent civic gestures’:

‘It’s [Hastings] artistic reputation comes, not through any grandiloquent civic gestures (unless you count its British Open International Mini-golf Tournament), but through its growing community of artists’ (HSLO, letters page, 27/7/2007).

The debate surrounding the Jerwood Foundation on The Stade succinctly captures the tension that is developing between ‘old’ and ‘new’ concepts of culture. The following quote vividly illustrates the place-specific characteristics and qualities considered valuable by local residents, such as eating fish and chips, amusement arcades, and ‘quaint’ shops. Defined and characterised in these terms, Old Town is the ‘jewel in the crown’ of Hastings:

‘WHEN will this Council realise that the Old Town is the jewel in the crown of Hastings and St. Leonards? The people who come into the town in coaches want an old-fashioned day out, savouring the best fish and chips on the South East coast,

quaint specialist shops, amusements and to explore the pretty twittens with their myriad of higgledy-piggledy houses' (HSLO, Letters page, 12/3/2007).



Plate 5.9 'No Jerwood' protest on The Stade (Jerwood-no.org.uk)

What is perhaps most vividly revealed in the HSLO is the emerging conflict between the cultural tastes and preferences of the 'middle-class', and the 'traditional' qualities and 'hallmarks' of the British seaside within the regeneration agenda:

'The course of regeneration is inevitably fraught with tensions between what is considered 'worthwhile' and what is considered appealing to the middle-class (arty-farty) masses. Amazing and amusing are considered hallmarks of the British seaside, not education' (HSLO, 19/3/2008).

This is reinforced in other media discourses, which suggest that the arguably middle-class emphasis within coastal regeneration on educating residents and visitors, rather than 'amazing and amusing them', is constraining the revival of the 'exhausted British seaside':

'Today, though, regenerative cultural money too often goes straight to projects that middle-class arts graduates on committees approve of: historical placards, jazz, literary events, subtitled films, 'artist-designed piazzas': all designed to educate rather than amaze or amuse...one doubts that it will bring back the pizzazz to the exhausted British seaside' (The Times, 16/2/2009).

National media discourses contend that attempts to revitalise and rejuvenate the seaside through cultural regeneration has engendered a 'self-conscious' and 'arty-farty culture', which has 'replaced the very essence of what seaside towns have traditionally thrived on; frivolous fun, freakish surrealism and filly naughtiness' (The Times, 16/2/2009). Similarly, the HSLO notes increasing hostility amongst local residents towards the use of The Stade as a sight for an 'arty-farty' gallery, rather than as a platform from which 'day-trippers' can explore Old Town and sustain the 'hard-working business people':

'Leave The Stade for the day trippers who are the lifeblood of the hard-working business people in this area. I can't think of a worse place to erect an arty-farty gallery' (HSLO, letters page, 11/7/2008).

The Jerwood Foundation appears to recognise the intrinsic social and cultural value of positioning a gallery on The Stade, drawing on the 'unique character' engendered by the fishing industry and community. The history of the fishing beach in shaping the artistic community and emerging cultural class in Old Town and Greater Hastings is particularly pertinent for the Jerwood Foundation:

'Jerwood was attracted by The Stade site precisely because of the unique character of the fishing beach, a subject that has inspired artists for generations, and we have been working very closely with the Fisherman's Protection Society and Stade Partnership' (Jerwood Spokesman, Hana Loftus, in HSLO, 16/9/2009).

Content generated by Hastings Borough Council in support of the Jerwood Foundation cites the 'unique potential' of The Stade as a location for the 'Ezinn' Gallery. In particular, Hastings Borough Council draws on, or exploits, 'ancient' ties with the sea and fishing industry and history of Old Town to provide a 'core dynamic setting' for the gallery:

'The Jerwood Foundation chose The Stade as its preferred location for its Ezinn gallery because of the site's unique potential. The fishing fleet, ancient net huts, proximity to the sea and historic Old Town are core dynamic settings for both the gallery and the programme of outdoor events envisaged for the new piazza' (Hastings Borough Council, 2009).

Local residents in Old Town understand the key appeals and enticements of The Stade for the Jerwood Foundation, and recognise why they may wish to exploit the rich traditions, heritage and cultural legacy associated with the 'ancient enclave and Cinque-Port'. The following quote depicts

the disagreement between Old Town and the Jerwood gallery as essentially a 'showdown', in which either the Old Town or Jerwood Foundation will have to 'blink first':

'But, I suspect, Jerwood will insist on The Stade - freely given and with consent for a neo-Gulbenkian edition to the Old Town's own traditional shoreline - or, instead, will abandon Hastings. Who will blink first - this ancient enclave and Cinque-Port, or the Jerwood Foundation?' (HSLO, letters page, 22/2/2008).

Alongside plans for cultural regeneration in Hastings, revitalising the town through housing development is also significant, if less extensive; the physical characteristics of the town, as enclosed by hills, cliffs and the sea providing limited scope for expansion and development in Old Town. Plate 5.10 illustrates how one property development company positions itself within the wider regeneration agenda in Hastings, promising 'luxury living in the heart of Old Town'.



Plate 5.10 Private property development in Old Town: 'Luxury living in the heart of Old Town'

5.12 Summary

Content analyses of local and national media have revealed the significance of post-2001 expressions of social, cultural, economic and physical change(s) in Old Town and Greater Hastings, and findings have explored the main perceptions and interpretations of these transformations, as revealed in a range of local and national media sources.

It has been identified that particular social groups are adopting counterurban motives within the migration decision-making process, but selecting Old Town as a 'third space' between the City and the Country, as the end destination. Specifically, in-migrants 'down from London' are revealed as a significant in-coming group, enticed by enhanced quality-of-life, relatively low property prices, and the opportunity to reconfigure rigid employment regimes and adopt more family-friendly work practices.

It is contended that Hastings is increasingly considered a destination for those seeking to escape; a liminal zone and social periphery in a marginal geographic location (Shields, 1991). It can be said that the idea and area of the seaside resort constructs a space on the margins in which social relations and interactions differ from the familiar, 'everyday' spaces of the 'urban' or 'rural'. Turner (1988:25) vividly captures the qualities and nuances of a 'space and time that is betwixt and between' that is, essentially, a 'state of limbo'. This state of limbo, liminality, or marginality is one of the most creative human spaces, and in a very cogent sense:

'The dominant genres of performance in societies at all levels of scale and complexity tend to be liminal phenomena. They are performed in privileged spaces and times, set off from the periods and areas reserved for work, food and sleep' (Turner, 1988: 25).

As a site 'on the edge' (Carter, 2009: 5), the seaside, in particular the beach, is considered 'a socially defined zone appropriate for specific behaviours and patterns of interaction outside the norms of everyday behaviour, dress and activity' (Shields, 1991: 75). Practices and customary norms associated with normal spaces are arguably temporarily transformed in seaside locales, in seaside spaces that are beyond the rules of 'everyday' society. It can be said that during the decision-making process, many in-migrants to Old Town draw on experiences of the coast as being removed in some way from modern tempos and everyday time-spaces (Carter, 2009), either from childhood holidays or day-trips to the coast. National media discourses often reveal the distinct appeal of land 'on the edge', and consider shore towns that have become 'depressed, garish, soulless and...half-empty' as latent places of 'inspiration':

'The edge of the land is always psychologically liberating and bracing: shore towns could once more be places of inspiration' (The Times, 16/2/2009).

Importantly, the House of Commons Coastal Town Report (2006/7) further notes that Hastings 'needs to remember it has a 180 degree hinterland, with the view in the direction of the other 180

degrees across the Channel', and therefore, has 'been at the fringe of everything and the centre of nothing'.

The medicalised, liminal beach of the 18th century, characterised by bathing beaches and 'taking the air', was slowly displaced by the beach of the mass seaside day resort. 'Holidaymakers' constrained by cost travelled to the seaside, either as day-trippers or long-stay visitors, and were a combination of both lower-middle class visitors and working class visitors. Such social diversity arguably produced an ambiguous 'social tone', as coastal towns endeavoured to negotiate the continued presence of middle-class vacationers that desired peace and quiet, and the 'free spending' day-trippers and working-class holidaymakers (Walton, 2005).

The fishing industry in Old Town is an example of a way of life that is situated in an 'interstitial' space on both land and sea, unfolding on the boundary and space 'in-between', creating a particular social way of living and distinct, locally embedded, traditions and practices.

In the context of Old Town, it is contended that the rich history of festivals, carnivals and events position it as different from other seaside locales on the South East coast. Popular traditions have been sustained, and represent forms of popular recreation, and it can be said that the carnival and festive spirit is indestructible and continues to fertilise various areas of life and culture within Old Town (Bakhtin, 1984). Festivals and carnivals such as 'Jack in the Green' and the Old Town Carnival draw on rich traditions and mythologies, and Old Town residents become involved in the social and cultural rituals of the event, and homes and streets are decorated in the pursuit of pleasure and frivolity (Rojek, 1985). Shields (1991) contends that the decline of fairs and fetes did not signal their disappearance entirely, but suggests that carnivals and festivals were merely banished to less 'serious' arenas such as the liminal beach. Thus, it can be said that the seaside is a space for pleasure and even the 'lewdness and vulgarity' of carnival (Rojek, 1985: 27).

Media discourses have emphasised the importance of the proximity of Hastings to London in enticing migrants out of the city and towards the coast, and Old Town is increasingly noted as in the process of becoming the 'preserve' or 'haven' for family migrants from London. The cultural tastes and preferences of this group are increasingly inscribed upon the material and commercial landscape of the town, as well as influencing the socio-cultural landscape.

Interviews with local estate agents further tease out some of the appeals, incentives and outcomes of in-migration of particular social groups 'down from London', as well as identifying the impacts of relatively affluent households to Old Town, specifically on the local 'community'. A significant indicator of change is the impact of in-migrants on local property markets. Although property

prices in Hastings generally position it as one of the relatively less expensive coastal towns on the South East coast, estate agents have noticed an increase in property prices in Old Town since 2001, and also note the affluence of in-comers that allows the purchase of desirable property outright.

The discussion suggests that there is value in reconsidering the pertinence of conventional economic understandings of family migration, as a framework for capturing the complexities of the mobilities of contemporary family migrants as they move from the city to the coast. The evidence so far suggests that moving from the city to the coast, and 'escaping the city', is underpinned by counterurban impulses such as a desire for community, 'stepping out' of the 'rat race', and more time with family and friends. The increasing incidence and complexity of migration flows out of London to the coastal margins suggests that processes of counterurban migration, and the influence of counterurban motives and impulses, should be explored further.

Evidence from media sources and local estate agents suggest that dominant conceptualisations of family migrants should be re-considered, taking into account how in-migrants to Old Town are emerging as a potential, modern-day gentrifier via their migration, residential, and consumption practices (Smith and Holt, 2005). Findings also highlight the need to re-think the links between migration and counterurbanisation, as in-migrants select the coastal margins, rather than distinct rural locales, as their end destination.

National media sources in particular point to the multiple regeneration strategies implemented post-2001 in shaping wider perceptions and interpretations of Hastings, and positioning the town alongside more familiar coastal locales on the South East coast such as Brighton and Eastbourne. Local media discourses, however, highlight the problematic negotiation of steering Hastings from the economic and social margins to the centre, whilst retaining the cultural idiosyncrasies that partly construct its distinct identity as a coastal town and seaside resort 'on the edge of things'. Various regeneration strategies to economically and physically revive, rejuvenate, and revitalise Hastings are positioned alongside the desire for a social and cultural renaissance.

The discussions have also suggested that place-specific qualities of Old Town shape migration flows to Old Town in particular ways, and alternative cultural structures engendered by the fishing industry, alongside an embedded local art scene and emerging cultural class, encourage comparisons with other, similarly 'trendy' locales such as Notting Hill and Hoxton. The cultural ambience of Old Town is identified in both local and national media discourses as a significant appeal for in-comers.

The intersection of family migration, counterurbanisation and gentrification will be explored in more depth through the household survey and semi-structured interviews, and will enhance understandings of migration flows of relatively affluent households within the context of Old Town.

6 Family migrant households in Old Town: Findings from a household survey

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings from a questionnaire survey of 76 migrant households within Old Town, Hastings. Overall, the discussion illuminates processes of family migration which are both complex and diverse. The chapter takes as a starting point the assertion of a significant temporal juncture in 2001 within Old Town, whereby emerging processes of family migration unfolded, which differed from previous waves of in-migration to Old Town. The chapter teases out a range of socio-cultural factors which influence processes of contemporary family migration in the context of Old Town.

First, the empirical findings complicate conventional understandings of family migration, which often tend to assume that processes of migration are transparently economic in nature, and place an emphasis on the economic-related motives and outcomes of family migration (Smith, 2004). The chapter serves to explore why economic conditions would appear to be less significant for family migrants in the case study location (Cooke, 2008), and how migration taken in light of an assessment of (primarily) economic implications is being permeated by other place-specific appeals and enticements. The findings show that processes of family migration to Old Town are fuelled by ‘family-friendly’ employment practices, quality-of-life aspirations, socio-cultural lifestyle changes, and the predilection for an alternative life ‘by the sea’.

Second, the findings highlight the importance of placing the family ‘front and centre’ in migration studies, by exploring the inner workings of migrant households, and how processes of migration and outcomes are mediated by power relations between individuals and within the household (Hardill *et al.*, 1997). By examining the complexities of the migration decision-making processes, the importance of practices of negotiation, compromises and sacrifices are revealed. This more fully captures how the migration process unfolds for different members of the household.

Finally, the findings reveal the variation of changing populations within the micro-geographies of Old Town, and contribute to the argument for a more encompassing perspective of migrants as potential gentrifiers (Bondi, 1999). This chapter also unpicks the migration flows of relatively affluent households to coastal margins, disrupting classical representations of typical counterurbanisers, and supporting calls for the need of a more critical perspective on counterurban migration to ‘other’ spaces on the urban hierarchy (Halfacree, 2001), in order to more fully capture the complexities of family migrants and migration.

6.2 Exploring the temporal and socio-cultural dimensions of family migration to Old Town

The discussion expands on the distinct temporal and socio-cultural dimensions of migration flows to Old Town revealed in Chapter 5. Findings are presented which begin to corroborate 2001 as an important temporal juncture, and distinguish post-2001 family migrants to Old Town as a distinct group of in-comers. The discussion will further highlight a social grouping with particular impulses and motives of migration, which possess and display particular forms of economic capital. As revealed in Chapter 5, this chapter further explores cotemporary migration flows from London to Old Town as increasingly complex and diverse, and contends that this migrant sub-group are bringing particular cultural tastes and preferences down the urban hierarchy to the coastal periphery. The following quote succinctly captures pre-2001 perceptions of post-2001 in-migrants 'down from London':

'It [Old Town] was a secret, a well kept one, now there are all these buggers from London coming down' (41).

Expressions of post-2001 population change are often identified by pre-2001 in-migrants, who characterise recent in-comers as 'different' and tie particular processes of social and cultural change(s) in Old Town to the behaviour, preferences and actions of this group. Findings from the household survey reveal that post-2001 in-migrants often exhibit particular forms of economic capital through the sale of property in London, and actively seek to obtain an 'organic, fair trade' lifestyle through their migration practices. The following quote demonstrates perceptions of this social grouping by pre-2001 in-migrants, as relatively affluent and 'trendy' with particular cultural tastes and aspirations:

'The people who are 'down from London' are a different kind of resident. They move into a big pile that they've bought with the money from the sale of their London place, buy their bread at Judges [local organic Bakery] buy organic veg, fair-trade coffee and don't see anything out of the ordinary in paying £10 for a lamp chop. And it feels as though it's not just people who are down from London, but bars and restaurants as well: there is a bar on George Street that's a bit 'down from London', in prices, character, the kind of food and drink they serve' (06).

Those pre-2001 in-migrants from London also distinguish between their own move to Old Town, as 'one couple out of a few', and post-2001 migration flows from London, noting that there are 'a lot of people down from London' (13) in Old Town. The following quote illustrates that within this social grouping, there appears to be a 'new type of person' moving to Old Town:

‘Now, there are a lot of people down from London, a lot of southerners, and a few northerners. I don’t see us as people down from London, as I think there is a new type of person moving down, we weren’t as trendy [laughter] and we were just one couple out of a few that we knew from London’ (13).

In Chapter 5, interviews with local estate agents and media discourses illuminated interpretations and perceptions of post-2001 change in local property markets associated with in-coming migrants from London, and findings from the household survey further suggest that post-2001 in-comers from London influence local property markets. It is contended that pre-2001 in-migrants consider post-2001 in-migrants implicitly tied to inflated property prices in Old Town, this particular expression of change noted as preventing other residents buying property in the area:

‘I think they [migrants from London] hinder local people’s ability to buy property in Old Town as prices are driven up. If you’re local and a homeowner you don’t complain as you’ve benefited from it all, but if you’re renting and looking to buy then at the moment you’re a bit stuffed’ (06).

‘I think it only pisses off the locals...it means nobodies kids can afford to stay here, buy here, as the house prices are just going up and up, it’s inevitable really, a fact of life...there’s not really any bad feeling towards these people, it just hasn’t impressed anyone’ (09).

The purchase of a second residence in Old Town by post-2001 in-migrants from London is also considered to contribute to the inflation of local property prices:

‘Property has become expensive compared to what it used to be. People coming from London are buying places and pushing prices up, especially with second homes when they’re only ever here for 2 weekends a month anyway’ (42).

Findings from the household survey reveal that the ‘part-time’ residency of in-migrants from London affects not only local property markets, but also less tangible, ‘cultural aspects’ of Old Town. Alongside the material outcomes of post-2001 migration flows from London, it is argued that cultural expressions of change in Old Town are evident in Old Town, and the trajectory of these changes, as well as the rate at which they unfold, is intimately tied to the cultural tastes and preferences of this in-coming group:

‘People coming down from London and buying property has affected some cultural aspects of Old Town, especially those who are buying places but are only here for a few days a week...it has really affected the evolution of Old Town’ (12).

It is contended that the right to purchase local property is contingent on personal claims of birthright and entitlement. Although the enhanced economic capital of in-migrants from London facilitates access to local property markets, long-term residents often consider this to undermine particular rules and codes of behaviour that underpin a certain, social way of life in Old Town that ensures property is inherited by subsequent generations within the same family:

‘I think the people who have been here a while, what makes them annoyed is that some of the houses that people are buying up when they sell their places in London, they’ve been handed down, passed through generations and when the last tie to that dies then someone else will snap it up, someone who isn’t from around here’ (13).

Changes to local property markets are argued to be underpinned by wider economic, social and cultural change (s) within the town. The type and rate of change is often associated with post-2001 migration flows from London, and pre-2001 in-migrants increasingly identify hallmarks of gentrification perceived to be tied to the in-coming of particular social groups. The following quote illustrates how the inflation of property prices in Old Town may potentially displace those residents whose presence in the town provides the ‘trendy’ ambience that can be said to initially attract ‘Londoners’:

‘People think Old Town is so trendy and privileged but it’s not – there are muggings, nothing for kids to do, Londoners coming down and buying second homes which doesn’t benefit the community, it harms it. It drives property prices up, the musicians, artists and trendies who bring so much to the place won’t be able to afford to live there anymore, they’re the ones that make up the fabric of Old Town’ (15).

The implications of the actions, behaviour and cultural tastes of in-migrants from London within the community more widely are acknowledged by pre-2001 in-migrants, who note the transition of Old Town from a ‘working community’ to a ‘leisure’ community’, characterised by ‘estate agents and bars’:

‘Old Town has gone from a working community to a leisure community; there used to be a butcher, a shop where you could buy your socks, now it’s full of estate agents and bars’ (08).

In what is described as a ‘double-edged sword’ of gentrification, the positive outcomes of relatively affluent migration flows are noted. The restoration and improvement of dilapidated properties by relatively affluent in-migrants is considered beneficial to the wider community, but also begins to promote the town as a ‘bohemian’ haven or destination for artists and other ‘creative, music industry, media types’. It is argued that long-term residents acknowledge that distinct and diverse place-specific appeals that attract relatively affluent sub-groups are also vulnerable to the actions and behaviour of the same group:

‘There are a lot of creative people here, music industry, media types...it’s a double-edged sword, these people can afford to buy places and do them up and make them look nice, they can even sometimes bring money into the area if they have friends who come down, but they’ve also given the place a bit of a name for being a bit bohemian, artistic, which is great if you’re an artist, but an artist with money, and there aren’t many of those about’ (09).

Similarly, other pre-2001 in-migrants recognise the appeals and enticements for the creative class, for example, relatively ‘cheap’ studio space, yet are also aware of this ‘tempting’ an increasing number of artists to Old Town, and encouraging a rise in the price of studio space:

‘There is a rich vein of artistic talent in Old Town, a lot of artists live in Hastings more widely....perhaps because Old Town is relatively cheap compared to other places along the South East coast, perhaps that’s tempting more artists in, but as for how much longer artists will be able to afford studios here, well, who knows...?’ (12).

The following quote vividly illustrates the response amongst long-term residents to the in-coming of post-2001 migrants to Old Town, and also reveals perceptions of consumption practices of migrants from London that are associated with the city, and considered out of place in Old Town:

‘They can bugger off back to where they came from...they can drive their Chelsea tractors and go shopping at Waitrose, just not here’ (16).

6.3 The dynamics of family migration in Old Town

To explore the distinction between pre-2001 and post-2001 migrants in Old Town, as illuminated in Chapter 5, questionnaire surveys were undertaken to capture 50 migrants from each group (see Chapter 3). Despite continued efforts to obtain this size of sample, 36 responses were gathered for

each social group. In the following section, the defining characteristics of the sample are discussed, including residential status, family characteristics, and housing tenure.

6.3.1 Pre-2001 in-migrants and pre-2001 in-migrants

Within each in-migrant group (post-2001 and pre-2001), there are households that consider London to be their place of origin. Pre-2001, 47% of the group surveyed originate from London. Post-2001, however, 68% of the group surveyed originate from London. It is also perhaps interesting that within pre-2001 households there is a relatively high number of in-migrants to Old Town that have moved internally within Hastings (26%), compared to post-2001 in-migrants (8%). This may indicate that post-2001 in-migrants are more likely to move over greater distances, rather than as residential migrants. This begins to suggest that a perceptible divergence has developed within migration flows to Old Town; distinct motives, aspirations and expectations underpinning processes of mobility for respondents within each group.

Post-2001 households have a relatively slightly higher incidence of respondents residing with a partner (87%), compared to pre-2001 households (84%). The proportion of respondents within each group that do not live with a partner (13% within each group respectively) is argued to reflect either separation or divorce since moving, or arrangements in which the respondent considers themselves in a committed relationship, but not residing with their partner. A relatively low proportion of respondents (3%) within the second group (pre-2001) were unsure of their partnership status. This may reflect an increase in partnerships such as 'living apart together', in which the boundary between residing with a partner or not is becoming increasingly blurred.

Married couples with children dominate both groups, accounting for 47% of post-2001 households and 55% of pre-2001 households, suggesting a similar degree of 'conventionality' within each group. A relatively higher proportion of post-2001 households with married partners do not have children (24%), whilst within pre-2001 households with married partners, 6% do not have children. A reason for this may be that more post-2001 households are at pre-family forming stages of their life-course. It is evident that although other familial arrangements are present within each group, marriage, either with or without children, is the more prevalent familial arrangement for both post-2001 and pre-2001 households (71% of respondents in each group respectively).

Post-2001 households have a relatively higher proportion of couples cohabiting with children (13%), compared to pre-2001 households (5%). There are, however, more pre-2001 households with cohabiting couples that do not have children (8%), whilst cohabiting couples without children in post-2001 households' account for 3% of respondents. Largely, the proportion of households

with or without children is, in both groups, similar. Regardless of marital status, 27% of post-2001 households are childless, compared to 24% of pre-2001 households. Households with children, regardless of marital status, account for 60% of respondents in both groups, respectively.

Interestingly, a relatively large proportion of respondents in each group consider themselves to be in another type of arrangement. Within post-2001 households 13% of respondents consider themselves in an 'other' arrangement, along with a slightly higher proportion of respondents in pre-2001 households (16%). This suggests that some respondents perhaps reside alone following divorce or separation, or do not co-residentially cohabit but regard themselves as a couple ('Living-apart-together') (Haskey, 2005).

Post-2001 in-migrants have the lowest proportion of one or two person households. In post-2001 households, 5% of respondents consider themselves lone residents, with a slightly higher proportion of respondents in pre-2001 households concurring (10%). This may reflect divorce or separation following a move, or living apart from a partner. 58% of pre-2001 in-migrants consider themselves living with one other person, whilst a relatively lower proportion of respondents in post-2001 households have a similar household structure (30%). Within post-2001 households, this may perhaps reflect families at a pre-family forming stage, or, for pre-2001 households, childless households or couples that have grown-up children who have left the family home.

Post-2001 households have the highest proportion of larger households, with 65% of respondents in a household with three or more people. Within pre-2001 households, however, 31% of respondents reside in a household with three or more people. Of those in-migrants that moved to Old Town post-2001, 39% currently reside in a three person household, compared to 13% of in-migrants that moved pre-2001. This most likely indicates children within the household. That pre-2001 households have a relatively lower proportion of 3-person households may suggest fewer households with just one child within this particular migrant group, couples that are caring for another kind of dependent, such as elderly relatives, or perhaps grown-up children that have returned to the family home to care for elderly parents.

In line with this, post-2001 in-migrants also have a higher incidence of 4-person households and 5-person households compared to pre-2001 in-migrants; 21% of post-2001 respondents reside in a 4-person household, compared to 18% of pre-2001 respondents. Post-2001 households are the only group with 5-person households (5%). In some cases, households with upward of 3 people are perhaps composed of extended family, dependents other than children such as elderly relatives, or children that have grown-up and left the family home but have returned on a temporary basis.

In both post-2001 households and pre-2001 households, terraced properties are more common (63% and 66% respectively). This is perhaps unsurprising in view of the architecture and layout of Old Town, in which terraced properties dominate the landscape (see plate 6. 1).



Plate 6. 1 Rows of terraced houses in Old Town

Post-2001 households have a relatively higher proportion of respondents residing in detached properties (26%), compared to just 5% of pre-2001 households. It may be argued that detached properties are perhaps considered more exclusive due to their limited availability, and therefore elevated in price (see Plate 6. 2). This perhaps suggests that post-2001 households are a more affluent sub-group, some in-migrants capitalising on selling relatively expensive properties in their place of origin.



Plate 6. 2 Detached property in Old Town

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Pre-2001 households, however, have the higher proportion of respondents in semi-detached properties (23%), compared to 8% of post-2001 respondents. In-migrants in other types of property such as a flat were markedly less common; 3% of pre-2001 households and 0% of post-2001 households. For post-2001 households, this is perhaps in line with the relatively high proportion of respondents that have upward of 3 people in their households and require more space in the home.

Half of pre-2001 households own their property outright (50%), indicating that a relatively high proportion of respondents within this sub-group have sufficient economic capital to allow the purchase of a property outright upon moving, or that longer-term in-migrants within this group have reached a stage in their life-course at which they have been able to pay off their mortgages. Fewer in-migrants in post-2001 households own their property outright (21%). The proportion of respondents within this group that do own property outright may reflect the sale of relatively expensive property in places such as London that allows new-comers to purchase comparably less expensive property in Old Town.

Post-2001 households have the highest proportion of in-migrants that are currently purchasing their property with a mortgage (63%), whilst 37% of pre-2001 in-migrants own their property with a mortgage. In both groups of in-migrants, there appears to be respondents that are currently renting privately; 13% of post-2001 households and 10% of pre-2001 households, respectively.

For post-2001 households, renting a property may reflect a desire to 'test out' a move to Old Town prior to finalising their residency in one place; maintaining ties and deferring a more committed move by keeping a property in their place of origin and renting a property in Old Town. As one interview with a local estate agent revealed:

'People are selling up in London, and a lot of them are coming down here, looking for a six month let because they're looking for somewhere to buy down here and they want to really get to know the area which they feel they can't do if they're only coming for the odd day trip here and there. I've actually had two groups in today who are doing just that...one of them was a family, they had a young child, so they're looking for somewhere to buy eventually and felt they had to spend some time down here, see what the schools are like, things like that' (EA2).

A proportion of post-2001 in-migrants appear to maintain two residences, or rent out their property in place of origin to ease any economic burden of such an arrangement. Often, maintaining a residence in place of origin allows those in-migrants continuing to commute to place of origin to

reside part-time in their area of work, and initial stages of migration may often be fragmented, as family members divide time over two locations:

‘I came down first with my older daughter, the youngest stayed behind, my husband needed to be there for work. We got settled then they joined us, but we’ve kept the flat on in London so that when my husband has early starts he doesn’t have the commute’ (63).

In other instances, in-migrants used a second property in Old Town as a second residence, and used this as a step towards full-time residency in Old Town:

‘We were coming down quite often, most weekends, sometime for 3, sometimes 4 days a week and it became a pain having to go back and forth all the time, was silly really, so we decided jointly to move down here properly’ (58).

Post-2001 in-migrants may also be forced to rent whilst searching for their desired property, with a property in their place of origin already sold. For some respondents in both groups, a property in the place of origin may be tied to employment in that place, and may provide an additional residence for part of the week to reduce the commute.

Pre-2001 households have an equal number of male and female respondents (50% and 50% respectively). Post-2001 households have relatively more female respondents (66%), compared to 34% of male respondents. Within post-2001 households, 3% of respondent in-migrants did not currently have a partner, whilst in pre-2001 households, 10% of respondent in-migrants did not currently have a second partner. This may reflect that whilst respondent in-migrants did move to Old Town with a partner, they are currently residing alone, perhaps following separation or divorce. Within post-2001 households, 66% of in-migrants are male, whilst 31% are female. Within pre-2001 households, 53% of in-migrants are male, and 37% are female.

Within post-2001 households, there are a relatively high proportion of in-migrations between the ages of 30 and 49 (76%). This perhaps suggests that in-migrants within this age category are a particularly mobile sub-group, and more likely to move between the ages of 30 and 49. Within the same household group, 16% of respondent in-migrants are between the ages of 50 and 64, suggesting that some post-2001 in-migrants are semi-retired or retired. 5% of respondent in-migrants are between the ages of 18 and 29, perhaps suggesting that mobility is limited at this particular stage for post-2001 in-migrants.

In contrast, pre-2001 households have a relatively higher proportion of respondent in-migrants between the ages of 50 and 64, as well as 65 and over (47% and 16% respectively). This may reflect a higher incidence of semi-retired or retired in-migrants within this household group. Whereas post-2001 households have the higher proportion of in-migrants aged between 30 and 49 (76%), 31% of pre-2001 respondent in-migrants are captured in the same category. 3% of respondent in-migrants are aged between 18 and 29.

In pre-2001 households, 100% of respondent in-migrants define themselves as white. No respondent in-migrants within this group identify themselves as mixed, Asian, black or other. Within post-2001 households, 97% of respondent in-migrants describe themselves as 'white', with 3% defining themselves as 'other'. No respondent in-migrants within this group identify themselves as mixed, Asian or black.

In post-2001 households, a relatively low proportion of respondent in-migrants have no qualification (3%); a similar proportion to those post-2001 respondent in-migrants with higher levels of educational attainment such as a Ma/MSc/MPhil, or PhD (3% and 3% respectively). Education to GCSE level accounts for 46% of post-2001 respondent in-migrants, followed by 24% that are educated to degree level. AS/A level education accounts for 16% of post-2001 respondent in-migrants. Within this sub-group, 5% consider themselves to have a professional qualification, such as law.

A slightly higher proportion of pre-2001 respondent in-migrants considered themselves as having no qualifications, compared to post-2001 in-migrants (8%). This sub-group have the highest proportion of in-migrants that are educated to GCSE level, or, as many respondents describe this level of education, 'O' levels (65%). A relatively low proportion had further education in the form of AS/A levels, or a degree (8% and 13% respectively). Furthermore, there were no pre-2001 in-migrants with any higher levels of educational attainment, such as an MA/MSc/MPhil and / or a PhD (0% and 0% respectively). Within this sub-group of pre-2001 respondent in-migrants, 3% had a professional qualification, and 3% classified their level of education as 'other'.

It appears that post-2001 respondent in-migrants are a relatively more affluent sub-group. In-migrants with an income of more than £50, 000 account for 11% of post-2001 households, with 45% of respondent in-migrants earning between £30, 000 and £50, 000. This is in contrast to pre-2001 households, of which 3% of in-migrants earn more than £50, 000. In-migrants earning between £30, 000 and £50, 000 account for 34% of this group. That post-2001 respondent in-migrants appear to have relatively elevated personal incomes, may reflect the higher incidence of in-migrants 'down from London' that have maintained jobs in place of origin.

A relatively higher proportion of pre-2001 respondent in-migrants have a personal income of between £12, 000 and £30, 000 (45%), compared to 34% of post-2001 respondent in-migrants. Respondent in-migrants that earn less than £12, 000 account for 5% of post-2001 households, whilst a slightly higher proportion of pre-2001 in-migrants are captured in this category (8%). A possible reason for this may be that this particular sub-group of in-migrants are working on a part-time or casual basis, whilst a partner is perhaps participating in full-time employment.

Within pre-2001 households, 10% of respondent in-migrants considered themselves to have no personal income, compared to 5% of post-2001 households. This may suggest that within these particular households, there is one primary earner within the partnership. The higher proportion of in-migrants in pre-2001 households with no personal income may also reflect a higher incidence of more 'conventional' households, in which one partner is the 'breadwinner'.

A relatively low proportion of respondent partners (partners of respondent in-migrants) within each group of incomers are between the ages of 18 and 29 (3% and 3% respectively). Post-2001 households have the highest proportion of respondent partners between the ages of 30 and 49 (78%). This is in line with the number of respondent in-migrants within post-2001 households captured by the same age category (76%). Within the same household group, there is a relatively low proportion of respondent partners aged between 50 and 64 (16%), with no second partners aged 65 and over (0%).

Pre-2001 households have a comparatively high proportion of respondent partners aged between 50 and 64, (45%), as well as those in-migrants aged 65 and over (8%). This is in line with the number of respondent in-migrants within pre-2001 households captured by the same age categories (47% and 16% respectively). Accordingly, pre-2001 households have the lowest proportion of respondent partners aged between 30 and 49 (31%).

There are no respondent partners in post-2001 households that have no qualifications (0%), whilst just over half of are educated to GCSE level (52%). A slightly higher proportion of are educated to AS/A level, compared to post-2001 in-migrants (19%). Respondent partners with some form of higher education such as a degree and / or a Ma/MSc/MPhil account for 16% and 5% respectively, whilst no second partners were educated to PhD level.

Within pre-2001 households, 5% of respondent partners consider themselves as having no qualifications. Similarly to post-2001 respondent in-migrants, this sub-group had 61% that are educated to GCSE level, whilst 11% had AS/A levels. The proportion of respondent partners with

some form of higher education is comparatively low; 10% are educated to degree level, whilst 3% have a MA/MSc/MPhil. There are no respondent partners educated to PhD level, or with a professional qualification (0% and 0% respectively).

Post-2001 households have the highest proportion of respondent partners earning more than £50,000 (16%), suggesting that this sub-group earn relatively more compared to their partner. Respondent partners earning between £30,000 and £50,000 account for 44% of post-2001 households. The proportion of respondent partners within pre-2001 households that have a similar income is comparatively low. Within pre-2001 households, 3% earn over £50,000, whilst 30% earn between £30,000 and £50,000.

32% of post-2001 respondent in-migrants have a personal income of between £12,000 and £30,000, compared to 39% of pre-2001 respondent in-migrants. This is in line with personal income of respondent in-migrants within each group examined previously (45% and 34% respectively). Respondent partners that earn less than £12,000 account for 13% of pre-2001 households, compared to 3% of post-2001 households. Within pre-2001 households, 5% of second partners considered themselves to have no personal income, compared to 3% of post-2001 in-migrants.

6.4 The migration decision-making process

This section explores how relations within the family and household affect processes of family migration and outcomes for the family, and how, in turn, mobility alters or reinforces particular familial relations and household structures in heterogeneous ways. First, this section examines the initial decision to move, as well as how decisions pertaining directly to the move and within the household more generally are made. Second, the key hallmarks of the decision-making process are explored. Third, the perceived outcomes of the move, in terms of changes within the household and relations between family members, are investigated

6.4.1 Instigating the move

Table 6.1 examines which member of the household instigated the decision to move. In post-2001 households, the initial decision to move appears to have been made by one partner in isolation. Respondents that believe the decision was made by them account for 31% of households, whilst a similar proportion of respondents (34%) believe that their partner prompted the move. The decision to move as made by one partner in isolation therefore accounts for 65% of post-2001 households, ensuring that post-2001 households have the lowest proportion of in-migrants that believe the decision to move was made mutually (30%)

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
You	31	33
Partner	34	13
Both	30	47
Other	5	3

Table 6. 1 In-migrant group and instigating the decision to move

In pre-2001 households, 33% of respondents believe that they instigated the decision to move, whilst a relatively low proportion consider their partners to have been more influential (13%). Under half of pre-2001 households consider the initial decision to move instigated by both partners, on a joint basis (47%), compared to 46% of respondents that believe one partner dominated the decision.

It is perhaps interesting that there is a relatively large margin between each household group in terms of how often the decision to move was made on a mutual basis. This may indicate that pre-2001 households are more egalitarian, or perhaps that in post-2001 households, it is more often one partner that acts in response to structural factors or personal elements and instigates the decision to move.

6.4.2 The selection of Old Town

The decision to select Old Town as a place of destination is examined in Table 6. 2. Although 65% of respondents in post-2001 households consider the decision to move made by one partner in isolation (see Table 6. 1), choosing a place of destination was, in contrast, a joint decision for 68% of respondents. This suggests that even if the decision to move was made by one partner in isolation, the decision regarding location was made mutually, compared to 32% of in-migrants that believe either they or their partner choose Old Town independently.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Joint decision	68	60
Independent decision	32	37
Don't know	0	3

Table 6. 2 In-migrant group and selecting Old Town

In pre-2001 households, a similar proportion of in-migrants consider selecting Old Town as their destination a joint decision (60%). This contrasts with the proportion of in-migrants that believe the initial decision to move was also made mutually (47% - see Table 6. 1). Respondents that believed, therefore, that choosing Old Town was an independent decision account for 37% of pre-2001 households. This suggests that within both household groups, there is more collaboration between family members when deciding where to move to, compared to the initial decision to migrate.

This variable is argued to offer a relatively initial insight into one aspect of household dynamics and familial relations within the household, which, in turn, underpin processes of decision-making concerning whether to stay or go.

6.4.3 Household decisions

Table 6. 3 begins to investigate more broadly decisions made within the household, examining if major decisions are generally made on a joint basis. It appears that post-2001 households have a relatively high proportion of in-migrants that believe all major decisions are made jointly (85%). This perhaps contrasts with how the decision to move was determined (see Table 6. 1), but is more in line with the collaborative decision-making undertaken with regard to choosing Old Town as a place of destination (see Table 6. 2).

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Yes	85	79
No	10	18
Don't know	5	3

Table 6. 3 In-migrant group and household decisions

Within pre-2001 households, it appears that slightly fewer in-migrants consider household decisions to be made jointly, by both partners; 18% believe that either they or their partner assume a lead role and 79% consider household decisions to be made jointly.

Post-2001 households also have a relatively minor proportion of in-migrants that are unsure of whether major decisions are made jointly by members of the household, or one family member takes the lead (5%). Pre-2001 households are in a similar position (3%). This perhaps alludes to the often taken-for-granted, unconscious ways in which each partner performs their role, both

within the decision-making process and the household more widely, where decision-making unfolds ‘naturally’.

Within both household groups, however, it appears that, generally, in-migrants largely negotiate the decision-making process on shared and mutual terms, although it may be argued that post-2001 households are slightly more egalitarian.

6.4.4 Power relations within the household

Table 6. 4 investigates how in-migrants perceive power relations within the household. An insight into how power circulates within the household may be captured by examining other variables, such as how the decision to move and decisions within the household more widely are undertaken and negotiated. This particular variable, however, explicitly questions how respondents view relations with their partners; as male dominated, female dominated or egalitarian.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Egalitarian	87	71
Female-dominated	5	5
Male-dominated	5	16
Don't know	3	8

Table 6. 4 In-migrant group and power relations within the household

In post-2001 households, 87% of in-migrants consider power relations to be egalitarian in nature. This household group has the same proportion of respondents that perceive power relations are either female-dominated or male-dominated (5%). Post-2001 households therefore have the lowest proportion of in-migrants that consider power relations within the household to be male-dominated.

In pre-2001 households, there are relatively fewer in-migrants that consider power relations to be either egalitarian or female-dominated (71% and 5% respectively). This household group has the highest proportion of in-migrants that believe power relations are male dominated (16%). This group also has the highest proportion of in-migrants that believe decisions within the household are not made jointly (see Table 6. 3), and it may be argued that this is reflected in this particular variable.

Some in-migrants are unsure of whether power relations are egalitarian, female-dominated or male-dominated. In post-2001 households, 3% of in-migrants are uncertain, compared to a slightly higher proportion in pre-2001 households (8%). In some instances, a possible reason is that, in some instances, how power circulates through households, and partnerships more specifically, may assume a taken-for-granted status, rather than being explicitly recognised or identified as egalitarian, female-dominated or male-dominated by family members.

6.4.5 Processes of compromise: negotiating a move to Old Town

Following on from perceptions of power relations and decision-making within the household, Table 6. 5 reveals whether in-migrants believe they and / or a family member have made any compromises in any area of their lives to facilitate their move to Old Town.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Yes	87	37
No	13	63
Don't know	0	0

Table 6. 5 In-migrant group and compromise

It is perhaps striking that 87% of in-migrants in post-2001 households believe that they and / or a family member have compromised in some area of their lives to enable a move to go ahead. This may suggest that post-2001 households potentially have a more complex and complicated work-life balance, for example, an increased proportion of dual-career partnerships, thus requiring a heightened degree of cooperation and concession between members of the family. Additionally, it may indicate that within post-2001 households, it is less likely that one partner is expected to forfeit entirely any aspect of their lives, suggesting more egalitarian gender dynamics. As Table 6. 4 illustrates, post-2001 households have the highest proportion of in-migrants that consider power relations to be egalitarian.

Within post-2001 households, 13% believe that no family members have made any compromises to facilitate the move to Old Town. This suggests that for this fragment of in-migrants, the move was unproblematic and no one family member has re-negotiated any area of their lives to enable to move to go ahead.

The high proportion of post-2001 in-migrants that believe they and / or a family member have compromised to allow a move to go ahead arguably contrasts with pre-2001 households. Within this household group, 37% of in-migrants believe that at least one family member has compromised in some way, whilst 63% believe that they have not. One possible reason for this may be that there are fewer dual-career households in this group, meaning that no one partner is forced to compromise on this aspect of their lives. Alternatively, perhaps one partner accepts that it is their role to compromise and does not perceive this to be a burden

6.4.6 Sacrifices within the household

In addition to examining if in-migrants believe they and / or a family member have compromised in any area of their lives to facilitate their move, they were asked to assess if they and / or a family member consider any family member to have made any sacrifices to enable a move to go ahead. As Table 6. 6 illustrates, in post-2001 households there is a comparatively low proportion of in-migrants that consider sacrifices to have been made by any family members (18%). This is reflected in pre-2001 households; a slightly higher proportion of in-migrants believing that they and / or a family member have made sacrifices in an area of their lives to enable a move to go ahead (21%).

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Yes	18	21
No	82	79
Don't know	0	0

Table 6. 6 In-migrant group and sacrifices

In post-2001 households, therefore, 82% believe that no family members have made sacrifices to facilitate a move, with a similar proportion of pre-2001 households concurring (79%). It may be contended that processes of compromise and negotiation between both partners are perhaps becoming increasingly common in family migration practices, as illustrated in Table 6. 5, rather than one partner forfeiting an aspect of their lives entirely, for example, work or employment opportunities.

It is perhaps important to note, however, that in some households, one partner or family member sacrificing an aspect of their lives to enable a move to go ahead is not acknowledged or viewed as such, but rather as an acceptable loss that ensures long-term gains for the family as a whole.

6.4.7 Relationship change

Table 6. 7 investigates the capacity for change in relationships between family members within the household following a move; perceived as positive and / or negative. It is perhaps important to be aware that each respondent may have distinct conceptions of what constitutes positive and negative change in familial relationships, and the subjective nature of each term must be noted. For example, some in-migrants may consider spending less time with their partner following a move a negative change in their relationship, whereas others may believe that a decrease in time together imbue that time with greater value and worth. This is explored further in Chapter 7.

As Table 6. 7 reveals, there is a relatively significant proportion of in-migrants within each household group that report changes to at least one relationship within the household (positive and / or negative). Within post-2001 households, it is perhaps striking that 85% of in-migrants believe that at either their own relationships or relationships more widely within the home have experienced either positive and / or negative change subsequent to the move to Old town. With this household group, 10% believe that relationships between family members have remained unchanged, whilst 5% are unsure.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Yes	85	66
No	10	29
Don't know	5	5

Table 6. 7 In-migrant group and relationship change

Within pre-2001 households, a relatively lower proportion believes that relationships between family members have experienced change, either positive and / or negative (66%). A higher proportion, therefore, consider relationships between family members unaltered by the move to Old Town (29%). As in pre-2001 households, 5% were unsure if their relationships, or relationships between other family members, have changed or remained the same.

This may perhaps suggest that a desire for change in relationships in the household is a significant element of migration for many in-migrants, post-2001 in-migrants in particular, and is an intended, anticipated gain that underpins some family migration processes.

The relatively large proportion of in-migrants in post-2001 households that believe relationships within the household to have changed subsequent to moving (for example, more or less time together, or more or less stress) alludes to the potential of migration to alter relationships, in both a positive and / or negative way. It is argued that the potential emotional and psychological changes in familial relations during and following migration must not be underestimated.

6.4.8 Change in household duties

Table 6. 8 examines if some household duties (for example, household chores such as cooking and cleaning, and childcare) have changed since moving to Old Town. Post-2001 households have the relatively highest proportion of in-migrants that believe some household duties have changed since moving (39%). In these particular households, it is possible that some degree of adjustment following a move perhaps arises through necessity; for example, a change in employment practices for either partner such as change in hours worked or place of work may instigate or encourage a shift in roles within the home. Within post-2001 households, therefore, 61% of in-migrants consider household duties to remain unchanged.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Yes	39	27
No	61	68
Don't know	0	5

Table 6. 8 In-migrant group and change in household duties

Pre-2001 households have the relatively highest proportion of in-migrants that believe household duties are unchanged following a move (68%). A possible reason for this relatively high proportion within pre-2001 households is that in some instances, roles within the home are performed unconsciously by particular family members, in taken-for-granted ways that remain unaffected by changes in lifestyle (Giddens, 1991). In pre-2001 households, therefore, 27% of in-migrants consider household duties to remain unchanged.

6.4.9 Other appeals and enticements

This section considers the appeals and enticements of Old Town for in-migrants. Some of the appeals and attractions that are potentially a significant draw for in-migrants are succinctly captured by one local estate agent, and illustrates just some of the socio-cultural, physical and economic attractions of Old Town, Hastings:

I think living by the sea, coastal living is a big plus for many people, but again without the cost of purchasing and living in Brighton, or without the feel of a retirement community that Eastbourne has. I think that living by the sea, whether it's the busy seafront or quieter spots, there's definitely something in it for a lot of people. If you're living in a crowded street somewhere in London, it's busy, noisy, dirty, then living in a coastal town must appeal...and although Hastings does have its problems, like anywhere else, it's got marvellous history and depth in terms of character in Old Town, with wonderful old buildings and tucked away streets and paths. It's quite an eclectic and eccentric place (EA2).

The place-specific appeals of 'other' social and cultural structures are explored in greater depth in later sections of this chapter, and are contended to be increasingly significant to understanding flows of family migration to Old Town, Hastings, and the processes underpinning them.

6.4.10 Current quality-of-life

In-migrants within each household group were asked to assess their current quality-of-life. This broader variable was broken down to capture how in-migrants perceive their current quality-of-life in terms of social, cultural, physical and economic factors. First, respondents were asked to rate their current quality-of-life in terms of social elements, such as community, contact with neighbours and social networks. Table 6. 9 illustrates how in-migrants within each group rate this particular facet of their lives.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Very good	79	87
Quite good	21	13
No opinion	0	0
Quite bad	0	0
Very bad	0	0

Table 6. 9 In-migrant group and social quality-of-life

Each household group currently rate social aspects of their lives as generally positive. It is perhaps striking that within pre-2001 households, 87% of in-migrants consider their social quality-of-life to be very good, whilst 13% consider it quite good. This is reflected in post-2001 household; a slightly lower proportion of in-migrants believing current social quality-of-life to be very good (79%), and a slightly higher proportion believing it to be quite good (21%). There are no respondents who consider this element of their lives to be quite bad or very bad. This perhaps suggests that most in-migrants have established positive relationships and / or successfully adjusted previous relationships to their new circumstances, negotiating some of the concerns and anxieties that may be associated with breaking with prior social networks and forming new ones in a new place.

It may also be argued that the layout and landscape of Old Town promotes the cultivation of positive social relations; the confined living space may enable or encourage residents to construct and maintain links and networks with others. As one local estate agent commented:

Most of the properties haven't got a garden, just a little courtyard, many don't even have that, but then you've got the beach, the West Hill, the East Hill, everything's within a couple of minutes walk, so in a way that encourages people to get out and enjoy the space with other people as opposed to just staying within your own garden (EA1).

Second, in-migrants were asked to assess their quality-of-life in terms of cultural elements, such as leisure facilities, restaurants/cafes, and events. Table 6. 10 illustrates that, compared to how social elements are rated by each household group (see Table 6. 9), in-migrants are not as firmly positive about their cultural quality-of-life.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Very good	53	50
Quite good	47	50
No opinion	0	0
Quite bad	0	0
Very bad	0	0

Table 6. 10 In-migrant group and cultural quality-of-life

Within post-2001 households, just over half of in-migrants consider their cultural quality-of-life very good (53%), with a further 47% believing this aspect of quality-of-life to be quite good. This is similarly reflected in pre-2001 households; an equal proportion of in-migrants considering their quality-of-life in terms of leisure facilities and restaurants and cafes for example, to be very good or quite good (50%), respectively. In line with the findings illustrated in Table 6. 10, there are no respondents within either household group that assess their cultural quality-of-life as quite bad or very bad.

It is argued that for many residents in Old Town, cultural experiences and cultural worth are inextricably linked to the sea and bound up in nature and community; festivals and events often centred on the sea and history of the sea. For some in-migrants, particularly those who evaluated their cultural quality-of-life as quite good, suggesting that there is room for improvement, this 'brand' of culture is perhaps interpreted as being of less worth or value, when compared to arguably more 'valid' cultural attractions in places such as London, for example museums and the ballet/opera.

Perhaps the most striking finding in terms of quality-of-life more widely is the proportion of respondents who consider the physical characteristics and qualities of Old Town to be to very good. Table 6. 11 reveals that physical elements such as architecture, the sea, access to countryside and time spent outside are considered by in-migrants in post-2001 households to be very good (97%), compared to 87% in pre-2001 households, respectively.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Very good	97	87
Quite good	3	10
No opinion	0	0
Quite bad	0	3
Very bad	0	0

Table 6. 11 In-migrant group and physical quality-of-life

The ambiguous position that Old Town occupies on the urban hierarchy is perhaps a significant potential appeal for many in-migrants. Enticed by rural characteristics such as countryside and community, Old Town may be perceived as lacking many of the socio-cultural conditions associated with the rural, such as socio-spatial isolation. That Old Town is situated within reach of

the global city of London, but on the periphery of the region, may also add to the appeal of the location.

A relatively low proportion of in-migrants in pre-2001 households consider their physical quality-of-life to be quite bad (3%), whilst in post-2001 households, there are no in-migrants that consider their physical quality-of-life to be quite bad (0%). A possible reason for this is the steep and uneven topography of Old Town that makes some parts of the town inaccessible or more difficult to reach for some residents, such as the elderly. There are no respondents that consider their physical quality-of-life to be very bad (0% and 0% in each household group, respectively).

It is argued that the physical well-being of the household may underpin how other social and cultural elements are experienced by in-migrants. For example, more accessible, open spaces may encourage more engagement between residents. This will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 7.

Finally, in-migrants were asked to rate their economic quality-of-life and well-being. Table 6. 12 illustrates that findings contrast with social, cultural and physical assessments of quality-of-life. When rated alongside social, cultural and physical quality-of-life, this economic variable receives the most varied response.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Very good	24	21
Quite good	63	63
No opinion	0	13
Quite bad	13	3
Very bad	0	0

Table 6. 12 In-migrant group and economic quality-of-life

In post-2001 households, a relatively low proportion of 24% of in-migrants believe their economic quality-of-life to be very good. This is a similar proportion to the number of in-migrants in this group that own their properties outright, without a mortgage (21%). This may suggest that living mortgage free contributes significantly to this assessment of economic well-being for this sub-group of post-2001 in-migrants.

Within the same household group, 63% of in-migrants believe their economic quality-of-life to be quite good, whilst 13% consider it to be quite bad. A possible reason for this may be that some in-

migrants are maintaining properties in both Old Town and their place of origin, which may perhaps be a significant financial burden. Also, some in-migrants may be altering their employment regimes to enable the move to go ahead that result in economic uncertainty or reduction in salary, such as embarking on independent business ventures. There are no post-2001 in-migrants that believe their economic quality-of-life to be very bad.

For some respondents within this group, the opportunity to live mortgage free in Old Town allows for an enhanced economic quality-of-life, and is, for those 'down from London', arguably facilitated by making a financial gain on previous properties and taking advantage of relatively lower property prices in Hastings. A lower cost of living in Hastings, compared to places such as London, may also be favourable; the Times noting that living costs in the capital ensure that London is the second most expensive city in the world:

'According to Mercer's 2004 global league of living costs sharply higher living costs have driven London up to second place in the league table of the world's most expensive cities. Heavy housing and transport costs are mainly responsible for London's surge five places up the annual rankings of the most expensive world cities in which to live, produced by Mercer, the consulting group' (The Times, 14/6/2004).

Within pre-2001 households, a similar proportion of in-migrants consider their economic quality-of-life to be very good (21%). This is perhaps surprising given that half of in-migrants in this group own their properties outright, therefore alleviating a significant financial obligation. Within this group, 63% of respondents consider their economic quality-of-life to be quite good, whilst a relatively low proportion consider it to be quite bad. There are no pre-2001 in-migrants that believe their economic quality-of-life to be very bad. Those that had no opinion account for 13% of pre-2001 households.

6.4.11 Enhancing the well-being of the household

In this section, respondents were asked if the decision to move to Old Town was motivated by the potential to enhance the overall well-being of the household. In a similar way to the previous section, motivations and incentives are broken down into economic, social, cultural and physical categories.

First, respondents were asked if their move to Old Town was motivated by the potential to enhance the economic well-being of the household (e.g. income). Table 6. 13 reveals that 97% of post-2001 in-migrants did not move to enhance the economic well-being of the household, indicating that incentives such as income and employment opportunities are not a significant factor in the

migration decision-making process. A relatively low proportion of post-2001 in-migrants consider economic motivations and enticements a central factor in prompting the move to Old Town (3%).

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Yes	3	8
No	97	92
Don't know	0	0

Table 6. 13 In-migrant group and economic well-being of the household

Similar findings are found in pre-2001 households; a slightly lower proportion of in-migrants revealing that their move to Old Town was not motivated by the potential to enhance the economic well-being of the household (92%). A slightly higher proportion of pre-2001 in-migrants do, however, believe economic motivations and enticements to have featured significantly in the decision to move (8%).

Second, respondents were asked if their move to Old Town was motivated by the potential to enhance the social well-being of the household (e.g. family and friends). Table 6. 14 illustrates that in post-2001 households, social elements played a partial role in the decision-making process; 26% of in-migrants believing that the opportunity to enhance the social well-being of the households featured in their decision to move. Pre-2001 households have a relatively higher proportion of in-migrants that consider social opportunities and well-being a significant motivation (37%).

A relatively high proportion of respondents in each group consider their social well-being as unchanged; 60% in the first group, 67% in the second group, and 73% in the third group, respectively.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Yes	26	37
No	74	63
Don't know	0	0

Table 6. 14 In-migrant group and social well-being

Post-2001 households, therefore, have the highest proportion of respondents that do not consider the potential to enhance the social well-being of the household a significant incentive in the decision-making process (74%). A slightly lower proportion of pre-2001 in-migrants also regard social motivations and enticements to be of secondary importance to their decision to move (63%).

Third, respondents were asked if their move to Old Town was motivated by the potential to enhance the cultural well-being of the household (e.g. quality-of-life). In Table 6. 15 it is evident that, compared to economic and social motives and attractions, the opportunity to enhance the cultural well-being of the household was more of a significant enticement. Within post-2001 households, 79% of respondents claim that potentially improving the cultural well-being of the household was a fundamental feature of the decision to move to Old Town. Within the same group, 21% of respondents believe that the potential to enhance the cultural well-being of the household did not feature significantly in the decision-making process.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Yes	79	68
No	21	32
Don't know	0	0

Table 6. 15 In-migrant group and cultural well-being of household

Within pre-2001 households, a slightly lower proportion of in-migrants believe that their move to Old Town was motivated by the potential to enhance the cultural well-being of the household (68%), whilst 32% considered the opportunity to improve cultural well-being a less influential enticement.

Finally, respondents were asked if their move to Old Town was motivated by the potential to enhance the physical well-being of the household (e.g. housing and / or location). Table 6. 16 reveals that, compared to economic, social and cultural dimensions of migration decision-making processes, the opportunity to enhance the physical well-being of the household featured most significantly in the decision to move.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Yes	87	92
No	13	8
Don't know	0	0

Table 6. 16 In-migrant group and physical well-being of household

Within post-2001 households, 87% believe that the potential to enhance the physical well-being of the household played a central role in the decision to move to Old Town. Compared to economic, social and cultural opportunities, physical elements such as location, housing and environment may be argued to be fundamental to family migrants and implicit within the migration decision-making process. Within post-2001 households, 13% of in-migrants do not consider the opportunity to improve the physical well-being of the household to have been a significant appeal when deciding to move. In pre-2001 households, a relatively higher proportion of respondents consider the potential to enhance the physical well-being of the household to have featured significantly within their migration decision-making process (92%), with 8% believing that physical elements were not a significant factor.

6.5 Effects of family migration on family work practices

In this section, changes in pre-migration and post-migration economic activity are examined. Rather than categories of economic activity being provided, respondents were asked to consider their employment status before and after moving and provide their own assessment of their status.

6.5.1 Changes in economic activity

Table 6. 17 expresses that prior to moving, post-2001 in-migrants were primarily employed in full-time work, 84% of respondents defining their employment status as full-time. This indicates that in-migrants were largely employed in conventional employment regimes before moving. Part-time workers account for 13% of post-2001 households, whilst a further 3% account for freelance workers. There were no respondents that considered their status before moving as unemployed. There are similar findings for pre-2001 households. Largely, in-migrants were in full-time work before moving (82%), with part-time workers accounting for 8% of pre-2001 households. A slightly higher proportion of in-migrants were freelance (5%), with a further 5% unemployed. This may reflect respondents that look after home/family but do not consider this to be 'work', or respondents that are out of work.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Full-time	84	82
Part-time	13	8
Freelance	3	5
Unemployed	0	5

Table 6. 17 In-migrant group and previous economic activity

Table 6. 18 shows the current employment status of in-migrants. It reveals that in post-2001 households, the proportion of in-migrants that continued to work full-time after moving decreased (67%). Respondents that decreased their economic activity to become part-time workers account for 16% of post-2001 households. Reduced economic activity may coincide with having children or perhaps ‘downsizing’ careers to spend more time with dependent children. An increase in self-employed and freelance respondents (3% and 3% respectively) may also suggest that in-migrants are re-working previously rigid employment regimes to allow other concerns and desires to be realised, such as spending more time with family and achieving personal aspirations. A further 3% of post-2001 in-migrants are looking after home/family, whilst 5% are on maternity leave. A relatively low proportion is retired (3%).

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
Full-time	67	41
Full-time flexible	0	3
Freelance	3	5
Part-time	16	24
Self-employed	3	0
Retired	3	24
Looking after home/family	3	3
maternity leave	5	0

Table 6. 18 In-migrant group and current economic activity

In pre-2001 households, the proportion of in-migrants that continued to work full-time after moving decreased substantially compared to post-2001 households, halving from 82% to 41%. This may coincide with some in-migrants reaching a stage in their life-course in which they may retire from work but choose to remain in the labour market through reduced activity, or suggest that

some in-migrants have the economic capital to decrease their economic activity and pursue other interests. Corresponding with this, there was a relatively large increase in respondents that are currently either part-time workers or retired (24% and 24%, respectively) indicating that an equal proportion of pre-2001 in-migrants reduced their economic activity after moving, or withdrew from the labour market completely. In pre-2001 households, freelance workers account for 5% of respondents, remaining unchanged after moving, whilst a relatively minor proportion of in-migrants currently view their employment status as full-time flexible (3%). There are no currently self-employed or unemployed pre-2001 in-migrants.

6.6 The effects of migration on lifestyle

In this section, respondents were asked if they perceived that their move has been beneficial or detrimental in terms of twelve different factors. Table 6. 18 provides a breakdown of responses from post-2001 households and pre-2001 households.

Respondents in post-2001 households considered contacts with family and friends to have suffered the most; 42% of in-migrants perceived that their move has been detrimental to this aspect of their lives. A slightly higher proportion, however, considered the move beneficial (45%). This perhaps hints at the potential anxieties associated with leaving behind the everyday, habitual and routine familial relationships, friendships and social networks when moving. Moving was, however, considered to have impacted positively on some social aspects, such as belonging to a community; 100% of respondents asserting that this area of their lives has benefitted from moving. This may suggest that although wider social relations are generally positive, personal friendships and familial relationships have perhaps suffered as a result of moving for some post-2001 in-migrants, whilst other in-migrants have benefitted. Post-2001 in-migrants also rated health and well-being and local environment as largely beneficial; 97% of respondents consider their health and well-being to have benefitted after moving (3% believe it to have suffered), along with 100% that believe their local environment has improved.

Of post-2001 in-migrants, 29% believe moving has had a detrimental impact on their career, whilst a similar proportion believe there has been some benefit (24%). Largely, respondents have no opinion of any impact of this aspect of their lives (47%), suggesting that they have noticed neither a positive or negative effect. Similarly, 21% of post-2001 in-migrants believe moving has had a detrimental impact on their financial stability, whilst a relatively low proportion believe this aspect of their lives has been improved by moving (18%). A comparatively high proportion has no opinion on this particular element (61%), perhaps suggesting that they perceive their financial stability unchanged.

It appears that, despite considering career and financial stability to have suffered, 40% of post-2001 in-migrants believe that moving has impacted positively on employment conditions, compared to 13% that believe the impact to be detrimental. This may be connected to the proportion of respondents who changed their employment status after moving from full-time to arguably more flexible ways of working, such as freelance and self-employed regimes.

A relatively high proportion of post-2001 in-migrants believe that quality of education has suffered after moving (37%), compared to 16% that believe moving has been beneficial. This perhaps suggests that the opportunity to send children to better schools is not a significant incentive for family migrants or an unintended outcome of moving. For respondents that view quality of education to have benefitted from moving, they may be benefitting from relatively lower private school fees compared to London fees, for example.

	Post-2001 n = 38	Pre-2001 n = 38
Career		
Detrimental	29	8
No opinion	47	68
Beneficial	24	24
Employment conditions		
Detrimental	13	8
No opinion	47	52
Beneficial	40	40
Financial stability		
Detrimental	21	27
No opinion	61	63
Beneficial	18	10
Leisure/recreation services		
Detrimental	32	29
No opinion	5	8
Beneficial	63	63
Public services (e.g. healthcare)		
Detrimental	18	20
No opinion	24	32

Beneficial	58	42
Public transport		
Detrimental	16	10
No opinion	76	76
Beneficial	8	13
Local environment		
Detrimental	0	8
No opinion	0	0
Beneficial	100	92
Health and Well-being		
Detrimental	3	8
No opinion	0	3
Beneficial	97	89
Belonging to a community		
Detrimental	0	8
No opinion	0	0
Beneficial	100	92
Contacts with friends/family		
Detrimental	42	27
No opinion	13	10
Beneficial	45	63
Quality of Education		
Detrimental	37	10
No opinion	47	69
Beneficial	16	21
Personal Safety		
Detrimental	3	8
No opinion	5	13
Beneficial	92	79

Table 6. 19 In-migrant group and the impacts of migration on lifestyle

In pre-2001 households, a relatively high proportion of respondents have no opinion as to whether moving has had an impact on their career (68%). This may reflect the relatively high proportion of in-migrants that are currently retired. In-migrants that considered their career to have benefitted from a move to Old Town account for 24% of pre-2001 households, whilst a relatively low proportion consider a move to have impacted in less positive ways (8%), compared to post-2001

households (29%). This may reflect a lower incidence of pre-2001 in-migrants that maintain previous employment regimes and work practices rather than significantly altering them and potentially exposing them to risk or uncertainty. A similar proportion of pre-2001 in-migrants had no opinion concerning the impacts of migration on employment conditions and financial stability (52% and 63%, respectively). Again, in-migrants that consider a move to have impacted detrimentally on employment conditions account for 8% of this sub-group, whilst 40% believe them to have been influenced in more positive ways, a similar proportion to post-2001 households. Financial stability was considered to have benefitted from migration (27%), whilst 10% believed it to be more negatively affected (27%).

Similarly to post-2001 in-migrants, respondents in pre-2001 households considered lifestyle factors such as local environment and belonging to a community to have been positively influenced. Although not as unequivocal as post-2001 in-migrants, 92% of pre-2001 in-migrants considered local environment to have benefitted subsequent to moving, whilst 8% believed the move to have impacted in less positive ways. An assessment of impacts on health and well-being led 89% of pre-2001 in-migrants to believe this lifestyle factor to have benefitted from a move, whilst 8% considered the move detrimental, and 3% had no opinion. Pre-2001 in-migrants also believed that a move has benefitted other social aspects, such as belonging to a community; 92% of respondents asserting that this area of their lives had benefitted from moving, whilst 8% believed there had been a detrimental impact. This may reflect the opinions of longer-term, more embedded residents that believe the distinct characteristics of the town's 'close-knit' community can potentially be intrusive.

Pre-2001 households have the higher proportion of respondents that have no opinion as to whether quality of education has been affected (69%), compared to post-2001 households (47%). This may suggest a higher incidence of pre-2001 in-migrants without school-age children, reflecting in-migrants at a later life-course stage. Of those pre-2001 in-migrants with primary and secondary education concerns, 21% believed the move to have been detrimental, whilst 10% consider the move beneficial.

6.7 Motives and aspirations for in-migrants to Old Town, Hastings

Sections 6. 8 and 6. 9 consider other appeals and attractions of Old Town for post-2001 and pre-2001 in-migrants. Examining practices of migration according to this temporal juncture reveals different processes underpinning migration practices before and after 2001. First, pre-2001 migration flows are discussed, followed by post-2001 migration flows.

6.8 Pre-2001 in-migrants

6.8.1 Place of origin

A higher proportion of pre-2001 in-migrants to Old Town moved internally within Hastings, moving shorter rather than longer distances. Findings from the household survey reveal that 26% of pre-2001 in-migrants have moved into Old Town from Greater Hastings, compared to 8% of post-2001 in-migrants (see Table 6. 2). Often, migrants are familiar with various features and characteristics of Old Town, such as character properties, proximity to local schools, and have local knowledge of Old Town shaped by long-term residency in Hastings more widely:

‘We had always lived in Hastings and knew of the Old Town. We wanted to be close to a good school, be able to walk the children to school’ (02).

‘We lived in another part of Hastings before moving here. My wife knows the area well and although she wanted to stay here, we had to move to a bigger house, we wanted somewhere with more space’ (07).

It can be said that pre-2001 in-migrants often utilised local networks of knowledge to negotiate inaccessible property markets, rather than other, conventional routes such as local estate agents:

‘We had wanted to move into Old Town properly for a while, but properties rarely came up for sale. My mother knew someone who had unfortunately died, so she knew the house would be coming up for sale. We wanted a place with character, somewhere in the middle of things’ (55).

Growing up in wider Hastings can be said to shape migration decisions in particular ways. For some pre-2001 in-migrants, a move to Old Town was considered an inevitable progression, and only constrained by economic and temporal factors:

‘I’d always wanted to live in the Old Town, since I was a child growing up in Hastings; it was an inevitability, just a matter of money and timing’ (53).

For some pre-2001 migrants, mobility decisions were closely tied to life-course transitions, such as marriage. Often, economic factors constrained the timing and direction of migration:

‘I was getting married, I’d lived with my parents in Ore up until then, and then my husband and I moved in with his parents as we couldn’t afford a place of our own just yet’ (23).

A desire or need to remain close to family was also a factor for some pre-2001 following significant life-course related transitions:

‘We had gotten married and we needed our own house. The house we moved from was bigger, it was my parent’s house, but we only moved 3 doors down so there wasn’t much of a change’ (52).

6.8.2 Labour market practices of pre-2001 in-migrants

This section examines labour market practices and employment regimes of pre-2001 in-migrants to Old Town. It is contended that this sub-group of in-migrants are likely to continue with previous work practices and related routines, such as commuting, rather than re-negotiate formal ties with place of origin. The following quote illustrates how pre-2001 in-migrants often adopt more ‘conventional’ practices and regimes associated with domains of home and work, in which household arrangements and employment relations reflect relatively ‘traditional’ roles of family members.

‘Since having the kids, I’ve been a stay-at-home mum, whereas my partner has the commute, so I have the larger share of household chores. He works in London 3 or 4 days a week, he gets up early, has an hour and a half drive to Orpington station and then gets the train to London, so he has a long day’ (47).

The continuance of arguably rigid employment regimes by pre-2001 in-migrants is argued to impact on familial and household relations more widely. Pre-2001 in-migrants may continue with a long-distance weekly commuting to ensure financial and career benefits, but it can be said that the majority of costs are borne by other family members in the household more widely (Green *et al.*, 1999). Less time together through separation of the family home and the workplace, and increased stress associated with temporal constraints placed upon familial relations is illustrated in the following quotes:

‘My wife and I do have less time together now, we’re both still working in London so our commutes are about 4 hours round trip each day so we don’t have much time together during the week just to relax’ (16).

‘We have less time together in the week with the commute...and the train journey, it was rather long, it still is rather long I suppose, but...in a few years he’ll be retiring so no more commuting’ (62).

‘There is less time during the day, during the week, as Mike still commutes so he’s pretty tired in the evenings, and he leaves before me and gets home after me which isn’t ideal’ (22).

‘I think for us, cost of housing and quality-of-life weighed in more heavily than social elements. My partner stayed at his job and commuted, which does cut into our time together during the week but we get to be in this place on the weekends which compensates somewhat. He likes his work and doesn’t want to give it up, so he says he’ll continue to commute’ (06).

It is argued that rather than seeking to alter relatively fixed employment practices, or having the capacity to adjust them, pre-2001 in-migrants focus on becoming accustomed to them, and routines associated with work practices prior to a move are continued:

I’ was working in London when we lived in Croydon so it wasn’t too much of a journey, but London from Hastings takes a bit longer, took a while to get used to’ (73).

‘Husband has a longer commute, but his responsibilities are winding down now, he has more of a consulting role, he also has some family members nearby so it’s worth the longer commute’ (09).

It can be said that maintaining formal ties to place of origin through labour practices and related routines is partially shaped by economic considerations such as salary:

‘My husband now has to commute, he would of course prefer to work closer to home, in Hastings, but the salary just wouldn’t compare to what he earns in London’ (61).

Often, economic-related concerns and opportunities steer the migration decision-making process for pre-2001 in-migrants in other ways. Findings from the household survey reveal that pre-2001 in-migrants consider relatively inexpensive property a significant appeal. For those migrants that require additional space in which to work, such as a studio, properties large enough to provide both

residential and work space are a key attraction. The following quote illustrates how migrants with particular, work-related needs are often excluded from property markets place of origin, and consider a decision to relocate as 'moving to live':

'It was the cheapest place on the south! We needed a place to live and work, needed to have a cheap and big house. We needed to move to live! I couldn't afford to live and work in London anymore, studio space is just too expensive' (28).

For in-migrants that desire separate home and work space, the availability of relatively 'cheap' workshop and studio space in Old Town and Hastings more widely, is considered a significant appeal:

'Old Town had cheap workshop place for business, we had friends in Rye but didn't want to live there. It's by the sea, a quiet coastal town but very creative, and, for us, it had business opportunities as well' (12).

'Living and working in London became too expensive, studio spaces were ridiculous money, they were going for 10 times what I could afford, space in Old Town is less expensive and there's creative scene developing down here' (28).

Employment-related opportunities for pre-2001 in-migrants are also contended to be significant with the migration decision-making process. The following quote illustrates how job-related constraints in place of origin, alongside a desire for a 'fresh start', shape the timing of mobility, whilst familial networks shape the direction:

'There was a lack of job opportunities, my wife was the only one working at the time, I was struggling, and then my brother-in-law suggested we move down, he needed help with the pub he'd bought, it seemed like a great opportunity, and my partner wanted a fresh start somewhere new' (13).

It is contended that pre-2001 in-migrants are likely to take fewer risks related to employment regimes and careers. The following quote demonstrates how mobility decisions are often taken in light of long-term economic security for the household as a collective:

'My husband had a longer commute when we moved but we got a bigger house, nicer environment, and cheaper private schools. We moved once we knew my husband's career was secure to raise our three children. Also, my mother-in-law needed caring

for so we needed a bigger house' (16).

6.8.3 Property concerns and aspirations

Findings from the household survey suggest that the opportunity to enhance physical elements such as size and type of property was a significant appeal for pre-2001 in-migrants. It is contended that property as a significant factor within the migration decision-making process is closely tied to economic concerns and obligation in place of origin, such as cost of mortgage, as well as wider economic aspirations. It can be said that housing costs, management, and potential long-term financial benefits accruing from the sale of property, influence migration decisions for pre-2001 in-migrants. The following quote illustrates how the size of property and mortgage in place of origin shape migration decisions:

'The house we bought was too big just for us, we had a big mortgage, we wanted a fresh start somewhere, we didn't really have any friends on our street; no one would have noticed we'd gone probably' (12).

Whilst some in-migrants cite the desire for a smaller, more manageable property as an important element in the migration decision-making process, other pre-2001 in-migrants consider the opportunity for a comparably larger property a significant factor. The following quote illustrates how the prospect of acquiring a property with increased space, but for 'the same or less money' accrued from the sale of property in place of origin, is central:

'The prospect of a bigger property was important, really for the same or less money. I needed extra space to paint and work. It was basically cheap property in a quiet seaside town, a good vibe' (14).

'My partner wasn't overly keen at first, but accepted that a change was needed and that we would get a better property for the money we had' (02).

Characteristics of local property markets in Old Town are argued to enable less affluent households, excluded from relatively expensive coastal locales such as Brighton, to move to a desired environment:

'Old Town is on the coast which we wanted and it's cheaper than other places along the coast such as Brighton and Rye' (15).

Relatively inflated property prices in place of origin are also contended to encourage potential in-migrants to consider other locales. The following quote illustrates how the inaccessibility of property markets in London, and limited opportunity to secure a desired property, prompts some pre-2001 in-migrants to explore alternative locations:

‘It was my husband who suggested moving. We’d lived separately in London as I was still studying law, and when we wanted to buy a place together, he suggested Hastings, as house prices in London were ridiculous, especially ones with a garden, and he knew the town as he lived nearby when he was younger’ (01).

‘Property prices were so low compared to London, we knew if we sold up we could probably buy somewhere outright here, the property prices in London are extortionate. We sold a two-bedroom house in Kentish Town that was far too small for us and got a 4-bed place here’ (04).

The prospect of an improved location and larger property is argued to surmount emotional ties to previous property:

‘We both wanted to move but it took a while to get the process underway as my partner loved our previous property, he had done a lot of work on it, but I knew our new property would be a better location and bigger’ (03).

It can be said that some pre-2001 in-migrants often take migration decisions in light of economic outcomes and benefits. The following quote demonstrates how the potential for capitalising on the eventual sale of property in Old Town is more important than other factors, such as location preferences. Rather, selecting a location is steered by local property market characteristics and how they may potentially facilitate other gains:

‘The house was cheaper so from an economic and property point of view the move was good as it allowed us to buy a bigger house and probably make a good profit on it too. It wasn’t my preferred location but we couldn’t think of anywhere along the coast that when we moved we could do that’ (36).

6.8.4 Life-course considerations

This section examines life-course considerations within the migration decision-making process for pre-2001 in-migrants. Underpinning the discussion is a key finding from the household survey;

that pre-2001 in-migrants are more likely to move at a different stage of life-course, compared to post-2001 in-migrants. The geographical mobility of pre-2001 in-migrants can be said to be closely related to familial ties, age, and work lives. Although socio-economic and cultural conditions and appeals of place do influence the migration decision-making process for pre-2001 in-migrants, it is argued that personal changes over the life-course alter motives, desires and aspirations of family migrants:

‘It became too busy for me, the place didn’t change that much, I think we did, and we both wanted something different for our lives’ (22).

Pre-2001 in-migrants to Old Town often associate their own mobility with a certain point in their lives, and note how this appears to differ from the timing of post-2001 migration practices:

‘The people moving down now are different, they’re younger than we were when we did it’ (13).

It is contended that pre-2001 in-migrants have distinct migration trajectories underpinned by familial relations. The following quote illustrates how the individual life-course of children within the household explicitly shapes the timing of migration for some pre-2001 migrants, and establishing ‘something for us’ after caring for family members is central to the migration decision-making process:

‘The kids had finished their education, they were becoming independent, we thought it was time for a change, do something for us, and the area had changed, not really for the better’ (17).

Similarly, ‘making a life’ outside of the family is also a significant motive for many pre-2001 in-migrants. It can be said that pre-2001 in-migrants no longer have to negotiate previous constraints on timing and direction of mobility, such as work-related concerns and responsibilities. Rather, in-migrants base location preferences on those of family and friends, and the opportunity to re-locate once dependent children have left the family home:

‘It was a mutual decision to move out of London, as was the location decision. We couldn’t have done it unless one of us was working full-time, and that was my husband...we didn’t move to Old Town because we had to, we did that in London, moved because Peter had to work. It was fine at the time, we had a mortgage, and you have to make a few compromises. Moving here, all our friends and family were on

the South East coast, the kids had left home and we were making a life for ourselves down here' (75).

Often, pre-2001 in-migrants place the family at the centre of migration decisions in other ways, the desire to be closer to grown-up children and grandchildren shaping the timing and direction of mobility. It is argued that the opportunity to be closer to children that have entered a particular life-course stage themselves, for example, having children, is a significant motive for pre-2001 in-migrants:

'We'd had enough of that kind of life...the place was getting worse, and also our daughter has gotten married and moved to the South East coast, near Brighton so it would be nice to be nearer to them' (04).

'Things have changed entirely, there's just isn't a comparison. I see my son more often, he's just started a family of his own, so I've been there as a grandma from the beginning' (09).

Other significant life-course events, such as a partner retiring, are also argued to shape dimensions of migration. The cessation of a partner's working life can support a change in the work practices of other family members within the household:

'It was the stress of living in London, the children had grown up, my partner was retiring' (44).

'He was retired, and wanted a change of scenery, something different, out of London, and I wanted to wind down in terms of work, something that involved less, time, stress, emotional commitment' (44).

The above quote also illustrates how, alongside 'traditional' retirement, pre-2001 in-migrants also express a desire to 'wind down'. It is argued that the desire to continue working, yet also reduce time, stress and emotional commitment associated with work, encourages in-migrants to re-shape employment regimes. The following quote illustrates how fewer hours and altering some key dimensions of work practices allows in-migrants at a particular stage of life-course to 'wind down':

'I suggested that my wife might want to start thinking about winding down a bit, particularly with her teaching, maybe semi-retire, take on some students privately with fewer hours' (20).

Interviews with local estate agents support the finding that rather than retiring, pre-2001 in-migrants are moving to Old Town at a similar life-course stage and beginning a new phase of their lives:

‘There’s not a big retired community down here, there’s early retirement, you know, but they’re not pensioners really’ (EA2).

6.8.5 Social and cultural appeals and motives

Findings from the household survey reveal that particular socio-cultural elements are significant within the migration decision-making process for pre-2001 in-migrants. It is contended that pre-2001 in-migrants often draw on ‘typical’ counterurban appeals during the migration decision-making process, such as countryside, peace and quiet, community, and ‘traditional’ rural imagery. Traditional, rural locales that are distinct from urban spaces are most desirable for pre-2001 in-migrants, and offer migrants the opportunity to escape the socio-cultural and physical conditions of the urban. Most appealing elements include access to rural spaces and local shops, services and amenities:

‘We moved here because we wanted to be close to the country but still have plenty of facilities and amenities like doctors, pubs and shops. We stumbled across Old Town accidentally when we were looking at the seaside generally and in the country’ (02).

Residing in or near to ‘country’ or ‘countryside’ spaces which have a distinct rural ‘feel’ to them is a distinct appeal for pre-2001 in-migrants:

‘The countryside being so close is the best thing about living here’ (11).

‘Being by the sea and countryside is great, you can get everywhere you need to on bike or by foot’ (15).

‘Old Town is very traditional, rural, very friendly, has something for everyone’ (4).

‘It’s having access to rural surrounding that are off the beaten track, being part of a community’ (02).

A desire to abandon the city is illustrated in the following quote, and it can be said that those pre-2001 in-migrants leaving city and urban spaces often draw upon particular constructions of the rural, as clean and purified, and the city as dirty:

‘We wanted to be close to the country, move to a place that had an almost rural feel to it...fresher air. We were tired of London, it was a case of wanting to get out of the city, try something new’ (36).

It can be said that many pre-2001 in-migrant actively seek a ‘rural’ lifestyle, which is characterised by a slower pace of life, traditional place, and peace and quiet, and facilitates a less stressful way of living:

‘The best thing about living here is the peace and quiet...there’s no huge rush to do things, no stress...we have more fun than we did in London, very simple really, we just have more fun together, and with other people’ (3).

‘In-migrants often valued ‘rural’ characteristics, such as traditional architecture and quaintness of place, and used these to construct a ‘coastal idyll’. Representations of Old Town as ‘traditional’ and ‘quaint’ are common, and peace and tranquillity are often associated with such traditional English seaside spaces’ (Walton, 1996).

‘It’s a quaint, traditional English seaside town’ (13).

‘It’s a unique, special place, a slice of English countryside and seaside that hasn’t altered much over the years’ (52).

Pre-2001 often attempted to recapture some of the qualities of a certain time-space through their migration practices. The following quote illustrates how transformation of place of origin from a ‘big village’ to an arguably gentrified landscape with numerous ‘alfresco wine bars’, encourages migrants to seek out a locale that offers the various social, cultural and physical conditions and aesthetics associated with a better period of time:

‘It had become too busy, noisy and expensive for us, had gone from being a big village into a place where you can’t walk without tripping over an alfresco wine bar with people drinking on the pavement’ (38).

Similarly, increasing popularity of other coastal locales and ensuing processes of social, cultural and physical change, are often cited as influencing the timing of migration. The following quote demonstrates how many of the qualities associated with Old Town, such as 'quaintness' and 'quirkiness' attracted migrants to other coastal locales previously, such as Brighton. It can be said that the opportunity to reclaim those qualities is a key factor in migration decisions for pre-2001 in-migrants:

'We bought a property in Brighton years ago, before it became so popular, when it was a bit undiscovered, still genuinely quirky and quaint in some ways. Once it started to change it happened so quickly, it wasn't for us anymore' (14).

The rate at which social, cultural and physical change unfolds in place of origin can be said to steer migration trajectories of pre-2001 in-migrants in particular ways. Stability and continuity of people and place is argued to be a significant factor for this group of in-comers:

'It was becoming even busier where we lived, more people, more hectic, felt like you couldn't get away from anything there, it was changing too quickly, we felt that there was nothing to keep us there anymore' (11).

Pre-2001 in-migrants also cite 'traditional' community as an appeal, and this is arguably closely tied to the concept of the 'rural village'.

'It is fairly quiet, but everyone knows everyone else, it's very 'villagey', it has that whole community feel' (3).

'Very village like, it takes half an hour to do a 3 minute walk down the road as you're always stopping to talk to people, a very friendly place' (56).

'The community feel is good, it's a great street to live on, and we're near to the countryside' (14).

'This place has a proper spirit, everyone knows each other, it's quite different from anywhere else, it's a very friendly place' (55).

It can also be said, however, that 'colourful characters' within the community provide a more 'unconventional' dimension to a perceivably 'conventional' place:

‘It is traditional in terms of architecture, people's attitudes towards living in a community, like with the fishing families. But it is quite quirky and can be quite unconventional sometimes with many colourful characters’ (13).

The opportunity for more formal social encounters and interaction is also valued by pre-2001 in-migrants, for example, through community and social groups:

‘It’s quiet, laid back, but there are lots of opportunities to get involved with community and social groups’ (17).

It is important to note that some pre-2001 in-migrants identify some members of the ‘original’ population in Old Town as ‘particular’ about in-comers, and that this shapes experiences of community in certain ways:

‘Community? It’s there if you want it, if you wish it to be...original Old Towners can be quite particular and it can be quite isolating sometimes’ (12).

Pre-2001 in-migrants recognise that contemporary in-comers to Old Town often have different cultural tastes and appetites, and associate these with the gentrified landscape of London. It is argued that Old Town is considered to have a unique form of culture shaped by the tastes of long-term residents, and is perceived to be ‘catching up’ with the cultural tastes of post-2001 in-migrants, those that are brought down the urban hierarchy from London. The following quote illustrates how expressions of gentrification within the town are considered to not yet be fully realised:

‘Culturally, Old Town doesn’t seem to have caught up with the kind of people moving down here. The only sign that it’s been gentrified is the bakers on the High Street, and the people behind it who run it. But it’s by no means a cultural desert, we have the arts cinema, the Stables theatre, there’s always something obscure going on, but if you want something bigger and more glitzy, you have to go to London’ (03).

6.8.6 Summary

In summary, the survey reveals that common themes unite pre-2001 in-migrants to Old Town. First, this migrant group have a propensity to move within Hastings, rather than move over greater distances. Second, pre-2001 in-migrants are more likely to maintain rigid employment regimes and related practices; economic considerations, such as salary in place of origin, encouraging pre-2001

in-migrants to continue previous labour practices, rather than sustain losses. Third, this group appear to be attracted by relatively less expensive property in Old Town and consider the purchase of property a long-term investment that will eventually yield economic dividends. Fourth, pre-2001 in-migrants appear to move at a particular stage of life-course; once children have left the family home, or one or both partners are retiring. This is underpinned by a desire to 'make something else' outside of family 'life'. Finally, findings from the household survey reveal that motives of migration for this group include qualities and characteristics associated with 'traditional' rural spaces; responding to 'conventional' counterurban impulses such as getting away from the dirt and dangers of the city, and community.

6.9 Post-2001 in-migrants

6.9.1 Renegotiating work

This section explores the labour practices and employment regimes of post-2001 in-migrants. The discussion demonstrates that many in-migrants significantly adjust their work practices following in-migration to Old Town. An important focus within migration geographies is concerned with the factors influencing employment regimes for migrants, in particular employment outcomes for women (Cooke and Bailey, 1996; Bailey and Cooke, 1998). The evidence presented here examines both intended and unintended outcomes of moving for family members in work-related spheres, revealing how employment regimes of post-2001 in-migrants are adjusted and often transformed to allow a move to go ahead, or, equally, altered in more unforeseen, unanticipated ways.

The findings from the household survey reveal that post-2001 in-migrants are becoming increasingly likely to reduce formal ties with their previous area of work, and re-work existing employment regimes. It is contended that post-2001 in-migrants adopt various strategies within formal spheres of work that enable particular elements of employment regimes to be reconfigured. Conventional employment relations, arguably practiced over fixed time-spaces, are becoming increasingly flexible, as in-migrants adopt less rigid practices that allow them to work in multiple spaces. The following quote reveals how working in both formal and informal spaces facilitates a move to Old Town:

'I work at least one, two days a week from home to cut down on the commute to London, which is a pain sometimes, but for my partner, this is a great environment to write in, a really creative space, so it's good for his work mainly. I can work from home, mainly over the phone' (58).

Post-2001 in-migrants often retained a property in place of origin to fragment rigid commuting practices, allowing migrants to stay overnight in their place of work as and when is required. The presence of family in place of origin also encourages in-migrants to rely on existing familial networks as an additional tier of support:

‘I do commute, but we’ve also kept the flat over the shop so I can stay there a few nights during the week and we also have family who still live in London who help out if we’re stuck’ (27).

Post-2001 in-migrants appear to be undertaking fewer commutes to work; making longer, but fewer journeys each week. The Times (14/11/2009) identifies this as an emerging trend:

‘With a recent Transport for London finding that the average length of a commute increased by 6 per cent between 1996 and 2006 and that, as a nation, we are making fewer but longer commutes, a phenomenon has been born: extreme commuting’.

For those post-2001 in-migrants that choose to work from both home and a more formal space, outcomes of altering work practices are often unexpected. The following quote illustrates that practising employment relations over distance often compels in-migrants to re-shape ways of working, including taking on additional members of staff in order to spend more time at home:

‘I soon found out that I was needed at work more I had initially realised, but I’ve brought someone in on a part-time basis to help out so I do a few days in the office and the rest at home. I can’t be as spontaneous as I used to be but it works out just as good’ (31).

Findings from the household survey reveal that many post-2001 in-migrants consider their work relatively mobile. Utilising various technologies allows in-migrants to increasingly work at a distance, detached from a ‘source of work’:

‘I mean, with work, you don’t need to be close to the source anymore, everything’s electronic, you communicate by internet, phone, you don’t need to be physically close to your source of work anymore’ (46).

It is contended that the capacity to re-locate the site of work practices and re-work employment regimes reflects the privileged position of many post-2001 migrants within the labour market:

‘We were fed up of London, and when you can do your job from home, what’s to stop you from relocating?’ (68).

Poor transport links between London and Hastings are often cited as one factor underpinning the increasing proportion of post-2001 in-migrants to Old Town that choose to work in multiple spaces:

‘Transport links, particularly trains to London are a bit of a nightmare, but I only spend a few days back in London and the rest of the time working from home’ (32).

Some post-2001 in-migrants initially attempt to maintain relatively rigid employment regimes, rather than give up the everyday routines and social relationships tied to work practices. Dividing time between work and other activities and responsibilities in Old Town, however, often encourages some in-migrants to alter a fundamental aspect of work, such as becoming self-employed. It is argued that distinct social networks within the town support new employment regimes, for example, through ‘word-of-mouth’ connections and exchanges. The following quote also demonstrates that an increasing number of in-comers purchasing dilapidated property with the intention of renovating are supporting other in-migrant’s work-related ventures:

‘I tried keeping up with my old job, but there was so much to do with the new house and stuff going on in the town, I decided to go self-employed. You do miss the people you work with because you see them every day. But I think being self-employed here is different, as everyone you do work for tells someone else, people get to know you, whether it’s work-related or not. And business has been steady since the move, mainly because Hastings has a lot of old buildings and people are buying old, rundown properties and wanting them renovated from scratch’ (06).

It is evident that, for many post-2001 in-migrants, re-working employment regimes often allows changes to filter down more widely, to other, more personal realms. Findings from the household survey reveal that many in-migrants reconfigure employment regimes to allow more time with family and friends, such as taking a similar position as before moving but with reduced hours and responsibility:

‘Now that I’ve taken a different role at work we have more time together now. I used to be a manager for the housing department within the Council which was hectic, but when we decided to move I decided to take a deputy role’ (11).

Similarly, re-organising how time in the labour market is spent, and where work is performed, allows for more time with family and friends, less stress, as well as a more efficient use of time with family members:

‘We do have more time together as a couple now, as I split my time between London and working from home. We do more with our time now than we ever did before; we can just take off in any direction, it’s far more relaxed, we think we’ve found our niche in a lot of ways’ (33).

It is contended that place-specific characteristics often support new employment regimes, in particular those in-migrants working in informal spaces of home, such as peace and quiet:

‘It’s quiet here, which is a big plus as we’re working from home, compared to the place we have in London anyway. Being so near to the sea and also the country park is great as well’ (46).

Despite largely positive outcomes of altered labour market practices, findings also highlight an emerging sense of uncertainty within migration practices, within both formal and informal spheres. The following quote reveals how making significant changes to work practices can lead to feelings of doubt and hesitation for some in-migrants:

‘I mean, I do miss the shop, it was a nice shop, but that’s not the same as missing London, and I still do roughly the same thing, it involved completely transferable skills so it wasn’t a huge upheaval in the end, but there was a point where I thought, end of business, major change in relationship, what have I done?’ (50).

Although for many post-2001 in-migrants, maintaining ties to place of origin through employment regimes is mitigated by dividing time between domains of home and work. Sustaining this practice long-term, however, is potentially problematic for some migrants. Rather than an increased risk of economic instability arising from employment changes following a move, in-migrants often noted the personal instability and uncertainty:

‘The stress of going back to London has had an effect. I feel like I’m living in two places, but it has become easier, it’s turning into something quite organic, it’s not as regimented, I go back when I feel I need to’ (46).

It can be said that some in-migrants anticipated some initial personal upheaval following a change in employment practices, and the period immediately after a move to Old Town is considered relatively stressful. More positive changes within the household are, however, considered to be worth this period of 'stress and uncertainty':

'In the beginning, organising work schedules and the like took a while, the house felt quite stressful as no one knew what going on or how things were going to work, but it's been worth that little period of stress and uncertainty' (31).

6.9.2 Losing to gain

Findings from the household survey reveal that for many post-2001 in-migrants, the migration decision-making process is increasingly permeated by a willingness to accept losses in realms that traditionally require gains. It is argued that examining how and why in-migrants experience loss and gain within migration processes can potentially engender other insights into long-distance family migration. Examining how and why post-2001 in-migrants evaluate whether particular 'losses' are acceptable may reveal that new importance is being assigned to concerns or desires traditionally positioned at the periphery of migration decision-making processes. It is contended that what have conventionally been considered losses within migration practices are being anticipated and / or accepted by post-2001 in-migrants if gains can be made in other realms.

This section begins by examining how and why measurable, conventional outputs of work, such as profit, salary and status are becoming less significant in the migration decision-making process when there is an opportunity to gain in other ways. Findings from the household survey suggest that tangible benefits such as profit or career opportunities are becoming increasingly secondary within the migration decision-making process, if there is the potential for other forms of gain. The following quote illustrates how diminished material gains are compensated for by enhanced employment conditions, quality of local networks, and satisfaction amongst family members subsequent to moving:

'In terms of my career, it had been a bit detrimental, in terms of what I can charge, I've dropped my rates by 20%, but conditions are better, like better local networks, I'm always being recommended; it's good word of mouth really. You'd think being able to charge less would be a problem, but it's all relative, I do charge less but we have a cheaper mortgage, and the family is happier now even though we're in a smaller property' (15).

How and why post-2001 in-migrants are increasingly 'trading off' losses against other forms of gain arguably indicates an emerging geography of loss and gain within family migration practices. The following quote demonstrates how the loss of potentially more beneficial work-related networks in place of origin are traded off against increased productivity and creativity in Old Town:

'Moving away from London was tough as that's where all the shows are, the galleries, the openings, but I wasn't producing as much work as I am here, so it's a happy trade-off, I just have to work a bit harder at publicising my work in London, and the Hastings art scene is improving little by little' (28).

Often, accepting economic losses, such as a reduction in salary, facilitates a move, and allows one member of the household to pursue employment aspirations that had been constrained in place of origin. The following quote demonstrates how taking a 'pay cut' allows one member of the household to transform a part-time pursuit into a full-time activity. It is also contended that the physical and socio-cultural qualities of Old Town support new regimes in distinct and diverse ways:

'We decided that we could take a pay cut so that I could come here and write full-time. It's a great space to write in and I find I get a lot done, and my wife is still full-time' (20).

It is argued that, alongside an emerging geography of loss and gain within family migration practices, in-migrants are re-positioning ideas and ideals of value and worth within the migration decision-making-process. Rather than economic enticements and the potential to maximise financial gains ensuring that a move is 'worthwhile', in-migrants are attaching greater value to 'other' experiences, encounters and interests that are not necessarily measurable or quantifiable:

'It's the sea, the old streets; quality-of-life is better, buying fish. It's better than money, buying fish that's come straight out of the sea, caught by your fisherman and taking it home to cook; it's worth a million pounds' (50).

The following quote demonstrates that for many in-migrants, changes to employment regimes that have perhaps yielded undesirable outcomes, are 'traded off' against the potential for 'other' forms of returns, such as lifestyle and quality-of-life:

‘My husband has a two and a half hour commute which I’m sure if you asked him he’d say he didn’t love, but once he got used to it, it wasn’t too bad...and the longer journey is worth it, just having this lifestyle, just having the weekends in this place; it’s like being on holiday’ (51).

Similarly, changes to work regimes that are perceived as negative within wider family relations, such as less time spent at home during the week and extended work hours, are compensated for by gains made in other areas of ‘life’, such as enhanced physical environment and larger properties. The following quote illustrates how, despite making perceivable ‘losses’, the gains made in other realms can potentially positively reshape existing social relations that are, by necessity, practised over distance:

‘My partner splits time between London and home for work, sometimes he has to stay with a friend if he has a very early start, but now our friends come and see us more than we go up and see them, they love coming to the seaside and we’ve got a bigger place so we can put them up’ (35).

The trade-offs undertaken by family members are recognised more widely in media discourses, noting that longer commuting times are a ‘price’ that family migrants are increasingly willing to ‘pay’ in the pursuit of various gains and benefits such as enhanced lifestyles and physical environs:

‘Many families move in search of fresher air, an improved lifestyle and a perception, sometimes misplaced, that their kids will get a better education, while accepting that a longer commute is a price worth paying’ (The Guardian, 18/11/2009).

6.9.3 Placing the family at the centre of migration

Findings from the household survey suggest that post-2001 in-migrants alter particular dimensions of their labour market practices, and adopt increasingly flexible employment regimes in order to place ‘other’ concerns and issues at the forefront of migration decisions. It can be hypothesised that through re-working employment regimes, in-migrants are increasingly able to place familial concerns and desires at the centre of migration processes (see Halfacree, 2004). It is contended that, by altering employment relations, in-migrants can potentially re-shape familial relations in the household more widely, and that, for many migrants, this is an intended outcome of moving to Old Town. It can be said that post-2001 in-migrants are assigning new importance to previously

peripheral factors within processes of family migration, such as the importance of familial relations and relationships.

It would appear that many post-2001 in-migrants are utilising flexible work practices in order to (re) shape familial practises and relations within the household. The following quote demonstrates how changing a fundamental element of work practices, such as place of work, allows more time with family:

‘My husband had to change practice which was a shame as he loved his colleagues at his old one, but the commute would have been awful and he would never have seen the kids; he would have left the house before they got up and be home once they're in bed’ (37).

It is postulated that increasingly flexible labour practices allow in-migrants to actively re-shape how time within the household is spent, and consciously ‘put time aside’ to spend with family members:

‘We make more of an effort to put aside time with each other, make the most of living here. Our work has become more flexible so we try and take one day a week away from everything just for us’ (32).

Similarly, increasingly flexible employment regimes enable migrants to use time in new ways that benefit familial relations. For example, previously mundane, everyday tasks, such as the school-run, are imbued with new importance, as in-migrants re-claim this time with children:

‘Our work has become more flexible so we try and take one day a week away from everything just for us. We can take our kids to school; walk them usually so that’s time together. I guess back in London getting to school was seen as a bit of a mission, just get through it and get on with the day; here it’s become part of the day’ (32).

Alongside other initial appeals and motives of migration, such as larger property and community, post-2001 in-migrants also note how dividing time between formal work spaces and the home and adopting flexible hours allows a partner to take on a role within the home that they previously had been unable to, such as taking and picking up children from school:

‘Initially, it was more the prospect of a more affordable place.... bigger property, a character place in a nicer community. I knew my partner's job would let him work

from home and also spend a couple of days in the city, he's a graphic designer and was able to change his hours so he could work from home mostly and commute in twice a week. Now he can be home working or there to take the kids or pick them up from school' (35).

It is evident that practices of migration for post-2001 in-migrants are often characterised by processes of compromise and negotiation between partners and within families more widely. In post-2001 households, 87% of in-migrants believed that at least one member of the family had made a compromise in some area of their lives to enable the move to go ahead; suggesting that compromise and negotiation within the family migration decision-making process is increasingly influencing the trajectory of migration and its outcomes for in-migrants. Qualitative data from the household survey suggests that moving to Old Town for some-post-2001 in-migrants often involves a change in lifestyle for one or both partners within the household. The following quote reveals how post-2001 respondent in-migrants perceive the compromises they have made, and offers an initial insight into the decision-making dynamics underpinning them:

'My partner really wanted to move, get out of London, he really pushed me to leave, he'd had enough, and this was it for him. He knew I was unsure, so he agreed to a trial run. For the price of two separate studios in London, we could afford a maisonette in Old Town, so we kept a small flat in London, sold the studio space and rented this place' (46).

The above quote offers an initial insight into the decision-making dynamics underpinning how family members negotiate processes and outcomes of migration. For example, for those family members that are uncertain, findings reveal that a 'trial run' is often utilised, to offer an insight into life in place of destination without cutting ties with place of origin entirely. It is argued, however, that maintaining property in both place of origin and Old Town reflects the relative affluence of post-2001 in-migrants; for example, those in-migrants that have capitalised on the relative difference in property prices in Old Town and places such as London. Similarly, the following quote illustrates how retaining a property in place of origin can negotiate the distance between place of origin and destination, and other compromises, such as loss of familiar social networks:

'I left my social circle behind, but you have to accept that when you move you have to leave certain aspects of your life behind. But when I do get back to London, I see them, and we still have the flat there so it's workable' (46).

In many instances, one member of the family agrees to a move on certain terms, such as having greater authority when selecting place of destination. The following quote illustrates how, within the context of migration to Old Town, family members often negotiate various points in order to reach a mutually satisfying decision, positioning the desires of others against their own:

‘He compromised on one thing, and that was location. I agreed to move again if he agreed a test run of living outside of London’ (59).

It is important to note that processes of negotiation and compromise often permeate beyond the migration decision-making process, and continue to affect levels of satisfaction subsequent to moving. The following quote illustrates how performing employment and social relations over dual locales in order to facilitate a move to Old Town, or rather, having ‘a life here and there’, is often initially stressful and emotionally demanding:

‘It’s 90% positive I think. The other 10% is travelling backwards and forwards, a three week gap in between roughly, when I go back for a week, five days. I do miss the ease of living and working in London, where work was, friends.... now my partner lives and works here full-time, but I have to go back into London every couple of weeks, or every three weeks, for work, to check the flat hasn’t burnt down to the ground. I find going between the two, having a life here and there quite stressful at the moment, it’s not easy. But I’m beginning to find I like living here more which is good for us. I do sometimes wonder why I keep on going back, but I like being on my own sometimes’ (46).

It is evident that many post-2001 in-migrants also recognise the compromises made by other members of the family. The following quote reveals how compromises often centre on leaving established social networks and friendships, and how maintaining links with place of origin encourages reluctant family members to migrate with partner and / or family:

‘My partner is younger than me, so I think he left behind a more frantic social life and a particular circle of friends. If I had wanted to move anywhere beyond an hour and a half train journey into London, I don’t think he could have been convinced to come, and we both didn’t want a long-distance relationship’ (34).

Often, the migration decision-making process is characterised by negotiation and uncertainty. The concerns and aspirations of one member of the family may initially instigate a move, and other,

more reticent, family members are encouraged by the prospect of particular gains, such as increasing size of property for a relatively 'cheap' price:

'My wife drove the move really, more out of a concern for our son's education and general well-being. She was more keen than me at first, until I saw the house, and the cheap price didn't hurt either! But I was unsure about leaving London' (10).

It is asserted that compromise and sacrifice within processes of family migration are not confined to personal realms of in-migrants. It can be argued that leaving particular places encourages in-migrants to reflect on their own identity as intrinsically shaped by specific characteristics and qualities of place of origin, and as attached to particular spaces. The following quote illustrates how in-migrants often make conscious efforts to retain dimensions of particular identities:

'I don't think I've had to make any major sacrifices. I do miss the buzz of London, being a proper Londoner, but I go in about once a week for work and I often take my son with me so he doesn't forget where he was born and grew up' (10).

Similarly, leaving places of cultural ambience and opportunity is also considered by some post-2001 in-migrants as a significant compromise. The following quote reveals how compromising certain cultural and 'cosmopolitan' appeals enables a move to go ahead:

'In some ways we've had to compromise - London has more clubs, more bars, a much more cosmopolitan feel to it, but those kinds of things, it's getting better, and we'll be here for that, so we'll benefit from it eventually' (30).

A further key theme of post-2001 in-migration focuses on how familial relations and relationships within the household have changed; 85% of respondents remarked that since making the move to Old Town there has been a change in their relationship with other family members, either positive and / or negative (e.g. being more or less stressed, spending more or less time together – see Table 6. 24). Often, improvements to familial relationships within the household subsequent to migration are closely tied to having more time available to spend with family and friends, and less stress, which, in turn, are often intrinsically related to changes in employment regimes:

'We're both home from work earlier and we come home to a lovely house and a garden where the kids can play, we see more of each other and he's home more now, it's a generally less stressful lifestyle' (37).

Often, positive changes between partners and within the household more widely filter down to other members of the family. The following quote illustrates how a less stressful lifestyle and enhanced quality-of-life in Old Town is considered to permeate other relations within the household:

‘I think the whole household is more chilled out living down here, just being in this place. We’re less stressed, and I think kids pick up on stress very easily so the fact that we’re more relaxed, the kids pick up on that I think’ (30).

Attaining a less stressful lifestyle in which time spent with family is fundamental, is commonly cited by post-2001 in-migrants as a key motive for migration. In many instances, this is arguably enhanced by place-specific qualities and characteristics of Old Town, such as outside spaces, including the beach. The following quote demonstrates how ‘family time’ has been enhanced by a move to Old Town, compared to time spent pursuing individual interests in place of origin:

‘There’s more time, less stress. We go for walks on the beach, the pace of life is slower, but we’re always busy. We spend more time with our son, back in London we’d do our own thing at the weekend, he’d be upstairs on his X Box, and my wife would be in the garden, I’d be stuck in the office, here it’s different’ (10).

Changes to familial relations are not inherently positive, however, and some post-2001 in-migrants report negative impacts such as less time together and more stress subsequent to a move to Old Town. It is interesting to note that, for some post-2001 in-migrants, less positive outcomes often arose from changes in employment practices that may have allowed the move to go ahead initially. The following quote demonstrates that for some post-2001 in-migrants, such changes have, in turn, negatively affected relations within the household:

‘There’s less time together during the week, because of him commuting and maybe staying over a couple of nights a week if the commute is driving him a bit up the wall’ (27).

It is contended that the increasing diversity of family forms and household structures encourage a re-examination of family besides the nuclear family within migration practices. The following quote illustrates how new expressions of family forms, such as those in-migrants ‘living apart together’ (LAT), re-work committed relationships within domains of both home and work:

‘We decided to live apart after a while. We shared the flat in the High Street while we found this place, but we decided that I’d move in by myself, and he got a place down on the seafront. With us running the business together as well, we just found that we worked better when we live apart’ (50).

6.9.4 Returning to family and family-ties

Interestingly, findings from the household survey reveal that the opportunity to be closer to family or return to a childhood home is a significant appeal for many in-migrants. Family-ties are a central factor for some post-2001 in-migrants moving to Old Town (see Rogers, 2007 for fuller discussion of family-ties). It is contended that those post-2001 in-migrants moving back to Old Town are returning to a place in which they either grew up, have previously resided with family members, or have family history. The following quote vividly captures how those that choose to leave Old Town are often ‘drawn back’ by distinct, place-specific characteristics, qualities, and enticements; some of which are arguably intangible, yet pervasive within the migration decision-making process:

‘There’s something about this place. A lot of people do leave, but they return to it. It doesn’t matter how long you’ve been away or where, if people go away, they come back. It has character this place, it draws people back’ (47).

Findings from the household survey illustrate how some post-2001 ‘return migrants’ perceive ‘coming back’ to the coastal locale of Old Town, and reveals the motives and appeals that underpin particular flows of return migration. In many instances, residing in Old Town during childhood constructs a particular sense of ‘home’ for migrants, and the opportunity to raise children in a familiar place is a significant appeal:

‘We wanted to come back to where home really was. My husband and I had grown up in Old Town, when we had the kids the council housed us elsewhere, but we always knew we wanted to get back to this place. The kids were getting older, I was able to go back to work, and we started renting a place here’ (21).

‘I lived in Old Town when I was a child, I grew up here. I left Old Town when I was 15 for St. Leonards, and eventually ended up in London, and I just wanted to raise my family where I had grown up’ (03).

It is postulated that spending formative years in Old Town is contended to shape future migration decisions, and findings from the household survey begin to uncover the importance of considering the entire biography of migrants and the role of familial ties to place within the migration decision-making process:

‘I think we both knew living in Old Town was inevitable. London was the obvious choice to move to as an artist just starting out but too expensive. I grew up in Old Town, so me and my partner were keen on pursuing the idea of coming back to it. It's a promising place for artists and the town is a good mixture of interesting people’ (29).

For some post-2001 in-migrants, ‘family’ is no longer present in Old Town. Rather, it can be said that familial histories and the idea of ‘roots’ is a significant appeal; migrants drawing on personal histories and attachments to Old Town established through family-ties to place:

‘My mother's side had family here, so I had roots here, so knowing I was coming back to that was nice’ (05).

6.9.5 Quality of time, not quantity of time

This section examines how and why post-2001 in-migrants are re-evaluating the ways in which time with family and friends is spent. The survey reveals that post-2001 in-migrants increasingly place an emphasis on the quality of time spent with other family members and friends, rather than quantity. The discussion will highlight how, for many post-2001 in-migrants, outcomes of migration place particular time-space constraints on familial relationships and social relations. It is argued, however, that migrants often use time in different ways, and the quality of time with family and friends is often considered enhanced.

Often, in-migrants that maintain links with place of origin through work-related commuting practices note how time at home with family is limited. The following quote illustrates how this is negotiated through utilising time at weekends more fully, and exploiting place-specific characteristics and qualities, such as physical environment, to facilitate this:

‘The commute is a pain, he leaves early and gets home quite late but we compensate for that on the weekends as we live by the beach, practically on the water, so in a way, even though we spend less time together during the week, we find other time and make the most of it’ (59).

It is argued that although time with family and friends is often constrained by changes to employment regimes, in-migrants increasingly value limited time together, rather than the routine, 'everyday' time that unfolds in place of origin:

'We've ended up having less time to spend as a couple, but the time we do get is more precious and we enjoy it more, rather than what we had in London, living and working together, living in each other's pockets' (27).

Similarly, limited time with family and friends as relationships are practised over distance, arguably imbues time together with greater value, and is further enhanced by socio-cultural and physical characteristics of Old Town:

'We don't see my partners children's most days like we used to, but when they do come down to see us, we're by the seaside, in a good community, so we have a better kind of time together on the weekends and during the school holidays compared to that everyday kind of time' (29).

In-migrants actively seek to find time with family and friends, and particular employment regimes, such as being freelance, enable migrants to exploit the flexibility:

'We have a little less time together during the week if I have to spend time in the office, the commute is a couple of hours at least once I've got on the tube and the train and walked home, but because I'm freelance we can meet for lunch sometimes, use the time we do have in different ways' (33).

Gains made by moving to Old Town, such as larger properties with increased space, also allows some migrants to spend longer, but more infrequent, periods of time with family:

'We're not living as near to her [partner's] parents anymore, we don't see them as often, but now although they come to stay less often, it's for longer periods of time as we could afford a bigger house with extra room, so it was a compromise I suppose' (01).

For other post-2001 in-migrants, the opportunity to re-work time that was previously constrained by spatial conditions of their previous place of residence is an appeal. Distinct physical attributes of Old Town, such as proximity to countryside and beach, arguably facilitates a more efficient use of time, which in turn reduces the need to plan and organise how time is spent:

‘Now we use the time we do have in a better way, we don’t have to organise anything far in advance, don’t have to get in the car to go and do something, we go for walks on the beach or the hills’ (06).

The following quote further illustrates time constraints associated with residing in particular locales, and being socio-spatially isolated or ‘cut off’. Rather than ‘squeezing out time to spend together’, it can be said that post-2001 in-migrants snatch spare time ‘here and there’ that previously would have been spent ‘getting there and back’:

‘We lived in a village in Lincolnshire, we were quite cut off really...everyone kept themselves to themselves, I think we felt quite isolated. There was a post office and village shop and all that but to get anywhere you had to drive. Here, we don’t have to get into the car to go and do something, or squeeze out some time to spend together, if we have a spare half hour here, we’ll go for a walk or down to the beach...that half an hour back in Lincolnshire would have been just getting there and back’ (11).

It is contended that, for some in-migrants, socio-cultural qualities of place of origin encourage migrants to use time to exploit the cultural ambience and opportunities on offer. The following quote demonstrates how the expectation to ‘be out seeing and doing things’ is alleviated subsequent to a move to Old Town, and in-migrants often feel able to re-claim time, which in turn facilitates a less stressful way of life:

‘Our time is our own here, there’s more freedom, less stress, we don’t feel we have to be doing something all the time like in London, where you feel that you should be out seeing and doing things 24/7’ (20).

6.9.6 Improving quality-of-life for children

Providing an enhanced quality-of-life for children is cited as a fundamental concern for many post-2001 in-migrants. Findings from the household survey support the assertion within previous sections that the family is increasingly being placed at the centre of migration decision-making processes. For many post-2001 in-migrants, safety, independence for older children and social and physical quality-of-life are key concerns, and, in some instances, are tied to a desire for a bigger property to accommodate a growing family that would have been unaffordable in a previous place of residence, London in particular. The following quote illustrates how a desire for a larger

property is a motive for migration, alongside other appeals such as escaping the 'rat race' and stress associated with living and working in the city:

'Our house was too small, when we had children the place was suddenly bursting at the seams. We wanted to get out of London, out of the grind of it all, the routine, the rat race. Living on the coast is the complete opposite of Kentish Town in every way imaginable' (35).

Findings from the household survey commonly reveal imaginings of Old Town as an idealised place in which children can grow up. Popular understandings of Old Town as a close-knit community which offers stability, a sense of belonging and an escape from the city are all central to parents' accounts of their children's lives in Old Town. These representations of Old Town are arguably increasingly significant in the migration decision-making processes of post-2001 in-migrants:

'We were fed up with the small house we had, with two children about to start walking. It was an expensive area [Camden, London] for what was on offer and had become too trendy over the years; there was no community and a bit rough in places' (01).

Improvements in physical quality-of-life generally, such as local environment and time spent outside, are also a powerful draw for many post-2001 in-migrants. It is argued that physical enticements are particularly pertinent for in-migrants with children; associating life by the sea and a more active lifestyle with an improved quality-of-life for children, as well as health and well-being. The following quote demonstrates how an enhanced physical environment, alongside rural characteristics such as 'authentic' village life and local shops, improved social networks, and being nearer to family are considered beneficial for children:

'A move was the best thing for the children; we'd be out of Camden, nearer to the kid's grandparents. We'd have a better quality-of-life by the sea, outside more, more active, getting involved in proper village life, shopping locally; I'd have a better social circle of other mums' (01).

The socio-cultural conditions and physical environment in previous place of residence are also a significant factor. In-migrants from city or urban spaces often express heightened concern over the social-cultural and physical characteristics of their place of origin. For many post-2001 in-migrants 'down from London', for example, the city is often imagined to be dirty, noisy, busy and unsafe.

The desire for a perceivable 'safer' environment, playing outside, and community features significantly in the migration decision-making process for post-2001 in-migrants. For those in-migrants that are at a family-forming stage, a romantic vision based on a nostalgia for a past way of life which is 'remembered' as purer, simpler and closer to nature, is drawn upon during the migration decision-making process (Short, 1991; Bell, 1992). Personal experiences and memories of walking to school and playing outside often construct rural space as safe and detached from the dirt and dangers of city living:

'We got married and wanted to start a family eventually, didn't want to do that In London. I grew up in the countryside, I played outside, walked to school, I wanted that for my kids House prices were insane as well, couldn't afford the kind of place we had in mind' (37).

For other post-2001 in-migrants in the stages of family forming, it is argued that distinct socio-cultural qualities and support networks within Old Town offer an enhanced degree of comfort and security at a potentially uncertain stage of life. The following quote illustrates how neighbourhood and friendship is associated with Old Town, rather than other, more urban spaces, and is expected to provide an additional tier of security other than familial networks during times of stress:

'I knew that moving around was part of his job, the travel has always been great, very exciting, but this time, with me being pregnant, it was different; I wanted somewhere comfortable and safe and tranquil. With him working long hours too, I wanted to have neighbours and friends, and I just don't think that happens easily in London.... I just didn't want to bring up our first child in the city...it's so expensive, and busy and noisy' (59).

A significant appeal for post-2001 in-migrants is closely tied to perceptions of Old Town as a 'safe space', underpinned by family-orientated community and neighbourhood, in which children are free to play outside and watched over by other residents:

'It's a great place to raise our son, a family oriented, where kids can all play outside with each other, a place where people know their neighbours and a safe place where people look out for each other' (32).

Post-2001 in-migrants often anticipate the needs of children as they mature, such as a desire for independence. Concerns for children are again closely tied to safety, and in-migrants consider the 'stability' provided by the community integral to this:

‘The kids were getting older, and we both agreed that we wanted somewhere where they could go out and be safe, and we have one due in March as well’ (51).

‘I wanted a change more than him [partner]. I was thinking 6, 7 years down the line when the kids would be wanting to get the bus by themselves without me tagging along, I wanted more stability, more community’ (63).

The desire for children to grow up in a safe and supportive community is commonly cited as central to the migration decision-making process. Physical safety, for example residing on or near busy roads is an important factor, alongside the desire to feel embedded in neighbourhood and community:

‘Like I said, it was pretty crowded, busy, lots of cars on our street , but it was getting easier to feel more isolated, not in terms of friends, but neighbours, the community, we didn’t want our son growing up there’ (61).

Despite many post-2001 in-migrants placing the well-being of children at the centre of migration decisions, findings from the household survey show that the provision of high-quality school education is not a major appeal. Of the 60% of post-2001 in-migrants that have children, 37% remarked that the move has impacted detrimentally in terms of quality of school education, whilst 16% found that the move has impacted beneficially on quality of school education. Qualitative data from the household survey reveals that there is perceived difference in quality of education in primary and secondary schools:

‘Education is pretty poor here. Primaries seem ok, but there is something going on in the secondary schools here, with a 12% a-c pass rate in one’ (54).

For many post-2001 in-migrants, the quality of secondary schools is an issue. Whilst local primary schools are considered to offer relatively good quality education, the reputation of secondary schools often causes concern amongst in-migrants:

‘A couple of things I was worried about were schools and seeing friends. My kids are in primary [school] at the moment and it’s a good school, but the secondary’s have a bad reputation’ (04).

To negotiate varying quality of education in Hastings, some post-2001 in-migrants place children into private education. Although this can be said to reflect the relative affluence of in-coming migrants, the following quote also illustrates how in-migrants are prepared to make significant financial commitments to facilitate a move to Old Town, and ensure that children receive high quality education:

‘Our only issue was schools; there are no good schools in Hastings, especially secondary schools. We put our two into private school and the fees are a chunk of our budget, but it’s worth it, the school they go to is excellent’ (63).

The relative difference in private school fees in Hastings and surrounding areas, and those in other locales, such as London, is noted by those in-comers that have placed children in private education. The following quote highlights a number of positive changes within the household following a move to Old Town, and explicitly points to the benefits of a ‘better school with cheaper fees’:

‘We have different priorities now, not eating out 4 times a week, more space, better schools with cheaper fees. Our son went to a state school but was viewed as a problem child there, I think it’s because he was bored, now he’s thriving at a private school’ (10).

It may be argued that, despite perceptions of low quality secondary education in Hastings, a relatively low proportion of post-2001 in-migrants consider a move as impacting positively on quality of education. It can be said that this is linked to a transition from state schools in place of origin to private schools in place of destination. Those children attending private school in Hastings and surrounding areas underpins the suggestion that post-2001 in-migrants are a sub-group of in-coming middle-class migrants who share a relatively privileged background (Butler, 2001). The above quotes indicate that some in-comers are exploiting comparatively lower private schools fees in Hastings and surroundings areas, particularly compared to London-based schools

6.9.7 The importance of the life-course

It is contended that motivations and implications of mobility vary over the life-course and ‘up and down the urban hierarchy’ (Plane *et al.*, 2005: 15314); the spatio-temporal dimensions of family migration arguably shaped by significant life changes (Odland and Shumway, 1993; Wagner, 1993). Changes in family composition and household arrangement (e.g. the rise of dual-career households and cohabitation) have arguably emphasised the role of life-course events in shaping migratory and mobility patterns of families (Geist and McManus, 2008).

The timing of life-course events in relation to migration is also contended to shape post-migration outcomes for the family; the causal order of life-course and migration events fundamental to advancing migration theory (Mulder, 2003).

Findings from the household survey begin to reveal that family status, more so than economic status, influence the timing and direction of migration at particular stages in life-course. The following quote illustrates how family factors steer processes of migration in particular ways for post-2001 in-migrants. The presence of children and age are noted as significant motives of migration:

‘I was worried initially about losing contact with friends, but most of them are moving out of London they have kids anyway, I think people reach a particular ‘life stage; having kids or not having kids is the point between deciding to stay somewhere or deciding to move on. If me and my wife were in our twenties, we might have stayed, but in our early forties, with kids, we began to think about leaving London’ (10).

For other post-2001 in-migrants, the conditions of the city, as a place for ‘young people’ encourages migration out of urban spaces at a certain time of life-course. The following quote demonstrates how the achievement of particular work-related goals also reinforces a desire to leave the city and begin a ‘new’ stage of life:

‘We felt that we’d got all we could out of living in London; I think it’s a place for when you’re younger. We’d set up a successful business and it was being run by people we’d brought it, we felt ready for something new’ (32).

Making a ‘break’ from the past at a certain age is also identified by post-2001 in-migrants. Again, leaving the city and / or urban spaces is associated with reaching a certain life-course stage:

‘London was getting me down, had to make a break, a big one, came quite out of the blue, just suddenly wanted to be out of it all. A lot of friends had moved out of London, seemed like people reached a certain age then left’ (66).

Rather than micro-economic and income explanations as key influences on the timing of migration and post-migration outcomes for the family, findings from the household survey begin to reveal how ‘reaching a particular life stage’ is a primary, rather than peripheral concern within the context of family migration. It is contended that place-specific qualities and characteristics of certain

locales, for example more urban spaces, are argued to intersect with personal, family-level concerns, and impact on the migration decision-making process in particular ways.

Examining the intersection of life-course events, such as marriage, child birth and child rearing, separation and divorce, with migration events, may further reveal the social and cultural outcomes of mobility as centred within the family, providing an alternative family-level explanation (De Jong and Graefe (2008).

6.9.8 Enhancing quality-of-life

A key set of factors which underpin post-2001 in-migrants' decision to move to Old Town are connected to quality-of-life concerns. The potential to enhance social, cultural and / or physical quality-of-life is of particular significance, and includes elements such as community and friendships, and physical setting and coastal environs. It is contended that attaining desired lifestyles, and wider quality-of-life appeals, are becoming increasingly embedded within family migration processes:

'We moved mainly for lifestyle reasons, quality-of-life. I first came across Old Town when my dad took me to the coast on my birthday, and we had fish and chips on the beach. You'll probably think it sounds daft but something I really noticed was the air, how different it was to London. We have a slice of classic English seaside here, with the fishing community, fish and chips, pebble beach' (04).

The survey identified that many post-2001 in-migrants consider an enhanced quality-of-life to be increasingly accessible and attainable for a range of people, rather than exclusively for affluent groups. The following quote suggests that perceptions of quality-of-life within migration processes are becoming increasingly broad; including 'other' social and cultural dimensions, rather than benefits generated by economic well-being in isolation:

'We have a much better quality-of-life here. Quality-of-life used to be exclusively for rich people, now it means having different things that money can't necessarily buy, you can be poor and happy I think' (29).

Establishing a sense of community and engaging with local social networks emerged as a major appeal. The desire to form meaningful relationships is particularly evident and a powerful enticement for post-2001 in-migrants, many of whom have originated from London. The following quote reveals a desire for 'authentic' intimacies of relationships, rather than cursory exchanges, and

emphasises the increasing importance of familiarity with neighbours and inclusion in social networks:

‘It’s lovely to be proper friends with your neighbours and not just exchange pleasantries. In London, everyone kept themselves to themselves’ (37).

‘Much less of a community, everyone led very separate lives. You’d say hello to your neighbours, it was all pleasantries really’ (23).

It is contended that community and neighbourhood networks in Old Town engender distinct forms of familiarity and continuity that are in-migrants consider lacking or absent in place of origin. An enhanced sense of community and ‘familiarity with people’ is argued to be underpinned by particular social encounters and experiences in Old Town, and is a significant appeal for many post-2001 in-migrants:

‘We’d reached the point where we’d be getting home and that was it. No socialising with neighbours or seeing what was going on in the area. There was such a lack of community. People were nice enough, don’t get me wrong, but there was no familiarity with people’ (64).

‘There are quirky people, a close knit community, familiarity with those around you. All of that gives the town a very unique feel which is hard to replicate anywhere else. A lot of things come together or clash to make Old Town what it is and people are proud of this and want to protect it’ (39).

An enhanced sense of belonging to people and place is contended to be underpinned by embedded socio-cultural structures within the town, which, in turn, are reinforced by distinct forms of tradition, heritage and history. Both personal histories and biographies of long-term residents, and wider historical discourses, are contended to imbue Old Town with a sense of ‘where it has been’, and ‘where it is going’, and provide in-migrants with a sense of belonging to complex community networks that are grounded by rich local histories and traditions:

‘There is an undeniable community spirit...it has character, history, a sense of tradition, a sense of belonging...the town knows where it has been, and knows where it’s going...people want to be involved, they have stories to tell about living here’ (19).

It can be said that various physical characteristics and elements of the built environment encourage particular social encounters, interactions and experiences. The layout of Old Town and proximity to neighbours is argued to encourage compromise and co-operation amongst residents. The following quote also highlights how it is both long-term residents and in-comers are considered integral to how place and identity is shaped:

'No one is isolated, everyone knows their neighbours, they never dismiss you, the people here can be your best friend if you want them to be, and they'll look out for you. There's an accepted level of compromise as we live so close together, we have to resolve issues or else it would be horrible living here...this is why the Old Town is so successful...it's the people who live here, and who come here that makes the place what it is' (41).

Findings from the household survey reveal that the desire for 'authentic' relationships based on mutual care and reciprocity, is central to post-2001 in-migrant's understanding and expectation of 'community'. The following quote acknowledges that whilst 'close knit' social networks can sometimes underpin less positive socio-cultural conditions, ultimately they are perceived as providing 'genuine' support in times of distress or ill-health, in addition to familial support networks:

'Everyone knows each other which had good and bad things about it. One of the good things is that people genuinely care. When I first moved here from London I got meningitis and was quite ill, and so many people called round to ask how I was, even people who neither me or my mum had met before. There are people from all walks of life here; some right characters' (57).

In addition, qualitative data from the household survey reveals how enhanced social quality-of-life and emotional well-being can permeate through wider familial relations and household in positive ways:

'My wife is now a happier, more socially minded person now we've moved which is good for us a couple. She's involved with the community, she volunteers, and if she's happy, I'm happy' (08).

Further evidence supports the assertion that post-2001 in-migrants increasingly assign greater value to community, neighbourhood and social relations, than to other, more tangible appeals. Embedded in the following quotes are discourses of security, familiarity, continuity and social

cohesiveness that are drawn on by post-2001 in-migrants during the migration decision-making process. Post-2001 in-migrants often corroborate a sense of enhanced social engagement and quality-of-life by making comparisons with the socio-cultural and physical conditions of previous place of residence. Common themes include a sense of social isolation, cultural conflict, spatial dislocation from both place and people, and parochial nature of smaller towns and villages.

Post-2001 in-migrants often construct material and social space in rural, urban and suburban locales in particular ways. In-migrants originating from rural locales commonly note the socio-spatial conditions of the 'village', and consider them central to the migration decision-making process. Peace and quiet are considered hallmarks of the 'proper' English village, yet in-migrants often cite this as potentially negative. The following quote illustrates how feeling isolated from both people and place encourages a move out the 'village':

'It was very rural, very quiet, quite isolated. You had to get in your car if you wanted to go anywhere. It was a proper little English village, but everyone kept themselves to themselves' (06).

Less tangible factors such as feeling 'out of place' in rural environs are also contended to influence the timing and direction of migration. The following quote illustrates how formal institutions and informal rituals and routines often constrained community and sense of belonging, rather than enhancing sense of community and belonging:

'It was too quiet there, they mowed their grass and washed their cars on a Sunday and then it was down the pub or to the W. I...we felt out of place there' (08).

A lack of diversity in terms of material and social dimensions of the 'traditional' village is also noted, alongside a 'claustrophobic' sense of place engendered by residing in a small village. The following quote demonstrates how post-2001 in-migrants draw upon rural characteristics of Old Town which construct it as 'village-like', yet lacks the 'disadvantages' of the 'typical' village:

'It's [Old Town] like a village but without the disadvantage of living in a small village in the traditional sense...where it's small, claustrophobic, there's no variety and it's too horsey!' (28).

The role of the church as 'physically, historically at the core' (Matless, 1994: 77), and institutions such the W. I (Women's Institute) within the village milieu, are often considered integral to

constructions of 'village life'. The following quote demonstrates how the values and behaviour of such institutions can potentially shape social relations within the village in negative ways:

'There was nothing going on there, we felt isolated living there, in a small village but not knowing anyone at all well. It was far too conservative, the church and the W. I were the foundation of the village...it would have been a better place if they weren't there' (43).

Similarly, post-2001 in-migrants from the city and urban spaces note how socio-cultural and physical conditions of place of origin impact on the migration decision-making process. A desire to escape the city was pervasive in the decision-making for many in-migrants, and findings from the household survey suggest that post-2001 in-migrants originating from London in particular have certain concerns and motives of moving shaped by residing in city spaces. The following quotes highlight post-2001 dissatisfaction with the city, themes of which are contended to influence the timing and direction of migration of particular social groups, and are further examined in Chapter 7.

Findings from the household survey reveal that for many post-2001 in-migrants moving from London to Old Town, the timing and direction of a move is increasingly influenced by non-economic factors: concerns surrounding physical environment, quality-of-life, health and well-being of children, and community becoming fundamental to the migration decision-making process. The following quote demonstrates how moving to a particular locale has often been shaped by work-related issues, whereas as contemporary trajectories of family migration out of the city are increasingly underpinned by concerns surrounding safety, physical quality-of-life and escaping the 'rat race':

'Streatham was busy, dirty, getting more and more violent. It had no community, we didn't know our neighbours, we always worried when the girls went and played, met their friends...it had become increasingly violent, there were two stabbings just before we moved. It was a mistake to move there, you know, living there just to work, it was a necessity at the time for Brian's work, and it was the rat race, things change, and we wanted out' (13).

It is contended that socio-cultural conditions of city spaces such as London construct particular experiences of place and space for residents. The following quote illustrates how post-2001 in-migrants increasingly place opportunity for neighbourhood, community, and enhanced social quality-of-life at the centre of migration decisions:

‘My husband was happy enough to stay in London; it was me who wanted out more I think. I wanted change. We had a nice house but the area...we'd turned into people who as soon as they got in from school or work locked the door and never ventured out, and as the kids were getting older they'd want to start going out, being more independent’ (63).

A desire to escape the ‘daily grind’ associated with rigid employment regimes is often noted by post-2001 in-migrants:

‘We were just fed up with it all, the daily grind, the traffic, the noise; we didn’t want that life’ (33).

Often, a particular event, such as a significant change in work practices, highlights other aspects of residing in the city that in-migrants are relatively ‘content’ with, and reveals a wider disillusionment with living, working and playing in the city that encourages potential migrants to consider a move out of London:

‘I first came to Hasting years ago to buy a property, but we weren’t looking for a new home then. We were relatively content in London, but after my business took a turn, we began to think about moving out, the joy had gone really. We were living in a two bedroom flat in Whitechapel; great location, huge mortgage. We don’t often miss living there’ (10).

Similarly, some post-2001 in-migrants note how perceptions of the qualities of urban spaces, such as ethnic diversity, have altered over time. For example, expressions of ‘multiculturalism’ in the urban setting of the contemporary city are often considered to encourage conflict rather than social cohesiveness (c. f. Gilroy, 2000), and reflects the changing politics of multiculturalism and citizenship in the UK context (Shukra *et al.*, 2004):

‘It [London] was gritty, noisy, dirty, urban, diverse, but sometime not in the best sense - I was raised there so I’ve seen a lot of changes over the years, the whole multiculturalism thing has gotten out of hand, now its cause for argument, and there's a lot of anger in the air’ (33).

In-comers from city spaces, such as London, often note how physical and social quality-of-life has been enhanced by a move; citing the quality of social encounters, relationships and experiences in Old Town as key outcomes of a move:

‘It’s a completely different experience to living in London; better physical environment, different kind of people and a better relationship with people too. It’s a very laid back way of life’ (38).

It is contended that in-migrants from London are a relatively affluent social group, often capitalising on the relative price gap in property markets in London and Old Town. This arguably those in-migrants moving out of London to escape the city when desired, and allows a greater degree of choice of destination:

‘We were beginning to feel a bit claustrophobic, we had the money to go elsewhere, be a bit picky about where we wanted to go, we were just weary of London’ (34).

In-migrants from suburban locales also note how place of origin often provides limited community networks and opportunity to acknowledge or interact with neighbours. The following quote illustrates how in-migrants from suburban spaces consider local community and ‘character’ key appeals:

‘Where we were before, there was no community, people got in their cars in the morning to leave for work and you wouldn’t talk or acknowledge them at all. There were no local shops; it was a very quiet area in terms of interaction with other people. The best thing about living in Old Town is the community spirit, the character of the place, the history’ (05).

For other post-2001 in-migrants, experiences of residing in suburban or commuter towns are often characterised by a relatively transient population, which, in turn, is considered to encourage transient social networks and relationships. It can be suggested here that locales in which movement in and out is closely tied to labour market activities of residents, provide limited social structures and opportunity for residents to engage with neighbours and community more widely:

‘Where we lived before, there was a commute to work, stressful journey, I used to leave early and get home late. It was a busy area for commuters with a very transient population, you’d meet people, meet your neighbours then they’d move on, there wasn’t much of a community there’ (18).

It is argued, however, that some post-2001 in-migrants often consider constructs of 'community' to be grounded in idealised imaginings of place. For this group of in-comers, reconciling romanticised notions of neighbourhood and village life with 'real' experiences of residing in a small, 'close-knit' community is potentially problematic. The following quote illustrates how the expectation to participate in community and engage with other Old Town residents can impinge on personal privacy and restrict time alone:

'The community here is quite close knit, we're quite a small community here, I mean, I don't mean to be crude, but you can't fart without someone knowing. You always have to stop and chat, it can be quite hard to be alone' (50).

'Culturally, Old Town isn't as 'buzzy' as London, it's lacking culturally in some respects.... nearby Hastings has a full 'chav-quota', pregnant mothers who smoke. Most people from London have a 'grass is greener' attitude about moving, but it's not ideal here' (10).

Although the desire for inclusive social networks, enhanced sense of belonging and community, and relationships with neighbours are often considered principle motives of migration, it can be said that Old Town provides distinct forms of 'social-ness' that may, initially, be overwhelming for new-comers. The following quote illustrates how social relations in Old Town may be 'intense' for in-migrants from London, suggesting that social relations in the city are relatively restrained, and residents detached from wider social networks:

'Everyone knows everyone else's business, can be intense if you've come from a place where you don't even know your neighbours, could be a strange experience especially for Londoners' (30).

It is contended that although there is 'strong community', in-comers are often identified as the 'other' against long-established residents, as an 'outsider':

'You can meet anyone on a walk through the town and stop for a chat. You can walk everywhere, there's a strong community, good friends, locals don't seem to care when an outsider come and stays' (43).

Often, post-2001 in-migrants are keen to challenge idealised perceptions of 'community' in Old Town, and emphasise that integration and acceptance are contingent on the actions and behaviour

of in-comers. The following quote illustrates how imaginings of community and belonging in the town must be reconciled with more realistic expectations:

‘The community isn't really as close-knit as everyone thinks. People coming in expect too much to happen; I don't think Old Town needs that kind of influx of people. It took a good year for us to settle in, you have to be sociable, but I can't imagine leaving now’ (51).

The local infrastructure of Old Town is argued to support opportunities for in-migrant to engage more robustly with other residents and local activities. The opportunity to socialise on a local scale and cultivate local social networks is an enticement, and pubs, local restaurants, and clubs and societies transpire as an important appeal for some post-2001 in-migrants:

‘It's more lively for us as a couple, more pubs and places to eat out, and he [partner] doesn't keep having to keep picking our eldest up from town when she sees her friends’ (49).

‘There are good restaurants, pubs, social life and culture. There's a mix of new and old, town and country, busy and quiet’ (06).

‘There's always something going on, nice pubs and bars. It's lovely to have the sea on one side and countryside on the other, always something to do’ (47).

The findings from the survey reveal that particular rules and codes of behaviour underpin social and cultural networks within Old Town, which in-migrants are expected to adhere to. Although traditions such as neighbourhood gossip may often be considered meaningless, within the context of Old Town, ‘chatting’ and casual conversation within familiar social networks arguably conceal practices of observation, surveillance and self-policing within Old Town that shape social relations in particular ways. The following quote from a self-defined ‘born and bred’ local resident offers an insight into a history of informal social engagement within the town:

‘I remember back when the Bourne had shared wash houses, it was very poor around here back then, the women would take all their dirty clothes and soap and go and do the washing, but they never got nothing done as they were too busy gassing and gossiping about who did what, with who and when! [Laughs] But it made everyone involved you see, it was a chance to see people and chat’ (48).

'In this way, contemporary social networks in Old Town re-package this tradition, and construct embedded social structures in more nuanced ways that encourage informal surveillance of residents. The following quote illustrates how 'Old Town gossip' shapes what residents perceive they can or can't 'get away with':

'In London we had neighbours but it's nothing like here. There's quite a bit of Old Town gossip, you can't get away with much here without people asking what you're doing or up to' (57).

The survey also illuminates how casual practices of observation are further utilised to provide informal networks of surveillance, of children in particular. This is a significant appeal for post-2001 in-migrants, who increasingly place the safety and well-being of children at the centre of migration decisions. The following quote vividly illustrates how 'strangers' in Old Town are quickly identified as 'unknown' within social networks characterised by awareness of and familiarity with others.

'It's a great place to bring up kids, I don't have to worry about them going and playing or who they're with, because people know who you and your kids are and they look out for them...if they see my kids talking to anyone they don't know, it's like 'who's that talking to Sarah's kids', strangers are quite noticeable in this town, they're picked up on' (03).

Similarly, it is argued that social networks in Old Town are distinguished from those in other locales by distinct rules, such as children 'knowing' which residents can be asked for drinks when playing outside. It is contended that post-2001 in-migrants perceive life in Old Town for children as removed from a wider culture of 'cotton wool kids', in which 'mothers and fathers are palpably more fearful for their children than they were 30 and 40 years ago...and see dangers lurking on every corner' (The Times, 19/7/2006):

'Everyone knows each other, everyone feeds everyone else's kids, their kids know whose doors they can knock and ask for a drink. It's very different here to anywhere else; parents nowadays are too afraid to let their kids run around outside out of sight' (07).

Often, informal networks of observation and surveillance within Old Town provide in-comers with an enhanced sense of security, and encourage some residents to consider the town as 'self-policing':

‘Everyone knows each other here, which is nice most of the time, because people look out for each other, but sometimes you wish that people didn’t know your business...but There is a sense of security here; people look out for each other. Old Town is self-policing in many ways’ (10).

6.9.9 Counterurban motives and aspirations

For many post-2001 in-migrants, the ambiguous position Old Town occupies on the urban hierarchy is a distinct appeal. The location of the town is argued to be a more indistinct space compared to the rural, or the city, and a place where the divide between town and country is increasingly blurred. Old Town provides many of the benefits associated with the rural such as enhanced physical environment and quality-of-life, but lacks many of the socio-cultural conditions associated with rural spaces, such as self-reliance, isolation and sometimes parochial nature, where ‘the romance of chopping your own wood, keeping chickens and having no neighbors can wear off’ (The Times, 2005). This section examines how many post-2001 in-migrants construct an arguably ambiguous sense of place, and scrutinise the role of ‘rural’, ‘urban’, and ‘coastal’ qualities of Old Town in the context of their own migration decision-making process.

In-migrants often initially identify ‘typically’ rural characteristics and qualities of Old Town, such as access to countryside, ‘close-knit’ community and ‘village life’. The following quotes, however, illustrate that Old Town is not considered a distinctly rural locale. Rather, in-migrants note how other, arguably indistinct qualities shape place in more implicit ways and prevent in-comers from ‘pinning down’ a definitive identity:

‘We wanted somewhere by the sea, that was busy and bustling but had aspects of rural life to it, a community, and we’ve got that here, much more so than in our old village’ (11).

‘It’s a lovely place to live, not urban, not rural, quiet, a mish mash of things’ (19).

‘It’s semi-rural, close to the countryside but not in the country’ (35).

‘It has a close community; it’s a rural place, not too towny, close to countryside and coast, a unique balance of things’ (31).

That Old Town provides many of the desirable elements of rural spaces but retains some urban characteristics such as a 'bustling atmosphere' has led it to be described as an 'urban village' and problematic to classify or label:

'It's an urban village, with a village atmosphere but it's definitely not rural...it's hard to pin down' (24).

Although findings from the household survey suggest that 'rural' qualities are a significant appeal for many post-2001 in-migrants, it is contended that the ambiguity of place-specific characteristics is an enticement for many in-comers, and provides migrants with elements of both rural and urban spaces. The increasing blurring of urban and rural characteristics construct a socio-cultural landscape that offers a 'unique balance of things' in Old Town. This is arguably a significant appeal in itself for post-2001 in-migrants.

'It's a hard place to describe, it's unique, it's everything. It doesn't fit into any category. It's like a village, but it doesn't have that small-minded village mentality, it's very full of interesting people and history and things to get involved with, it's musical, it's magical' (50).

An ambiguous sense of place can be said to encourage in-migrants to perform various identities and express different versions of self:

'It's coastal, kind of rural in that you have the countryside to the east but not very rural because you're still in a town. Quirky community, fun, you can be whatever or whoever you want to be here' (43).

The location of Old Town as both on the coastal margins and on the periphery of a global city region is also argued to shape sense of place for in-migrants in particular ways. The proximity of Old Town to London is discussed further in Chapter 7:

'Being by both the sea and the countryside, it's fairly close to London; we can go back for the weekend. Knowing who lives on your street is good, no one is isolated from each other' (01).

6.9.10 Old Town: engaging with local place

This section explores how processes and outcomes of family migration for post-2001 in-migrants to Old Town are in many ways implicitly framed by the physical qualities of the town. It is contended that the physical characteristics of the town underpin many common points made by in-migrants regarding the socio-cultural appeals and enticements that encourage migration to Old Town, and intrinsically shape experiences of residing in the town. The physical features and characteristics of the landscape are contended to influence the extent to which processes of social, cultural and physical change can unfold. The appeal of an unchanging landscape, characterised by continuity and permanence of place, is a significant appeal for post-2001 in-migrants:

‘Because Old Town sits between two hills it can't be developed, it can never be anything other than what it is right now. This place seduces you in a funny sort of way, and I lean towards anything other than ordinary’ (50).

The findings from the survey show that the physical landscape of Old Town often encourages or reinforces a sense of disconnection from the wider town of Hastings for in-migrants. The natural enclosure of the sea, hills and cliffs is argued to cultivate particular opinions and beliefs concerning the place of Old Town within the wider community (see Plate 6. 3). The physical separation of Old Town from Greater Hastings is contended to encourage a socio-spatial dislocation that shapes in-migrant's sense of belonging. It is argued that recognising how physical conditions shape a sense of separation for in-migrants is key to understanding an ideological sense of detachment from wider Hastings



Plate 6. 3 Old Town enclosed by the sea, West Hill and East Hill

The physical location and environment of Old Town are often considered ‘unique’ by in-migrants, and the ‘natural barrier’ between the town and wider Hastings arguably engenders distinct cultures and behaviour of residents in each locale. Hastings is often identified as the ‘other’ by in-migrants to Old Town, and labelled the ‘main town’. The following quotes illustrate how post-2001 in-migrants distinguish between Old Town and the ‘main’ town of Hastings:

‘Old Town has a very unique geographical position; there is a natural barrier between the town and Hastings...Old Town has its own culture’ (05).

‘Going into the main town? Take your passport...’(70).

The following quote illustrates how perceptions of socio-cultural distinctions, such as moral codes, values and behaviour, cultivate an ‘us and them-ism’ in Old Town and Greater Hastings:

‘Old Town is in close proximity to the main town, with people who can’t be bothered to get off their arses, couldn’t care less about good manners, they litter, the way they behave in public, how they raise their children, I guess you could call it a kind of ‘us and them-ism’’ (17).

Often, post-2001 in-migrants view Old Town as ‘a nice town engulfed by an unpleasant conurbation’ (58), and recognise a difference in the identity, culture and philosophies of those that reside in Old Town and wider Hastings, respectively. The socio-cultural divide between Old Town

and wider Hastings is also evident in various media discourses. Whilst travel publication Lonely Planet describes Hastings as 'run-down, grey and depressing', Old Town is described as 'atmospheric in a decaying sort of way' (1997). Similarly, in local media, the Hastings and St. Leonards Observer portray the 'main' town as 'hard-up Hastings' and 'suicide capital of the South', compared to the 'relaxed atmosphere and scenic surroundings of Old Town. Accordingly, it is contended that post-2001 in-migrants often struggle to reconcile the socio-cultural landscape of Old Town with that of Hastings more widely:

'Old Town is so different from Hastings new town as well; you wouldn't think these two places could exist so close together. There's the chavvy, scummy element in the new town, they're all interbred, not very nice' (57).

The following quote demonstrates how post-2001 in-migrants often construct the 'main' town of Hastings as an unsafe space, one that is defined by undesired behaviours, people and cultures, such as drinking on the streets:

'I do have to go into Hastings sometimes and all it is...it's full of chain bars, people drinking on the streets, it feels threatening' (22).

Post-2001 in-migrants often associate 'bohemian', 'unique' and 'eccentric' qualities with Old Town, rather than attaching them more widely to the wider town of Hastings. 'Traditional' features of Old Town such as character buildings, historic architecture and 'close-knit' community are often considered by post-2001 in-migrants to be underpinned by distinct 'edgy' qualities. The following quotes demonstrate how 'quirky' elements such as 'colourful characters' are perceived by in-migrants to mitigate other, more quaint aspects, yet are often obscured by the potency of traditional practices and values within the town:

'You get the best of both worlds, you're by the sea, it has character buildings, you can walk everywhere but it's not too cheesy, it's got an edge to it, eccentricity' (27).

'It is traditional in terms of architecture, people's attitudes towards living in a community, the fishing families. But it's quirky and can be quite unconventional sometimes with all these colourful characters' (13).

'It's [Old Town] out there! It's quite quirky and quaint but never boring, there's stuff going on all the time, its sociable' (59).

The role of less tangible qualities of place in influencing the direction of migration is vividly illustrated in the following quote. It is argued that post-2001 in-migrants considering a move to the coast often discount other locales such as Brighton and Bexhill, preferring the 'unique feel' of Old Town:

'There was something about this place. Its reputation more widely isn't wonderful, but there is so much history in the town. Historically, seaside towns have been used as a dumping ground for people who are weren't wanted, or other people who wanted out of the cities, and so what if there are a few druggies here, it's the same as in Brighton. I think it all comes together to give the place a unique feel. I didn't want Brighton, I didn't want Bexhill, I mean, that place is a bit like waiting to die isn't it?! I remember Norman Wisdom saying, he said he fell asleep on a train and woke up at Bexhill Station, he thought he'd died and that's where people went!' (50).

The physical layout of Old Town also encourages in-migrants to use public spaces in new ways. The lack of outside space for many properties in the town can be said to encourage residents to utilise other spaces, such as the beach and countryside:

'We did have to compromise on the property; we wanted a garden but ended up with a little yard...but the hills, countryside and beach make up for it' (11).

Findings from the household survey reveal how post-2001 in-migrant representations of coastal spaces are equally diverse and multifaceted. It is contended that expressions of 'real' and 'authentic' coastal/seaside living are perceived by in-comers as increasingly appealing, rather than the sanitised 'chocolate box' surroundings of other coastal environs:

'Rye was too twee for us, it's ok for visitors and tourists, but I wouldn't like to live in a chocolate box, it's just too weird!' (27).

Accordingly, it is argued that 'authentic', place-specific qualities and idiosyncrasies are increasingly drawn on by post-2001 in-migrants within migration decision-making processes. The following quote exemplifies how 'quirky' and 'diverse' qualities of Old Town are considered to be more 'authentic' than those associated with other coastal locales such as Brighton:

'It's very diverse, quaint and quirky, but not in a pretentious, in your face, way like Brighton. We're more low key here, intrinsically odd I think, it's a not a pretence, this place loves quirky people' (34).

Similarly, post-2001 in-migrants often view other locales, such as London and Brighton, as attempting to imitate or replicate more 'authentic' spaces and socio-cultural landscapes. According to some respondents, the 'poncey' socio-cultural landscape of London as highlighted in the following quote, reflects the gentrified landscape of some city spaces:

'Old Town is quite old fashioned, it has a proper high street, local shops, a bakers, a butchers, but not in the same poncey way that London has them, Old Town is trying to be more real' (33).

The opportunity to 'discover' somewhere seemingly 'undiscovered' is also contended to be an important appeal:

'We wanted the country, the sea air, something very different to anywhere in London and undiscovered. The next big thing, the most fashionable place to live is always being written about, talked about, it's more of a proper discovery we've made here' (34).

Comparisons with other seaside locales on the South East coast reveal some of the perceptions of Old Town drawn upon in the migration decision-making process. Whilst Eastbourne is considered to attract conventional retirement migrants, and Brighton has become increasingly gentrified, Old Town 'has potential':

'Eastbourne has too many old people and Brighton is done, it's become everything that it promised to be Old Town has potential, and it's very eclectic' (30).

Representations of the sea are equally diverse, and often grounded in discourses of nature, or the absence of a connection with nature. The active fishing industry within Old Town provides a more 'authentic' link with the sea through the continuance of time-honoured traditions and practices. The relationship between other coastal locales, such as Brighton, and the sea is perceived as less embedded:

'Old Town is wonderful, quirky, eccentric, it's living by the seaside as it should be lived, where life is authentically linked to the sea, not like in Brighton' (20).

In the context of Old Town, the sea is often considered to provide a mutual connection between residents of Old Town, and encourage an enhanced cohesiveness between people and place. The

following quote illustrates how the sea ‘links everyone and everything’, and also points to how in-migrants often form romanticised views of the fishing industry:

‘The links to the sea are wonderful. The fisherman you see out on the beach and then wandering through town too...walking along the high street it’s like you’re in an old-fashioned post-card. It’s full of people who are a bit quirky...but most importantly, it’s the sea...the sea links everything and everyone here together quite nicely’ (50).

The opportunity to reside on the coast steers the migration process in significant ways:

‘My husband wanted to move, he wanted to live by the sea, he loved the sea, and his job meant we could move pretty much anywhere’ (76).

‘I love living by the sea, I’ll really miss it when I go back to London’ (57).

Findings from the household survey also highlight how the desire to re-establish a connection with nature is a key motive for abandoning the city. In-migrants are keen to re-engage with elements of nature, such as seasonality, which are arguably inhibited by the conditions of city spaces. Moving in order to enhance experiences of the natural environment is no longer exclusively for typical ‘back-to-the-land’ counterurbanisers. Contemporary in-migrants are increasingly adopting elements of counter-culture, such as a more ‘simple’ and less stressful way of living, and rejecting others:

‘A big part of why we moved here is because my partner felt he had no connection to nature anymore. He missed the changing of the seasons which he thinks you just don’t notice when you’re living in the city all the time, which probably makes him sound like a right hippy! But he’s not, he’d just had enough of living in London, I think he just wanted something different, simpler’ (57).

The sea as natural and wholesome is closely tied to an enhanced quality-of-life for children, and offers, multiple opportunities to be ‘free’:

‘Being so close to the sea is great, the kids like fishing, swimming, going to the beach, its freedom here’ (49).

6.9.11 Second homes

Findings from the household survey suggest that pre-2001 in-migrants are concerned about the proportion of in-migrants to Old Town purchasing second homes or holiday home, and the effect this 'part-time' population will have on wider social structures and community networks within the town. Interviews with local estate agents (see Chapter 5) reveal, however that the outside demand for second homes is perceived as relatively limited:

'People are buying holiday homes, lets, and second homes, but it's not happening as commonly as many people think. Maybe fifteen, twenty percent will be sold as second homes and holiday homes. In the summer months here it's a lot more popular, but in winter things get very quiet' (EA1).

The following quote illustrates how emerging networks of in-comers to Old Town with ties in place of origin are encouraging others from the same locale to select Old Town as a holiday destination. Old Town as positioned on the margin of a global city region is also argued to entice in-comers from particular places, such as London, who are attracted by the relatively short travel time from the city to the coast:

'We wanted a second home somewhere, somewhere near or on the water, and somewhere that didn't involve a long trip. The trip from London to here is about 2 hours and we're used to that now. A lot of our friends had actually moved here full-time, so that's another reason why we go this place' (45).

In some instances, using a second home as a part-time residence encouraged in-migrants to transition toward full-time residency:

'We were coming down quite often, most weekends, sometimes for 3, sometimes 4 days a week and it became a pain having to go back and forth all the time, was silly really, so we decided jointly to move down here properly' (58).

6.9.12 Downsizing/downshifting?

'Buying bigger and better at every rung is the standard route, but there comes a time when a move in the other direction starts to look more appealing...costs of maintenance, worries over security and the desire for a more simple and stress-free style of living are all common motivators for downsizing' (The Times, 30/10/2005).

For some post-2001 in-migrants, the opportunity to downsize is a significant appeal. Although 'downsizing' is often associated with reducing the internal room size and size of property generally, post-2001 in-migrants often refer to 'downsizing' socio-cultural dimension, in terms of fewer responsibilities, less stress, and more time available to spend with family and friends:

'We wanted to move to a location where the environment was healthy; air was clean, where the pace of life was slower. We have downsized in a way; we have a smaller house, there's less to take care of, there's less stress and more time together, we take long walks on the beach' (18).

Although the above quote illustrates that some in-migrants refer to 'downsizing' in terms of reducing size of property and relaxed lifestyle, the following quotes show that, for other in-migrants, this is not necessarily synonymous with 'winding down' in other areas of their lives. Often, a move to downsize, or perhaps more accurately 'downshift', reflects a desire to enhance social quality-of-life at a particular stage of life-course, yet without the traditional traits of retirement or semi-retirement:

'We moved November 2007, we wanted to downsize. We knew we wanted the South East coast and looked in Eastbourne, Bexhill, Worthing, then came to Hastings and fell in love with Old Town. The other places were a bit old for us, and even though most of our friends back home are semi-retired, or early retired, we thought there's no point moving all that way to a place where the people are like the people from back home...we wanted to downsize yes, but not wind down' (11).

Similarly, the desire for a 'different' rather than 'slower' way of living that is defined by a more 'laid back and relaxed' lifestyle, is demonstrated in the following quote:

'My wife initially made the decision to move and I accepted it as there was nothing going on in Ashdown Forest, and we both wanted a different pace of life, not necessarily slower as that was what we definitely didn't want, but more laid back, relaxed, a different lifestyle. So I didn't need much convincing, I think I'm the more malleable person of the partnership, I do what I'm told, and as long as she's happy, I'm happy' (15).

6.10 Comparing pre-2001 and post-2001 migrants

Preliminary analysis of household survey data reveals that the major difference between pre- and post- 2001 migration in Old Town is contingent on social and cultural motives, aspirations, values and preferences. This finding consolidates the interpretation of a migration juncture into Old Town, as discussed in Chapter 5.

In summary, Chapter 6 has sought to analyse the findings of the survey to expose the processes underpinning increasingly diverse and complicated flows of long-distance in-migration to Old Town, Hastings. Examining the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of post-2001 in-migrants and pre-2001 in-migrants, as well as drawing extensively on qualitative data, reveals differences, and some similarities between the processes and outcomes of migration practices for each migrant sub-group. The findings point to the ways in which the factors underpinning contemporary family migration are becoming more complex and complicated, and reveal the emergence of a particular sub-group of in-migrants that are steering processes of urban change and gentrification in Old Town in distinct and complex ways.

The household survey has revealed how many post-2001 in-migrants are increasingly willing to accept losses in realms that traditionally require gains in order to make migration practices 'beneficial' or 'worthwhile'. Defining 'benefit' in previous studies (Sjaastad, 1962; Mincer, 1978) of family migration in terms of earnings and long-term returns has often reduced the decision to move and the potential 'gains' and 'losses' to a primarily economic analysis (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Lansing and Morgan, 1967). Findings from the household survey, however, reveal that conventional gains such as salary, employment opportunities and status are increasingly considered by post-2001 in-migrants as secondary within the decision-making process if there is an opportunity to gain in other ways. Whilst economic approaches to migration behaviour remain pertinent, it appears that new importance is being assigned to cultural concerns, desires and motives that have perhaps remained at the periphery of migration studies, such as time with family and friends, flexible work regimes and enhanced physical environment.

An emerging emphasis within the migration decision-making process on the potential to gain in other areas, such as socio-cultural quality-of-life, family relations and physical environment, can therefore engender other insights into long-distance family migration, and reveal how non-economic, less quantifiable considerations are increasingly steering the trajectory of long-distance family migration in diverse and distinct ways. Moreover, how and why post-2001 in-migrants are re-evaluating the importance of loss and gain within the migration decision-making process is also

fundamental to understanding more fully, the circumstances, dynamics and trajectories of long-distance family migration.

In order to facilitate gains in other realms, it was found that post-2001 in-migrants are adopting particular strategies; most strikingly through changes to employment regimes. Although previous studies have emphasised the importance of job-related reasons for long-distance move, empirical evidence has revealed how moving solely to facilitate career opportunities and employment practices is becoming less significant for many post-2001 in-migrants. Rather, post-2001 in-migrants are altering previous work practices to allow other concerns to emerge and lead processes of migration, and the opportunity for more family-friendly and flexible labour practices was a key appeal. The potential for losses associated with a change in employment conditions was often intended or anticipated by this sub-group of in-migrants and accepted if gains could be made in other ways. In contrast, pre-2001 in-migrants were more likely

Although the concept of psychological losses, such as family and friends, is well established (Mincer, 1978), the findings of the household survey suggest that post-2001 in-migrants are increasingly re-working social relations that are by necessity practised over time and space, to ensure the effects of such 'losses' do not persist beyond initial stages of migration. In doing so, this sub-group of in-migrants are exploiting distinct gains made in other areas of their lives subsequent to moving, such as larger properties, and enhanced socio-cultural and physical environment.

Placing the family at the front and centre of migration practices emerged as a key appeal for many post-2001 in-migrants. Family and family-relations have emerged as an important motive for many post-2001 in-migrants moving into Old Town. It has been demonstrated that many post-2001 seek to be closer to family, or return to family roots. Previous studies of family migration have tended to understate the importance of familial relations, and findings from the household survey suggest that this issue is increasingly significant for contemporary family migrants. Importantly, evidence suggests that expressions of familial issues and ties are uneven. Whilst some post-2001 in-migrants moved to be closer to extended family such as grandparents, or children that had moved subsequent to divorce or separation, other in-migrants were moving into Old Town to return to where family had once been, or return to the place in which they had spent their childhood. The appeal of returning to family or familial roots was often tied to events such as preparing for family forming or reaching a particular stage in life-course.

For pre-2001 in-migrants, findings from the household point to how life-course events within the family more widely are intertwined with migration decisions; significant events such as dependent

children leaving the family home and / or a partner retiring shaping dimensions of mobility. The desire to 'wind down' at a later stage of life-course, rather than retire also shapes the timing of migration for this sub-group of family migrants.

In addition, enhancing quality-of-life for children was a significant motive for post-2001 in-migrants, further supporting the assertion that the family is increasingly being placed at the centre of migration decision-making-processes. The appeal of improving quality-of-life for children was often grounded in discourses of safety and physical well-being, tied to perceivably enhanced social and physical conditions. Post-2001 in-migrants 'down from London' in particular cited the socio-cultural and physical conditions of their previous place of residence to endorse their decision to move to Old Town. Accordingly, post-2001 in-migrants were more likely to move at a pre-family forming stage, or during initial stages of family forming when children are relatively young. In contrast, pre-2001 in-migrants were found to be more mobile at a later stage in their life-course, and considered the opportunity to downshift rather than 'wind down' or retire a significant appeal.

Despite the initial decision to move prompted in most cases by one partner independently, the findings associated with choice of destination, key household decisions and dynamics of power within the household suggest that subsequent to the prospect of migration, processes of decision-making and roles within the household are based on mutual processes of negotiation and compromise. This suggests that gender dynamics within the household and migration decision-making process more widely are perhaps becoming more egalitarian, with no one partner or member of the household expected to make particular sacrifices to allow the move to go ahead.

Findings from the household survey expose the complex factors that link processes of gentrification on the coastal margins and counterurban migration. The desires, actions and behaviour of post-2001 in-migrants 'down from London' in particular, may have initiated processes of coastal gentrification more synonymous with other South East coastal environs such as Brighton. Important here are representations of Old Town, the cultural positioning of Old Town as a fishing village that sits at the periphery of a global city region, and how imaginings of the town are beginning to construct an enduring association with alternative lifestyles by the sea and in-migration of affluent social groups seeking enhanced socio-cultural and physical well-being.

In conclusion, this chapter has revealed that migration into Old Town, Hastings is a complex process, involving two distinct migration flows of differing social groups.

7 'Migrant stories' and 'moving the family to Old Town, Hastings'

7.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the main themes of migration that were illuminated in Chapter 6, and explores the socio-cultural and economic motives that underpin processes of in-migration to Old Town, Hastings. Based upon findings from the household survey (see Chapter 6), the discussion focuses exclusively on post-2001 in-migrants. It is argued that post-2001 family migrants have distinct social, cultural and economic motives for migration that differentiate contemporary migration flows from pre-2001 migration practices into Old Town.

In the context of Old Town, evidence is presented which suggests that the traditional economic realm of long-distance family migration is increasingly being permeated by practices of unconventionality. Key factors here include new employment regimes, commuting practices, and work-life balances that allow in-migrants to place the family at the 'front and centre of migration decisions' (see Cooke, 2008). It is contended that location-specific appeals and cultural aspects are steering the trajectory of migration for long-distance family migrants in particular ways that offer an insight into the fluid migration practices in Old Town. Accordingly, it is asserted that cultural motives are an integral component of the internal geographies of migration within Old Town. To disentangle how long-distance family migrants construct narratives of mobility, findings from 40 semi-structured interviews with post-2001 migrants in Old Town are presented. The intricacies and complexities of the 'migrant stories' are explored, and the particular cultural choices made by in-migrants are identified.

The chapter that follows is divided into four sections. Section 7.2 examines the significance of economic-led motives of family migration, and investigates changing labour practices and emerging geographies of 'loss and gain' within migration practices. Section 7.3 explores the social-led motives for family migration, including familial ties to place, personal communities, and children and education. The migration decision-making process as it unfolds between partners and within the family more widely is also examined. Section 7.4 teases out the cultural-led motives family migration, such as engagement with coastal/seaside spaces, quality-of-life and counterurban appeals. The effects of family migration for those within the household are highlighted, alongside wider economic, social and cultural outcomes of contemporary migration in the context of Old Town.

The final section outlines a conceptual diagram of the motives for family migration into Old Town, which makes the distinction between economic-, social-, and cultural-led dimensions; the main focus of the following discussion.

7.2 Economic-led motives for family migration

This section distinguishes between ‘conventional’ economic-led motives for family migration, and emerging economic concerns and motives within contemporary migration practices. First, the discussion examines emerging geographies of loss and gain within migration practices, and seeks to explore how in-migrants are reassessing the concepts of loss and gain within migration decision-making processes and the household more widely. Second, the discussion explores discourses of economic risk within migration practices. Third, how and why family migration brings about changes in employment structures is investigated. Finally, the re-negotiation of conventional employment relations within migration practices is explored.

7.2.1 Emerging geographies of loss and gain

Amongst the sample of 40 semi-structured interviews, motives for moving as explicitly tied to economic concerns of in-migrants are found to be less prevalent than previous family migration studies would suggest (Mincer, 1978). For post-2001 in-migrants in particular, family moves are increasingly less likely to be driven primarily by economic motives, for example in response to job-related constraints at the place of origin and / or perceived or actual job-related opportunities at the place of destination. This arguably represents a departure from job-related migration as the archetype of decision-making mobility behaviour (DaVanzo, 1981).

Within the context of Old Town, it can be argued that the place of employment regimes within migration practices has shifted, and the significance of job-related concerns diminished; arguably representing a departure from previous studies of family migration (e.g. Becker 1962; Blau and Duncan 1967; Da Vanzo 1978; Greenwood 1985; Long 1974; Polachek and Horvath 1977; Sjaastad 1962). Contemporary flows of in-migration to Old Town are increasingly underpinned by geographies of economic loss and ‘other’ gains, as well as discourses of risk and uncertainty, which support the contention that many family migrants who move to Old Town exhibit ‘unconventional’ qualities manifest in their mobility practices.

Empirical evidence suggests that families that migrate into Old Town are aware of the possibility that it may be detrimental to some aspects of their employment practices, and, in some instances, in spite of any financial uncertainty. It can be asserted that some in-migrants consider their move to

Old Town to have impacted on work practices in multiple and complex ways. The following quotes illustrate how in-migrants perceive changes to their work practices, subsequent to moving:

‘We’re trying to make it suit. To be honest it’s being detrimental at the moment. I kind of waver between wanting to pack it all in and wanting to build an international empire, I go backwards and forwards. In theory, right now, in our company’s life-cycle we should probably both be in the office more than ever, because it’s probably more important that we’re both there more now than ever. I mean the companies 9 years old, we’ve had a difficult past year, we’ve had changes of staff, changes in the advertising climate, we should both probably be there’ (15).

‘The problem where it has been detrimental is I desperately wanted just to enjoy and relax in Hastings so I have let some opportunities go by the wayside, but I don’t think that’s such a bad thing, you know, I think you have to draw a line. There was a time when I just wanted to give up my entire business when I first got here, I just couldn’t handle it. To be honest with you I felt like I had taken so much on my shoulders...I’m still wrestling with that’ (16).

The above quotes suggest that a loss of some opportunities associated with work and an increased amount of time spent away from work are features of the move to Old Town for some in-migrants. An increasing desire to find a balance between employment responsibilities and other areas of life is also expressed, in terms of ‘drawing of a line’ between work and other interests. This is succinctly captured in the following quote:

‘You can find always time, or a reason to keep working, but it’s important to spend time with people, do things that aren’t all about work, try and get that mixture of work and life, and yet not bugger up your work’ (15).

The loss of less tangible elements associated with employment regimes are also keenly felt by some in-migrants. Involvement with work is considered to have diminished as a result of commuting to work in London and working remotely from home in Old Town. How time is divided between each locale is considered to impact on work in numerous ways:

‘I mean with work, it has had an effect on work; not being 100 percent there has had an effect in a lot of ways, to the business, to me...I mean, when I first started the company I never thought for any reason I would hand over the reins to someone else, or even share the role with someone else, now we’ve taken on a new M. D to help

with things...but I never took anyone on in the past, I managed' (01).

A similar theme of transition between work practices prior to moving and practices subsequent to moving is noted by other in-migrants to Old Town. Whilst the above quote demonstrates that these changes can often ultimately be negotiated, the quote below illustrates that the changes associated with moving can impact in more negative ways and, out of necessity, lead to a reassessment of how work is done:

'It's been a bit of a transitional period. One contract we've had for years we might be losing and financially that's a real shame, so perhaps I'm going to have to re-evaluate my business' (16).

Despite such outwardly detrimental impacts of migration as perceived by in-migrants to Old Town, it is argued that such effects are often considered to be acceptable or anticipated, and viewed as a compromise made willingly, if benefits could be attained in other ways. Those in-migrants that consider some aspect of their career to have changed or been affected often remarked that they and / or other members of their family had gained in other areas of their lives:

'Yes, moving has had an effect on work, but moving here has...there are so many positives, the air, the quiet, the view, it's a very calming place to be, there's a feeling of sort of peacefulness' (01).

'We always knew that the café isn't going to make us millionaires, but it lets us do other things, make our own hours, close for the afternoon if we want, go down to the beach with Ellie or whatever...we're working all hours so that in a year's time, or three years time we can sit back and relax a bit. I think it's fair to say we're making little sacrifices here and there for a greater good' (14).

Rather than migration as an investment to secure long-term economic gains, the following quote reveals how migration is considered an investment in the family, to secure long-term, less tangible gains such as quality of time together and quality-of-life. It is contended that although less tangible outcomes of migration are more difficult for in-migrants to quantify, they are becoming increasingly significant in migration decision-making processes. Having 'lives out of balance' is considered a short-term sacrifice for long-term gains:

'Free time is a difficult thing to measure. When we started this business, we knew that we'd have 18 months of work, no holidays, absolutely flat out, and we'd end up

getting stressed and having our lives out of balance. But it's like an investment; in two years time we'll have a general manager, it'll still be our company but we'll have someone else. So then I'll be able to say my quality-of-life and my time will be fantastic. When I'm in a better position to enjoy this place, I know I'm going to love it' (35).

It is perhaps interesting that the emphasis in the above quotes is on less concrete, tangible benefits, such as an enhanced quality-of-life as explicitly tied to flexible employment regimes, more family time together, peace and quiet, and enhanced coastal environs. This contrasts with the kinds of 'gains' and benefits that previous family migration studies expect to drive migratory practices; those such as increased salary, job opportunities and economic gains to the family collectively (see Sandell, 1977).

7.2.2 'Risky Business'

Discourses of risk and uncertainty underpinning family migration practices are argued to be increasingly significant. Similarly to anticipating and / or accepting detrimental impacts on employment regimes, many in-migrants are willing to take financial risks in order to facilitate a move to Old Town. The opportunity to gain in other ways is traded off against 'taking chances', 'risks' and 'gambling':

'I think it'll be worth it. I don't think we're seeing a return just yet, because it is quite early on. But it depends how you view it; financially, we've had masses to pay out, and we've had to personally invest more money than we wanted to. We're just two people who have changed their entire lives, sold our homes, invested everything that we've got in this, and if it all goes horribly wrong, we lose everything' (35).

Rather than family migrants as rational agents capable of making decisions based on their knowledge of various factors, it is argued that empirical evidence points to some in-migrants making decisions that have potentially unknown outcomes. Previously, migration decision-making has been conceptualised as decisions made in certainty that have a known outcome to the decision-maker, in which some quantity is maximised, such as profit, and some quantity minimised, such as cost (Mincer, 1978). It appears, however, that in-migrants in Old Town are increasingly tolerant of risk if relatively 'reasonable' gains can be made.

It is contended that during the migration decision-making process, in-migrants are evaluating the economic risks involved in their move to Old Town, anticipating potential financial insecurity and

proceeding with a move in spite of such risks. Unintended financial outcomes are seemingly not a feature of many moves to Old Town. Rather, risk and potential short-term losses are often anticipated and considered necessary:

‘It was a humungous step to take, from a mortgage of about £75, 000 to a quarter of a million, it was a big step, a real big step...but we decided sod it, let’s do. If we hadn’t had done, we would have spent a lot of time thinking, what if? If you don’t take these big chances in life, you’re never going to know are you?’ (23).

‘We didn’t sell our house, we took some money out and bought this place, so we have a big mortgage, times two’ (28).

‘We were certainly in a very precarious position financially when we first opened up, but that was a gamble we had to take I think’ (14).

In the quotes above, it is evident that in-migrants consider such risks as a necessary and accepted part of moving, and are tied to economic uncertainties, such as mortgage increases and the purchase of a new business:

‘We found it [Old Town] driving around one night, you know, one of those, point the car in one direction and see where you end up, and we kept coming back, then we saw a pub for sale and it was incredibly cheap, so we took a bit of a chance, bought that, refurbished it, and so Friday night through to Sunday we’d be here and then I was still working part-time, free lance, independent, in London, but it was fun, being here and there’ (10).

‘Moving here was a big risk for us, but touch wood, it’s worked out ok for us. I mean, during the first year it was a fact that outgoings were more than incomings, big time. We were kaking it. We were talking about it last Monday night, god knows what’s going to happen when this 2 year interest rate runs out and interest rates go up, and we go into a recession or whatever, but we don’t really want to go down that road. I mean, we’ll do whatever it takes to keep this place going, if it means one person stays here and one person goes out to work full-time then that’s what’ll happen’ (23).

Of course, it is not being argued here that this particular sub-group of post-2001 in-migrants are particularly risk-averse. Rather, it is suggested that contemporary family migrants are becoming

increasingly risk-tolerant when there is a relatively good chance of attaining desired employment practices, lifestyles and enhancing their quality-of-life.

7.2.3 ‘Here and there’: flexible work practices

A fundamental feature of the move to Old Town for many in-migrants is the re-working of employment practices. For post-2001 in-migrants in particular, changes to labour regimes are often anticipated and considered necessary in order for a move to go ahead. For other in-migrants, changes to employment regimes unfold in unexpected ways, and generate both positive and negative outcomes for both the individual and the family more widely. It can be postulated that previously structured ways of working are often confined to a single place and fixed time, and that job roles subsequent to moving are, in contrast, performed over multiple time-spaces as in-migrants adjust labour practices. The quotes below illustrate how many in-migrants divide time between London and Old Town, according to job-related responsibilities:

‘When I moved here I had got my business, so I had x amount of contracts, people, the staff to actually be able to do them, so sometimes I’ve been here, you know, three weeks off, I can do a bit from here, I’ve got people to do it there. I had one particular contract where I had to be in the office because this company had sent an editor and I’m the art director of the magazine. I go up [to London] maybe once a week, or once every two weeks. Then I go up and I spend maybe seven days there, there’s no set pattern’ (16).

‘Normally, if he can organise his time around it, he’ll stay on a Monday, stay on a Wednesday and get the train back on a Friday. So he’s back on the Tuesday and the Thursday night, and that’s not so bad’ (28).

There is arguably a relatively high incidence of in-migrants splitting time between two or more work locales and environments. In-migrants describe either their or their partner’s work practices as ‘remote’, as they spend time in a formal work space as well as other, more informal spaces such as home:

‘My husband plays in a football team down here made up of graphic designers, have you ever heard of anything like that?! It’s totally unique. But they’re all supporting families, all bought their own homes, all very successful, and they all work in London, and they all work at home some of the time, they work remotely. And I’m quite fascinated about how many people now are able to work like that’ (17).

‘Sometimes I had an office and sometimes I worked from home, I’ve always done that, because since I’ve had the kids, you know, when they were at school I thought, ok, I’ll get an office but I thought, no, this is driving me insane, it’s all too much, I’ll work from home, but generally I prefer to work from home if I can because it means I can keep the house going at the same time’ (28).

The link between lifestyle and livelihood is arguably increasingly complex, as in-migrants endeavour to enhance various aspects of individual and familial lifestyle through making changes to labour practices. For many in-migrants, it is through adapting their work practices that they may attain an enhanced quality-of-life, and attempt to attain desired lifestyles and everyday routines which are explicitly tied to more flexible employment regimes:

‘Because of the internet and various facilities, people don’t have to work in the office 5 days a week; they can work from home, so people can come out here and have that quality-of-life they want’ (24).

Findings from the interviews reveal that an increasing proportion of in-migrants are consciously rejecting the patterns, processes and inherent stresses associated with ‘conventional’ labour practices through the acquisition of new employment regimes. Family migrants are adopting particular strategies and multiple ways of working as an alternative to more traditional, structured ways of working, as well as managing the problems associated with separation of home and work. The diminishing status of the ‘nine to five’ job is reflected upon by one in-migrant in the following quote:

‘I did try to begin to reassess what I was doing with myself.... I mean, when I got here, I mean, Peter for example, I met him one night, and he and I now, I think, are about to work on quite a big project together, and that is really enjoyable, because I meet him in the pub, he’s been in business for as long as I have. He and I can sit there and discuss running a business whereas I can’t really do that with anyone else so it’s quite a nice way of working’ (16).

Alongside a re-evaluation of job-related responsibilities, it is argued that in-migrants are discovering how work practices can be enhanced in unforeseen ways by particular characteristics of place and qualities of people:

‘Interestingly enough, my business has grown since moving down here, and I use local

people...there's quite a few local people I use for design work for example' (22).

It is not being argued here that financial stability and potential economic gains have become irrelevant or unimportant within analyses of family migration practices. Clearly, in-migrants often acknowledge that labour practices remain a principle part of their lives as 'the mortgage isn't going to go anywhere' (15). It is contended, however, that how and why work is done, and the spaces within which it is done, has changed in nature. It may be said that in-migrants make significant changes to their work practices in order to facilitate a move, and use distinct place-specific qualities to support them:

'You know, working in the country...I mean, I don't know how John feels now but when we first moved out here he just couldn't work here. I find that I can get quite a bit done here, I quite like the solitude, the contrast between work there and work was the most noticeable thing....so yeah, we spend maybe 3 days in the city, a couple of days working from home, we're trying to make Fridays a family day, just us, it's time that we can spend together' (01).

Whilst the contrast between previous and current employment regimes is a generally positive outcome of migration for many in-migrants, the move, in turn, may produce various challenges for the remaining partner;⁷ suggesting that despite largely positive outcomes for the family as a whole, re-negotiating prior employment regimes and adjusting to new work practices can potentially be problematic.

Other in-migrants change aspects of their work practices in more fundamental ways, such as changing their place of work entirely. The quote below, however, illustrates that the nature of work dictates the ease with which in-migrants can alter their labour practices to facilitate a move to Old Town. For many in-migrants, work is not confined to one particular space (e.g. call centre), but can be transported. This arguably reflects the privileged labour market positions of many in-migrants within this relatively affluent social group:

'I did have an office in London, and right before the move I was working from home more. Now I work from home full-time. Work hasn't really changed for me too much because of the nature of what I do. Most of the work I do is online so it doesn't really matter where I am. If I do need to go to London for any reason it takes me an hour and a half on the train which isn't too bad' (22).

The challenges associated with the separation of home and work-place are increasingly being met by in-migrants using some innovative strategies. The following quote illustrates how purchasing a smaller, secondary residence is an option, as well using 'buy-to-let' hotel schemes to reserve access to a room in a hotel as and when it is required:

'If we sell the house in London, we might buy a smaller flat for when we need or want to go back. There is this thing called Guest Invest, where you buy a room in a hotel and then the hotel lets it out when you're not using it, so you've got the benefits of a hotel, but they can let it out and generate income' (15).

Other in-migrants chose to retain their property in their place of origin or rent a smaller property in order to maintain a residence that can be used when required. Retaining a property in place of origin is an additional financial obligation, and arguably reflects the affluence of family migrants moving to Old Town, or, equally, the additional financial burden in-migrants are willing to accept if it facilitates a move:

'We've still got our old house, but it's full of lodgers, but that's what we've done. Knowing that Dick was going have to stay in London at least for the foreseeable future, it made sense to keep it. He's working every day but he'll stay up in London twice a week maybe so he doesn't have to do the journey every day...I'll go up maybe once or twice a week, twice this week and before that I didn't go for about three weeks. It's not like London has been cut out of his life now that we've moved here...it's just a juggle' (28).

7.2.4 'Stepping out of the rat race'

A common theme discussed by most in-migrants is the predilection for an 'alternative' lifestyle 'by the sea', and the need to employ distinct strategies to realise such lifestyles. As discussed previously, rejecting the stresses of conventional employment relations, hours worked and commuting problems associated with the separation of work and home is a significant component of such strategies.

It appears that many post-2001 in-migrants do not seek to fully engage with the 'good--life' counter-culture (Halfacree, 2007), which involves 'dropping out' from society to follow an anti-materialistic culture. Rather, this sub-group of in-migrants prefer to select particular elements that allow them to 'step-out' from society on their own terms, rather than 'drop-out' entirely. The

desire for a less materialistic lifestyle and an enhanced quality-of-life is, therefore, aligned with more capitalist concerns, as in-migrants attempt to reconcile two spheres of 'life':

I wanted to reevaluate my work, but I didn't want to turn my back on it, I wanted just to make it more enjoyable, and there are elements of that here [Old Town] that are (16).

Media discourses recognise this as an emerging trend, and 'stepping out' of rigid employment regimes is considered to 'break the vicious circle' of particular labour market and consumption practices:

'It's not about money. It's about the desire...to break the vicious circle of the daily rat race: going to work to make money to translate into things, which you use up, which makes you go to work again...That's where 'Stepping Off' starts' (The Telegraph, 19/11/2005)

The interviews identified that many long-time residents recognise a distinction between in-migrants seeking 'authentic' anti-materialist cultures, those 'dropping' out from the 'rat race', and those that are appropriating legitimate counter-cultures to meet their own needs whilst maintaining links with capitalism on their own terms. Long-time residents often noted during semi-structured interviews that a compromised materialistic lifestyle is a feature of contemporary flows of in-migration to Old Town:

'This place appeals to left-wing pinko socialists, it's full of them now, people who have very nice houses, who are capitalists in all but name, they won't admit to being capitalists, they really wind me up, most of them have never been working class in their lives' (02).

The above quote also alludes to the working-class ethos of Old Town and the value placed upon this status. Unlike the 'working-class' residents of Old Town, in-comers to Old Town are perceived as the middle-classes, maintaining compromised materialistic lifestyles; presenting themselves as liberal and 'left-wing', whilst maintaining links with capitalism in varied and multifaceted ways. Long-established in-migrants often contend that whilst in-comers explicitly highlight a desire to engage with less 'mainstream', more 'alternative' lifestyles as a central motive for their move to Old Town, this conceals a desire to 'escape' the metropolitan city, seeking salvation from the 'rat race' whilst maintaining a compromised materialistic lifestyle:

'People from London are coming down in too large numbers. What they claim to want, that organic, bohemian lifestyle is just a façade. They are still simply wealthy,

middle class people who just want to escape from the city...Those people have diluted what this place was' (02).

It would appear that this is an emerging philosophy amongst contemporary in-migrants of work, and, more specifically, of how work is 'done' and how this is closely tied to a reconceptualisation of the 'rat race'. The labour practices and employment regimes considered central to contemporary labour markets are arguable becoming less significant in the lives of in-migrants within Old Town. The opportunity to acquire a different pace of life in terms of employment relations and produce meaningful work rather than merely 'putting in the hours' is illustrated below:

'We wanted to get out of the rat race and the nine to five, a different pace of life, the act of working is changing, the nine to five rat race is becoming less central, people are now judged on what they do, what they produce rather than the hours they put in' (03).

It is contended that in-migrants are further attracted to Old Town by the opportunity to 'step out' and 're-group'. The emphasis within many moves is based on the re-evaluation of conventional employment practices and conditions. Here, it is important to note that for many in-migrants, the 'rat race' and associated work practices are inextricable from the rigours of living and working in city spaces, such as London. Removal from the stresses and pressures associated with conventional work practices in city spaces often allow in-migrants to gain perspective and re-assess which work-life elements are significant:

'Coming here was a mixture of design and circumstance, because I'd kind of done London and London had done me, and, you know, the rat race was just a nightmare, I wanted to kind of re-group, find somewhere where I could re-group that wasn't so much of a rat race' (27).

Perhaps more significantly, in-migrants consistently highlighted that they are seeking to rediscover their self at a personal level, by re-negotiating the balance between employment practices and conditions, and lifestyle and quality-of-life. Residence in a coastal locale such as Old Town, and as detached from wider material society, is viewed by in-migrants as fundamental to their quest for a re-evaluated sense of 'self', removed from the 'rat race' of the metropolitan city:

'Well, it removed me from the rat race, allowed me to be more at one with myself and what I wanted to do, you know, I had ideas of writing books and painting, and pursuing all sorts of careers...doing intellectual stuff and you know, more academic

kinds of pursuits...In terms of my career, it's not as hectic as being back in London, I can pick and choose what I take on, I'm not repeating the same old shit over and over again, you know?' (27).

The above quote illustrates that many in-migrants seek to re-discover their self at a personal level, and look inward to find a renewed sense of self. Occupational motives as well as personal motives are also significant; the opportunity to be more selective in terms of work practices not only reflects a privileged labour market position, but also highlights the increasing value placed upon less chaotic ways of working associated with the 'rat race', and the demands it places upon workers.

Constraints on time are also considered a fundamental feature of the 'rat race', in which in-migrants previously attempted to 'squeeze' activities into unrelenting daily work and leisure practices, as well as have 'quality time' with family and friends. It is argued that quality time with family and friends is often 'squeezed out' of day to day routines as work-related concerns took precedence. The following quote exemplifies how moving to Old Town allows many in-migrants to establish a new 'rhythm' of living, with an emphasis on having time for activities that could not be done in London due to constraints on time. The desire for 'family' time is arguably prioritised subsequent to moving; in-migrants re-working how time is allocated in order to spend time with children:

'Well, you know, I've spent years buying books, thinking that when I've got the time to read them, I'll read them. All the active sporty, kite surfing, windsurfing, all the kind of sporty things that I'd never get round to doing in London, I'm going to do here, go to a gym and actually do things during the day instead of squeezing things in between 8 and 9 o' clock at night so we can have still have a life with Freddie [son], so yeah, I think it's a matter of getting the rhythm of living here and the plan sorted, but its early days yet' (27).

The previous quote reveals a desire to achieve a more 'balanced' lifestyle, one that does not prioritise or neglect any particular aspect of home and work and offers some kind of equilibrium between self and work. Although working fewer hours is an intrinsic feature of 'escaping' the 'rat race' for many incomers, some in-migrants increase their working hours if gains can be made in other ways, such as greater job satisfaction and fulfilment. The quote below demonstrates that in-migrants accept longer working hours and greater commitment if other, more negative elements of previous employment regimes can be abandoned:

'I used to be a driver for Jaguar/Aston Martin, sounds lovely, getting to drive all those

fancy cars but most of it was up in London, driving around London every day, sir this and lady muck that, you're working 12, 13, 14 hour day for six pound an hour, we only ever saw each other at the weekends, it was crazy...but I'm working more hours now, but I haven't got the travel anymore, haven't got the agro of getting up in the morning in the winter and defrosting the car before I drive 20 miles to work. In a way, it's less stressful' (23).

It appears that for those in-migrants that did continue to commute, time spent travelling to and from work was utilised in different ways; either used productively for work-related reasons, or as time away from home or work. As *The Times* (30/4/2009) comments, moving increasing distances out of London is becoming more appealing to those migrants 'who see a commute as an opportunity to quiet time rather than time wasted' (see Bissell, 2009):

'If you're in the car for an hour and a half you listen to a record or make a couple of calls, just unwind a bit while you're driving. I quite like the travelling to and from, I quite like that block of time. I have a good old think about things, go over some ideas I might have had. Once I used to have a Dictaphone, I used to drive and try and speak into it and come out with some ideas, or phone yourself on the mobile and leave yourself a message' (28).

It was contended in Ch. 6 that post-2001 in-migrants are increasingly likely to undertake fewer, but longer commutes to facilitate a move. Findings from the interviews suggest that some key factors underpin this emerging trend, as well as house price differentials that are spatially determined:

'For many people, the length of their commute is determined by housing; a 2007 study found that for every minute spent on the train leaving London, house prices dropped by £1000. Perceived quality-of-life benefits don't just include a bigger house, but also a rural upbringing for the children, good local schools, possible proximity to extended family, less crime. All combine to make spending hours getting to work a viable prospect' (*The Times*, 14/11/2009).

It is argued that, for post-2001 in-migrants in particular, concerns and opportunities associated with work are no longer the focal point around which all other activities are organised. The desire for an enhanced equilibrium between family, work and self arguably encourages in-migrants to adopt a range of strategies to modify employment regimes and work relations. In-migrants consistently highlighted during the semi-structured interviews that they are seeking to enhance their quality-of-

life via the reconfiguration of labour practices, as well as escaping the structured routines of working and living in the metropolitan city:

‘So hopefully, what we can do is see the bigger picture and work on some new business ideas, work from home a bit more, or work anywhere really where we can focus on new projects...you know, we don’t want to be in the office 5 days a week, we’ve done that...and it’s done us, we still get everything done we want to by doing it this way but it’s a very different set-up to when we lived in London’ (15).

Findings from the interviews also revealed that many family migrants in Old Town are re-defining the place of work-related concerns and opportunities within the migration decision-making process and within their lives more widely. Findings from interviews consistently highlight how ‘other’ non-economic concerns are increasingly permeating the economic realm, and influencing the meanings that in-migrants attach to concepts of economic and socio-cultural loss and gain. The emphasis within many moves is less fixed and static, centred upon potential economic opportunity and maximising returns to the family and household unit, but increasingly fluid, as in-migrants alter employment regimes, accept economic risks and look beyond conventional work practices to ‘see the bigger picture’, and enhance other aspects of family, work and self.

7.3 Social-led motives of family migration

This section discusses how migration decision-making processes unfolds within the family, and are steered in particular ways by family members. It is contended that the decision to move, and the direction and timing of migration, is centred within the family, and often implicitly shaped by complex intra-familial relationships and dynamics. Whereas family dynamics have previously been considered as a constraint on mobility (Sell, 1983), it is shown that negotiation and compromise between partners and within the family more widely often allows a move to go ahead, as opposed to constraining the move. Various issues associated with familial decision-making such as life-course events, familial ties, and how time is spent within the household, are examined within the context of migration to Old Town and residential location.

7.3.1 ‘Making your mind up’: Decision-making between partners

Perhaps most significantly, the semi-structured interviews reveal that the migration decision-making process is not linear, or dominated by one family member, but unfolds unevenly, and is characterised by uncertainty, compromise and negotiation between partners and within families

more widely. Impacts of migration are experienced differently by family members, and familial relations mediate the timing and direction of a move.

As previously discussed in Chapter 6, it appears that in-migrants perceive power relations within the household to be largely egalitarian (See Table 6. 21). This is in line with the proportion of in-migrants in both sub-groups that consider selecting Old Town a joint decision, rather than an independent decision (see Table 6. 19). The initial decision to move, however, appears to be more complex, and findings from the interviews provide further insights into the relatively low proportion of in-migrants that consider instigating a move to Old Town a joint decision (see Table 6. 18).

It is contended that although the initial decision to move is often made by one partner in isolation, proceeding with a move is subject to particular negotiations between both partners. For many in-migrants, the decision to move is characterised by compromise and encouragement between partners, rather than one partner leading the move entirely. The following quote illustrates how one partner may instigate the decision to move in various ways, such as researching local property markets, but is contingent on the agreement of the other partner, who may be in a position to veto a move if any issues or concerns are not assuaged:

‘It was Peter who first suggested moving here and I thought he’d lost his marbles, I thought don’t be ridiculous, I just couldn’t see how all the upheaval would work, and he started to come down on a Saturday morning and sit and kind of hang out in Hastings all day, and I thought, it’s just a fad, he’ll be fine. And then after about three weeks he said, right, I want you to come down with me and I’ve got all these houses for us to look at, and actually, you know, once I’d schlepped around the streets and looked at a few different houses I started to think about what our life could be, so different down here. But Pete totally had to encourage me; I was faffing’ (28).

Semi-structured interviews also reveal that the decision-making process often takes place over time; one partner initially ‘seeding the idea’ of moving, followed by a period of negotiation between partners as they endeavour to reach a decision. It is contended that the events that transpire during this time are just as, if not more, significant within the decision-making process as the initial suggestion of moving. The following quote illustrates how some negotiations take place during a gestation period, at an almost halfway point between staying and going, in which in-migrants had ‘one foot’ in place of destination, whilst retaining their primary residence in place of origin:

‘Basically it was Dominic’s idea to move down, we were looking just for a weekend place, we had been on and off for many years, and spiritually I was like, Cornwall, all those places round there, but John thought they were too far away for a weekend place, then a friend of ours who lives just outside of Hastings said, you have got to come down and look at this house, so somewhat reluctantly I agreed to a trip to the seaside and when we saw it we loved it. We started renovating it with a view to using it as a weekend place, school holidays and all that, and then Dominic said why don’t we just move down here, full-time, get out of London?’ (01).

The above quote also points to the presence of holiday--homes and second--homes, which will be examined in more depth in Section 7. 5. 9. Importantly, the use of a second-home or holiday-home allows potential in-migrants to ‘try out’ a move, and perhaps encourages more reticent family members to forge more durable ties with place of destination. Within some partnerships, one partner is increasingly psychologically and emotionally removed from place of origin and eager to proceed with a move, whilst their partner maintains ties to the same place in some form:

‘In London we were kind of floating along, bobbing along, living in a kind of like, part-time, bohemian artistic lifestyle... I was itching to leave London, I kind of said to him, it’s make or break time for us. I guess with me being pregnant, and him losing the second franchise, it kind of knocked him and made him think about things...it took him a while to come to terms with leaving, but I fell in love with it [Old Town] immediately, the place was lovely, I thought ‘this is it’ (14).

The above quote also exemplifies that, often, it is the female partner that instigates a move. This finding explicitly challenges the assumption that the male partner assumes the role of decision-maker within family migration processes, whilst the female partner exists to hinder, constrain or reluctantly agree to the move. Rather than being the ‘drag’ in migration practices however, or merely accompanying family, semi-structured interviews reveal that women are often the initiator, rather than migrating with a male partner as a ‘follower’ or ‘in association’:

‘But then when Claire said ‘oh, I really want to move to Hastings’, I was thinking, why, why would you want to move to Hastings?! But I came with her to look at places, and I realised I’d started to like the vibe of it, and the prices...I didn’t even know what the Old Town was, but the more I came with her, the more I thought, God, I want to live there’ (16).

Indeed, in-migrants who did 'follow' their partner in more 'conventional' ways were largely absent from semi-structured interviews, in what may be considered a departure from dominant tenets of family migration theory (Cooke, 2008). In instances where one partner did lead the migration decision-making process, findings from the interviews reveal that the 'follower' was often content to do so, rather than reluctantly agreeing, and perceived no negative impacts that caused them to suffer or lose out in any area of their lives. For some in-migrants, following a partner to Old Town was often facilitated by the prospect of enhancing the physical environment:

'James was much more keen than I was to move here, and it did interest me as I wanted a new project, and it's lovely here so it wasn't too much of a wrench leaving London for the coast, but it was mainly to promote James' interests because he was obsessed with kite surfing and wind surfing...I mean, my life was kind of led in whatever direction James wanted to take and whatever he wanted to do really, I was content in doing that' (27).

Findings from the interviews are used to explore in more depth how in-migrants perceive compromises and sacrifices made in the course of the migration decision-making process, discussed previously in Chapter 6 (see Sections 6. 6. 5 and 6. 6. 6).

Work-related responsibilities and obligations were often cited as a potential factor constraining a move; for example, "if we had stayed it would have been because we were so focussed on work, well, I was anyway" (01). It was found that in-migrants often adopt various strategies within the decision-making process in order to negotiate any work-related constraints and facilitate a move. The following quote illustrates how some in-migrants are initially tied to place of origin through employment or career related obligations. Despite a move to Old Town being a mutual decision between partners, the empirical evidence highlights how one partner often has to divide time between two locales until work-related commitments are fulfilled, whilst their partner moves to place of destination. The following quote also demonstrates how the process of moving is often fragmented, rather than the linear, one-off event it has previously been conceptualised as, in which family migrants move simply from 'A to B':

'We both wanted to move, for a long time we stayed in the city but it was always at the back of our minds. We looked west to Glastonbury, we wanted to get away from Thatcher's London, a lot of our friends felt the same. It was a completely mutual decision....but, she still had to work out her commitments at work...she commuted to London three days a week, sometimes she stayed with friends overnight, until her contract was up. Now we're here full-time, and we love it' (03).

Whilst the above quote demonstrates short-term compromises within migration practices, semi-structured interviews also reveal that some in-migrants make longer-term compromises that are, again, tied to work practices. The following quote illustrates that some in-migrants choose to retain a residence in place of origin to facilitate the continuation of employment regimes, thus dividing time between Old Town and place of origin. This strategy is arguably stressful for some in-migrants, yet considered a necessary compromise that most efficiently negotiates home and work spheres in each locale:

‘I think she [partner] finds it quite stressful. The day she has to go back to London after coming down for a few days she finds very stressful, she feels a bit worried and nervous, but she loves the people and the city’ (25).

In-migrants often note other compromises made within the migration decision-making process that are arguably less tangible, such as the atmosphere or ‘vibe’ in place of origin. The following quote illustrates how the vibrant and creative environment in London contrasts with an arguably more relaxed atmosphere in Old Town:

‘There’s vibrancy to London, I mean, when I travel back for work, when I get there are people around and they’re all highly creative...there’s a certain vibe there, and here, there are more older people. It’s quite a contrast sometimes’ (01).

In-migrants also acknowledge the compromises and sacrifices that are made by family members to facilitate a move to Old Town, and contend that they are willingly made in order to make positive gains in socio-cultural spheres, such as time with family and friends, and enhanced physical environment. The following quote exemplifies the increasing importance of ‘other’ issues and concerns, such as the desire for an ‘authentic’ sense of ‘home’, rather than residential location being shaped predominantly by work-related obligations:

‘It’s about somewhere to live that’s convenient for work when work is your life, when it’s everything, versus a home where you really want to be...and you make a few sacrifices to make it happen. And I haven’t felt that about anywhere in London, they’ve all been really nice, convenient places to live, but that’s it, that’s all they were’ (15).

The findings also show that more beneficial outcomes of migration are underpinned by shared goals and / or values between partners during the migration decision-making process. The

following quote illustrates how individual biographies of each partner may lead to diverse imaginings of place, yet the mutual goal of finding ‘a place of their own’ is dominant during decision-making:

‘I grew up on the Isle of Wight, so I wanted to be by the sea, and Nick grew up in the Lake District, so he wanted hills and in fact we decided that the South East wouldn’t suit us and we wanted the south west. But we both knew that we really wanted us, as a family, to have somewhere that was our place’ (35).

The compromises made by in-migrants during the decision-making process are also argued to impact on household arrangements. The following quote illustrates how compromises made during and subsequent to migration influence time spent in primary residence in Old Town, and how some in-migrants adopt particular practices to allow the continuation of previous employment regimes.

‘Getting out of London was something my wife was keen to do as well, but when we decided this [the move to Old Town] she had just landed her job; she carried on working...thinking we were both going to move here of course. But because she was only doing 3 nights a week and just doing 6-10pm, at first she was getting the last train home. Its only in the last three, four years that she’s gone on to working all night.... so she doesn’t come home now, she stays in a flat in London. She has a flat on Charing Cross Road, stays up there during the week, comes back to Hastings on a Saturday and goes back up to London on the Tuesday’ (25).

The above quote clearly reveals that compromises made willingly during the migration decision-making process can, however, construct more fragmented, arguable chaotic household arrangements and routines for in-migrants, as they divide time between multiple locales.

7.3.2 Spending time: ‘Quality not quantity’

The desire to spend time as a family was commonly revealed during interviews to be particularly significant within the migration decision-making process. It appears that the opportunity to adjust how time is managed within the household is a key appeal for post-2001 in-migrants in particular. For other in-migrants, how they spent time with family members often changes in unforeseen ways, and is an outcome of the move that impacts in a beneficial way, rather than an incentive for it. For example, in-migrants often discover that through previously mundane, habitual tasks such as the school-run, they can re-claim time with children:

‘Picking him up from nursery school, London traffic, trying to drop him off at school, there’s no where to park, it is hell at half past 3, 4 o clock every day, it’s absolute hell, and that whole kind of rat run, London, nannies...it’s funny, driving Freddie to School and picking him up now, you know, it’s 20 minutes there, 20 minutes back, so basically by the time you’ve let go of him, it’s an hour, and then again in the evening. So it’s 2 hours a day you’re driving, but you’re with him in the car, you’re getting him ready’ (15).

Many in-migrants in Old Town increasingly place an emphasis on their quality-of-time together as a family, rather than quantity. In-migrants acknowledge that work-related responsibilities and obligations sometimes restrict time together, yet this serves to highlight the importance of exploiting any available time, and arguably imbue it with enhanced value. Importantly, the interviews reveal that enhanced quality of time together is often facilitated by distinct place-specific characteristics and qualities of Old Town and surrounding areas, such as physical environment:

‘As far as moving to Old Town is concerned, the quality of time that we do have together is better. For example, on Monday we had a day off...we were still running round here and everywhere doing odd jobs, but we decided when we were done and then we drove 20 minutes to Bedgbury Pinetum, it was so lovely and refreshing and beautiful, we were there just till 6, but we had 2 hours as a family and it was precious time, just us three together’ (14).

For other in-migrants whose time together is fragmented and restricted by one partner having to spend part of the week elsewhere, constraints on time together is arguably beneficial for relationships, as spending time apart highlights the importance of spending time together:

‘She has a flat on Charing Cross Road, stays up there during the week for work, comes back to Hastings on a Saturday and goes back up to London on the Tuesday. It works well for us actually. We spend all of the weekend together, absolutely together, we’re stuck together like glue from the Saturday to the Tuesday, quite often I don’t bother opening up on the Tuesday as we’re stuck together most of the time. Spending time apart, it makes the time we do spend together important’ (25).

In some instances, the move to Old Town encourages in-migrants to consciously construct ‘family time’, rather than consider it residual once other activities are done. It is contended that escaping the city has, for some in-migrants, renewed efforts to spend time together. This is achieved

through imbuing seemingly ordinary activities such as eating together, putting children to bed and ‘hanging out’ with new importance:

‘I think we both have to make an effort to think out our journey home so we’re home at a decent time and we can spend the evening doing whatever, just hanging out. We often make dinner together, eat together, we’re home together more often now, so we can put Freddie to bed and then have the rest of the evening. In London there was always some reason to go out, even if we didn’t really feel like it, it was just... there. I mean, in London, I could easily feel every day, you know, get home at half past 8, 9 at night or go out in the evening, that I didn’t get to see him’ (15).

‘I think our quality-of-life has improved; it’s a bit of a juggle. But the life is much nicer, you finish work, it’s easy to get home, you have an evening, you’re not spending hours and hours every day travelling, it’s just a better life’ (30).

7.3.3 The importance of the life-course

It is argued that the focus in previous family migration studies has been on potential economic opportunities as the trigger for particular migration behaviour (see Bailey, 2009). Examining processes of migration primarily within an economic framework arguably neglects to fully conceptualise other events that influence the direction and timing of migration.

According to Becker’s (1962) and Mincer’s (1978) writings on human-capital theory, migration decision-making is based on the potential economic opportunities and costs and gains to the family and household. It is contended however, that explanations for why families decide to become mobile at particular times may be tied to life-course events such as child rearing and retirement. This section explores in-migrant’s interpretations of how and why particular events in their lives influenced the migration decision-making process.

Reaching a particular age prompts some in-migrants to re-assess their priorities and personal philosophies. The following quote illustrates how reaching a milestone age arguably encourages in-migrant to place greater value on ‘living in the moment’, and how that a move out of London, away from more material pursuits, facilitates this:

‘The other side of it is this whole, you only live once thing and wanting to do things, and I think as I’m getting older I’m wanting to live in the moment more than in the future. So living in the moment means enjoying right now, it’s a bit like the

Vodafone ads, make the most of now. It's like the whole kind of existentialist thing; you are living in the moment so savour the moment rather than keep worrying about the future. You obviously have to plan for the future, but right now I'd rather be sitting here than sitting in a bar in Shoreditch, which is what I would be doing if I still lived in London, eating and drinking and talking nonsense' (15).

It can be argued that contemporary in-comers to Old Town are younger and more mobile family migrants:

'Here, the impression I get is that there's a migration of younger people, and I don't know what the older folk think. A lot of people coming here are young, or in their mid-30's' (17).

Often, significant life-course events prompt feelings that already exist, such as a desire to escape the city. For many in-migrants, the prospect of raising a child in London is often a key factor when deciding how to address feelings of dissatisfaction with living in the metropolitan city. The following quote demonstrates how pregnancy and family forming can provide the impetus to abandon the city:

'Well, I became pregnant, and that is actually something of a common theme with lots of people I've spoken to around here as well, yeah, there are lots of young families moving down here, people get pregnant for the first time and just suddenly think, errghh! I don't want to raise a child in London. I was itching to leave London anyway, and the pregnancy kind of brought that to the fore' (14).

'I mean, we were in London and we realised, when we had just had our first child, that we didn't want to live in London anymore, just didn't want to do it, just didn't want to bring her up there. We wanted to bring the kids up by the sea...and life for us as a family changed remarkably' (17).

The quote above also points to the marked changes to family life after having children, and highlights the desire for an improved physical environment for children, such as living-by-the-sea. It is argued that, for parents, child-rearing also brings issues surrounding health and well-being for members of the family to the fore. The following quote supports this; the prospect of raising children in London underpinned by concerns about physical environment, health and quality-of-life:

‘My husband and I had just become parents...we lived 50 yards from the commercial road, which is the A13 which is Europe’s most heavily trafficked roads, and the lead levels in the school playground were the worst in London, and we just thought, this isn’t sustainable for the kids’ (06).

7.3.4 Family-ties

Family relationships have traditionally been regarded as one of the key determinants of social cohesion (Mulder *et al.*, 2002), and the link between migration destination decisions and family-related situations and events within the nuclear family is both acknowledged and well-documented. Yet the role of the extended family outside the household within the context of migration, and social and spatial mobility, has received relatively little attention.

Whilst the family has been considered a unifying force in society, the role of family-ties as a re-unifying force within migration practices is explored in this section. Semi-structured interviews reveal that for some in-migrants, behaviour relating to migration and location choice is situated within the wider family context, for example, in relation to parents, children and siblings living outside the house (Mulder, 2007).

The strength of family bonds may have an effect on those involved in relationships and the migration process more widely, and those ties may be manifested in the timing and direction of mobility. Semi-structured interviews reveal that existing, as well as former, familial ties to particular time-spaces does in fact influence how the migration decision-making process and practices of migration unfold.

Children outside of the home, such as children living with a partner following separation or divorce, are argued to act as a powerful draw or tie to place for some in-migrants. It is contended that family members that live relatively far away triggers moves towards them, and in-migrants move to maintain face-to-face contact with family members. The following quote reveals how a desire to be closer to children from a previous partnership, living outside the household, was a key feature of the migration decision-making process for some in-migrants:

‘My husband’s ex-wife moved to the coast with their children, and he obviously wanted to be near to his kids, which we both agreed is the most important thing’ (33).

The existence of family-ties in place of destination may influence migration decision-making processes more significantly at particular times in the migrant’s life, for example, when in-comers

are at a family-forming stage. Having support networks nearby that in-migrants can draw upon if needed, and being familiar with place, is arguably a compelling incentive for some in-migrants, as they consider 'settling down'. Family members in place of destination can also facilitate entry into local, often inaccessible, property markets in Old Town:

'We were done flitting around, it was time to find somewhere to settle down and start a family. We wanted somewhere that we knew, or at least had family nearby, a real family place. We hadn't been back to Old Town in years but I suppose you never really forget where you're from. My aunt had a house there which was becoming too much for her deal with; it needed work doing etc, so we bought it off her' (31).

In some instances, particular family members act as pioneers, being the first to move to Old Town through their own migration practices, with other family members following on at a later stage. The following quote also alludes to the geographical location of extended family members, such as grandparents, as well as the benefits of having family outside the household nearby:

'My mother and father moved here, and I used to come down and visit and it was such a lovely drive down here, and I used to stand on the beach and look up at all the lovely houses at the top there, on the West Hill and the East Hill, and I thought, gosh, that looks lovely, and I started looking at some estate agent details. It also a case of just being somewhere different, somewhere near the seaside. My sons didn't want to come down here, they were about 7 and 8 at the time, and the older one had been learning about tidal waves at school, so he didn't want to live by the sea, but he was quite happy with nana here' (26).

It appears that some in-migrants return to Old Town in response to local family-ties that are grounded in the past. The following quote illustrates how the idea of 'family home' is a pervasive and compelling influence in the migration decision-making process, as is identifying 'family' with a particular time-space:

'My family are Hastings people. The family home was in Old Town before we moved for my dad's job, and my Grandmother lived in Cumwakis Gardens. We would have our summer holidays down here after we moved away, staying with her; this was when people had holidays at home, not abroad. People would always go to the seaside' (13).

The appeal of Old Town for some in-migrants is related to having family already residing in Greater Hastings. Proximity to family members in this context is arguably associated with care exchange, as family members provide support networks in which informal care giving and childcare may be provided in reciprocal arrangements. Such arrangements arguably depend on frequency of contact and exchange of support. This often enabled in-comers or returnees to Old Town to return to work:

‘My family were in Hastings, they’d moved down from Liverpool a long time ago, so we shared childcare when I came back so that I could go to work, and then I helped them with their childcare and they helped me’ (18).

The role of family ‘roots’ within contemporary migration practices is increasingly significant; in-migrants arguably acting on the memories and experiences associated with a particular time and space, and ‘coming back’ to place:

‘I wanted to come back to my roots, and Dave had always liked this area from visiting friends down this way when they were at uni here, It’s weird, you always end up coming back, people who have been here for a bit, then leave, they always end up coming back to this place, I’m not sure what it is that draws them here’ (33).

The role of family-ties in steering processes of family migration in particular ways is arguably increasingly significant for a number of in-migrants. A desire to re-establish or maintain family bonds is a central feature of migration practices for many in-migrants. In some instances, familial ties were strong, but, out of necessity, practised over time and space. Family relations are often fragmented through divorce or separation, and practised over distance:

‘I was worried initially, as she’s [daughter] always been a bus or cab ride away from us, and the country isn’t really her thing, but we have a young son and we do more things together as a family now we’re out here, whereas she is in a time of her life where her friends are becoming her extended family so she probably doesn’t need to see her old man everyday...our relationship has changed in a very small way I think, but that’s probably down to her growing up more and becoming more independent than it is us moving away from London’ (15).

Family bonds often become increasingly durable, as in-migrants and family members outside the household placed an emphasis on quality of time together, rather than practising the ‘everyday’, habitual familial relations associated with the nuclear household. The strength of family-ties is

sometimes reinforced by distinct place-specific qualities and characteristics of Old Town, such as enhanced community and social networks:

‘She comes every other weekend and school holidays. She loves it here, and as I say, we’ve joined a community, and we’ve met people with children. So yeah, we’ve found a bit of community, and she loves it here and I love it. Our first summer when we moved here was idyllic, beautiful’ (16).

7.3.5 The presence of children and child-rearing

Just as pregnancy and the prospect of family forming can steer trajectories of migration in particular ways, the desire to change or enhance aspects of children’s lives is a significant feature of the migration decision-making process for many in-migrants. Discussions illuminated a number of issues related to physical environment, social-cultural conditions, and aspirations for children. Analyses of quantitative data reinforce the importance of physical environment more generally. Many in-migrants state that their decision to move to Old Town was in part motivated by the potential to enhance the overall physical well-being of the household (87%), whilst 97% of respondents in the same sub-group believe that their current physical quality-of-life was ‘very good’. The appeal of increased space and peace and quiet for family migrants leaving the city is noted by The Times:

‘A large number of people who decide to relocate out of London have young families and want the space they cannot afford in the capital. Schools often play an important part, as does the desire for a quieter life’ (29/3/2009).

As the following quotes reveal, in-migrants consider aspects of the physical environment in place of origin detrimental or undesirable, and consider the impacts of this in terms of effect on children. The following quote clearly illustrates this point, and highlights how families may be excluded from particular areas due to inappropriate housing and residential environments (Holt and Bowlby, 2007):

‘I wanted a nicer environment for the baby; I didn’t want them growing up and the view from their window being a tower block or row upon row of grotty 1950’s terraces’ (14).

For other in-migrants, it was a perceived lack of connection with the natural environment that features in the migration decision-making process, as well as the benefits for children of being

outdoors. Conditions of the city are viewed as a constrictive presence in the lives of children and a restraint on the freedom of what children 'should be doing'. It is contended that imaginings of the countryside as an idealised place in which to grow up are often constructed by post-2001 in-migrants and mobilised in the migration decision-making process. The following quote illustrates how more 'rural' locations are often imagined by in-migrants as idyllic places for children, and the intrinsic value of learning about the natural environment and being outdoors in natural spaces (Valentine, 2007):

'Freddie was a huge part of why we moved....it's just the kind of freedom he has now and learning about country things as opposed to being a city boy. I mean, last week a lady up the road invited us up to see her horses which she keeps nearby, we were looking at Roman ruins, there's pheasant, peacocks, all that stuff is kind of good really, he's got all these outdoor things to do. My daughter lives in Hoxton with her mum, she gets in a slight panic if she's not surrounded by concrete!' (15).

Spatial restrictions often compel other in-migrants to reassess how the urban environment impacts upon their lives and time together as a family. Like Little and Austin (1996), findings reveal that parents often perceived more rural environments as a place which offers opportunities for an upbringing away from the dangers and spatial constraints of the city. Characteristics of the city, such as busy roads and congestion, are often cited by in-migrants as a constraint. The quality of air for children is also noted, and considered an important outcome of moving to Old Town:

'We wanted to bring the kids up by the sea, and the countryside around her is stunning, you only have to go a few miles before you're in the middle of it. We were limited in London as to what we could do. Now we can just drive into the country and walk for hours....there were a few parks around where we used to live, but we always had to walk across a really dodgy road, there was always something unpleasant about it. The air has massively improved and I think for the kids that's hugely important' (17).

Whilst the physical environment in place of origin is perceived by parents to be significant in the lives of children, the socio-cultural conditions are also a feature of the migration decision-making process, particularly if children were teenagers. The safety of teenagers as they begin to desire greater independence is noted by some in-migrants as a key concern, and it appears that the perception of risk and danger associated with more urban spaces shapes how discussions of this issue unfold within the family:

‘The main reason we moved here was that we have a couple of teenage children and we thought that we didn’t really want them to be growing up in London, in the East End. We thought it would be nice for them to have what was left of their childhood by the seaside. It’s so easy to get out here, it’s such a good environment for the kids, so they can just go out and we know they’ll be alright’ (22).

Concerns underpinning issues of belonging and attachment for children are also raised in semi-structured interviews. Some in-migrants are concerned that children may eventually experience isolation or loneliness, in terms of not knowing neighbours or engaging with community and local social networks:

‘You just want to belong, and you want your kids to belong. When the kids are small it doesn’t really matter, because you’re looking after them, and then suddenly you just think, I don’t want my kids to not know the people up the road or feel isolated’ (28).

Some in-migrants believe that an absence of similarities between them and other parents in place of origin, in terms of behaviour, values and moral codes influenced the timing of their move to Old Town. A lack of valued social networks or relationships to draw on is arguably a significant incentive for some in-migrants, and a desire for the ‘right kind of people’, or ‘people like us’ (Butler, 1997), often steers migration processes in particular ways. The following quote illustrates how the desire to instil particular values in children is often a key factor, and in this instance involves rejecting the materialist lifestyle of other parents in place of origin:

‘One of the other reasons we left, if I’m perfectly honest, is, we call them the Chiswick lot, the terribly, terribly ‘new’ mums and dads who run you over with their three wheeled buggies, they were just awful and we’re just so not like that. I couldn’t live in an executive home, comparing diamond rings, seeing whose got the straightest hair or who drives the biggest jeep, and it’s not like that here, it’s very normal here. It was just this very me, me, me sort of attitude, we just couldn’t bear them, we just thought, we’ve got to get away from this, we can’t live like this at all, and we can’t bring our daughter up thinking that’s normal, you know, Tabitha going skiing. It was just too much’ (17).

7.3.6 Education

Previous studies of family migration identify in-migration flows which are connected to the appeals of the provision of high-quality school education, and explore various issues concerned with

moving for school catchment area, improved education opportunities and enhanced quality of education for children (see Higley, 2009). The following tables illustrate the age of other family members within the household, and highlight the age groups of third, fourth and fifth family members. As Table 7. 1 shows, 29% of Post-2001 households have a third member between the ages of 5 and 15 years.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	N = 38	n = 38
No 3rd person	0	65
0-4	44	11
5-15	29	8
16-17	3	0
18-29	8	5
30-49	0	11
50-64	3	0
65+	0	0

Table 7. 1 In-migrant group age of 3rd person in household

Taking into account a move at the threshold of this temporal juncture (2002), this would indicate that nearly one third of post-2001 in-migrants moved to Old Town when children were of (primary) school age. This is a relatively higher proportion compared to pre-2001 households, of which 8% have a third family member between the ages of 5 and 15 years. Although the presence of school age children has been shown by Long (1974) to inhibit family migration, empirical evidence suggests that education was disrupted by a move to Old Town in order for a move to go ahead, rather than acting as a constraint. Tables 7. 2 illustrates that, again, 29% of post-2001 in-migrants have a fourth family member between the ages of 5 and 15, compared to 15% of pre-2001 households.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
No 4th person	66	76
0-4	0	3
5-15	29	15
16-17	5	3
18-29	0	3
30-49	0	0
50-64	0	0
65+	0	0

Table 7. 2 In-migrant group and age of 4th person in household

Table 7. 3 reveals that 3% have a fifth family member between the ages of 0-4 and 3% between the ages of 16-17, suggesting the presence of possible school-age children. By the same token, the presence of pre-school age children can accelerate migration, as parents begin to consider the prospect of educating children.

	Post-2001	Pre-2001
	n = 38	n = 38
No 5th person	94	97
0-4	3	0
5-15	0	3
16-17	3	0
18-29	0	0
30-49	0	0
50-64	0	0
65+	0	0

Table 7. 3 In-migrant group and age of 5th person in household

Locational choices of the family are often influenced by access to schools which are preferred and affordable (Mincer, 1978). It appears, however, that many in-migrants that have children of school age, requiring primary or secondary education, do not base the direction of their move on favoured or desirable schools, but move to Old Town despite limited state school opportunities and standards. The proportion of school leavers in Hastings with GCSEs grades A to C in 2003-04 was 14. 9% below the national average (House of Commons Coastal Town Report, 2006/7). It is noted

by the Learning and Skills Council, however, that the issue of low attainment levels and aspirations ‘certainly applies to coastal areas’ but were no more prevalent than in inner cities, or other area with a high rate of deprivation.

Findings from the household survey show that moving impacts in detrimental ways on the quality of education for 37% of in-migrants, whilst a relatively low proportion consider the move to Old Town to have been beneficial in this area of their lives (16%). This arguably represents a departure from the contention that the place of children within the migration decision-making process centres upon enhanced education opportunities. Instead, it can be argued here that in-migrants consider other elements such as improved physical quality-of-life, more significant. The following quote illustrates how some in-migrants believe Old Town can provide a ‘better life’ for their children, arguably conflicting with conventional beliefs that good quality education is central to this:

‘If you’ve got kids, you just want a better life for them, which I think they can get here. It sounds a bit weird, because you’ve probably got better schools in London arguably, if you’re talking about private schools. The secondary schools here aren’t great’ (28).

‘Getting him into a good school was huge, yeah, huge. It’s a bit like Hogwarts, he loves it there, it’s a good school, it’s beautiful, it sits within a quarter of a thousand acres, it’s a really cool vibe, and everyone is really nice there’ (15).

The above quote reflects how some in-migrants often struggle to reconcile a ‘better life’ for their children with poorer education standards and prospects. The following quote introduces the inclination of many newcomers to Old Town to invest in private education in order to avoid the local education system. An alternative route through the local school system was also through religious schools:

‘The schools are a complete and utter disaster, beyond disaster, but those that send their kids to the private school here as well are paying for a bad education. I’m lucky because I’m a Catholic so my little girl goes to the catholic school up the road, Sacred Heart. I think people are resentful of that I have to say. And if you haven’t got the money to send them private you have to go through the state system here. I bet those who do send their kids to private schools went to private schools themselves as kids. But the education down here is shit, I have to be honest!’ (17).

The above quote also notes the perception of private education and private schools in Hastings. Often, in-migrants consider private education for their children a necessity rather than a choice, and look beyond Hastings for school options. Rather than find solutions to the problem of secondary schooling through understanding and negotiating the local educational system, in-migrants feel that private education is the sole option:

‘The schools here do have a poor reputation, but my youngest, she goes to a private school in Battle, not through choice really but through circumstance, because the schools are pretty terrible’ (17).

For many in-migrants, entry into a reputable school for children is often through the private education system. Some incomers take particular measures to avoid the state school system, by keeping a private school place open in place of origin in case school choice in Hastings proved problematic in some way:

‘But when we first moved down we were a bit concerned as to whether it would work or not, we also wanted to make sure we could get Ben into a good school because he needed to do two years of junior school and then he was going to move up and we weren’t sure whether he was going to get on, so he had his place at his school in London kept open just to make sure we could get on with it’ (28).

It is recognised that there are many in-migrants from London with school age children. The perceived trend for this particular sub-group of incomers to place their children in the private school system is not only noted by long-term residents, but considered detrimental in terms of contributing to the community, both economically and socially:

‘We’ve got five of the worst performing schools in the country and they are our secondary schools, so all of this London money, where is it going? It’s not going into our economy. People are putting their children into private schools’ (17).

‘If you’ve read local press you will see that in terms of education, it’s going through a bit of a mill, but all these people are moving in and are the people moving here sending their children to the local schools or are they sending their children out of the area to go to school? How are they actually contributing to the social fabric? If you’re not actually sending your children to local schools, how will this community sustain itself, if these people aren’t joining in at that grass roots level? Will more affluent people from more affluent areas send their children to more affluent schools or will

they join in the social-ness that that is Hastings. The people who have been here for a year, 2 years, they say they love the community and locality but would they consider sending their children to a local school?' (29).

Relatively recent in-migrants are identified by long-term residents as engaging with particular desired elements of the community and local social networks on their own terms, but rejecting local education choices in favour of private schooling. It is noted that in-migrants who have arrived within the last 2 years have the economic capital that allows them to opt out of the local state school system. The affluence of incomers is arguably perceived as detrimental to the 'social fabric' and 'socialness' of Old Town. Recent in-migrants are often considered unwilling to invest social capital in the area, and though education choices ensure that their children inhabit entirely separate social spaces from others (Butler, 2003). The emphasis in the above quote is on the significance of engagement and participation by all residents at 'grass roots level' to ensure the continuation of time-honoured community practices underpinning social cohesion.

7.3.7 'Personal communities'

This section explores in-migrant's ties with friends and neighbours, both in the place of origin and place of destination. Experiences of friends, friendships and personal communities are captured by semi-structured interviews and offer an insight into how the nature of relationships influences the direction and timing of migration.

It is argued that there is a distinction between personal communities and 'community life'. Experiences of 'community life' are discussed in more depth within Section 7. 6, and explores more broadly notions of 'being local', belonging, identity and attachment within the context of motives for migration, as well as rules, codes and behaviours within wider community networks. Rather, it is argued that in-migrants are actively seeking to enhance social capital, alongside other key forms of economic and cultural capital, and develop actual and potential resources that can be mobilised through belonging to social networks of both actors and organisations (Butler and Robson, 2001). It is useful at this stage to draw on Bourdieu's (1986) notion of social capital, as it involves:

'Transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighbourhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc)'.

The desire to change relationships and friendships from conditional and contingent, to arguably more 'authentic' with intrinsic value is apparent throughout semi-structured interviews. How in-migrants assign value to their friendships and relationships, and evaluate the importance of personal communities arguably influences the migration decision-making process, and helps to refocus attention on the significance of family migrant's social ties within migration practices.

It can be stated that some in-migrants expressed dissatisfaction with relationships in place of origin, and seek to broaden their social networks. Often, weakening the social ties that link in-migrants to previous place of residence encourages in-comers to develop new relationships and friendships in place of destination. For many in-migrants, friendships had diminished over time, and no longer fulfilled them:

'I'd got to the point where a lot of my friends just didn't do it for me anymore, and not that I don't want to be their friends but I was bored with half of what they were saying, you know? A number of them just don't do anything, I mean, I do feel that I am a man of action; do you know what I mean? I do...go for it. It was boring me...so I was desperate to find new people. You know, when I was in London I just thought you know, how do I find new people you know, I mean, I could meet new people, but actually developing a relationship with people was really difficult, on the longer term you know, because everyone's so spasmodic' (16).

It was consistently noted throughout semi-structured interviews that constraints on time prevented respondents from nurturing personal communities in place of origin:

'If you're a couple and you both work and you've got kids, you get them to school, you pick them up from school, all the usual things, take them out, go do a couple of things, feed them, put them to bed, collapse in a chair with a glass of wine...if someone from up the road does invite you in, you're like, when?' (28).

It is argued that the interviews illuminate how and why in-migrants make choices that construct particular social networks and allegiances. For some in-migrants, these choices are, in part, determined by a wish to forge relationships that are with 'people like us' (Butler, 2003). The following quote illustrates how meeting people with shared values is extremely beneficial:

'I've made some very good new friends down here who I value, and it's quite unusually to make good friends at this point in my life, you tend to make friends at certain point in your life, when you're younger, and I've made a completely new set of

friends and I seem to have met people with shared values, and it's all very complementary, it really suits me' (22).

Some in-migrants consider a move to Old Town an opportunity to break with the past, and shed entrenched expectations of them established over time in previous social networks and relationships. This allows in-migrants to express a more 'authentic' self:

'This break, coming here had enabled me to...well, when you know people for so long, all your life, they start to assume you behave in certain roles, they start to assume things about you, they start to make comments about you based on a lifetimes experience, but when you move to a new place, it's not like you can be someone else, but you can be who you are now, and no one can go, oh, hold on, wait a minute, you used to be like this, you know, you can start to be yourself, truly' (16).

In place of destination, through various actors and organisations, in-comers establish personal communities, and social relations are formed through community, school and church groups. Constructing social ties in an initially unfamiliar place is argued to be fundamental to positive outcomes of migration for family members:

'We didn't know a soul, which was very daunting as you can imagine, but it was easy to get involved, once we'd moved in we found that people came and popped their head in the door to say hello. I got involved with the Traders Association and Residents Association. Lynn helped to run the playgroup, and that was a good means of finding her friends....otherwise it may have been more difficult than it was to get to know people...the friends we have now are the same ones we made primarily through Lynn, and our kids have grown up together' (02).

The interviews also showed how in-migrants draw upon distinct social structures within Old Town to confirm the importance and value of the relationships they choose to invest in, revealing that in-migrants benefit from social relations that reinforce their worth as they endeavour to confirm a sense of self and their place within wider social networks:

'People from all different social backgrounds know Ronnie and Jimmy, as we are known, and in all sorts of odd and bizarre ways, we have touched their lives and they've touched ours and that confirms the value of who you are and that confirms the significance of your relationships' (07).

The importance of shared goals is noted by some in-migrants as important to social cohesion and inclusion. It appears that relatively recent incomers often forge connections with similar people, arguably creating, inadvertently or otherwise, communities on their own terms, containing predominantly recent in-migrants:

‘I think because we’re all still relatively new and because we’ve all got the same sort of aims, we do want the community to exist; we’ll make sure we do introduce each other to each other, so suddenly you do have 50 people who all know each other really well. It’s great’ (28).

Although experiences of personal social networks are generally positive, it can be said that the ethics and moral codes of neighbouring may give rise to tensions (Savage, 2005). Although in-migrants can choose where they live, they cannot readily choose their neighbours, and a need for privacy and distance from them is balanced with a sense of community and constructing the right kinds of ties:

‘There is that sense of community which is nice, but that sense of community has to be balanced with your own need for privacy. I have friends in the Old Town who I can go for a drink with, but when I close my door, I close my door, and so I don’t have people peering in...people seem to want to know and intrude and I’m quite a private person, but I learnt how to keep myself private and let people know what I want them to know. It can be incestuous in terms of people’ (18).

Whilst fracturing with the past in terms of friendships and personal communities is an intended outcome of migration for some in-migrants, other in-comers find leaving behind the intimacies of established social networks difficult. Often, attempts to maintain or practise a relationship over distance lead to feelings of socio-spatial and emotional detachment from a prior lifestyle, exacerbated by a sudden lack or absence of routine and habitual activities with friends:

‘I miss the habitual things like meeting friends for brunch on a Sunday...yeah its habit stuff, like going to a Pilate’s lesson with my teacher. I miss being able to see my friends at short notice, you know, getting together if we feel like it’ (01).

Feeling detached from a prior lifestyle is solved in part by in-migrants using elements of their new location to re-capture many of the intimacies of social relationships and networks. Enhanced physical environment often encourages visits from friends, while increased property size allows in-migrants to accommodate them:

‘People like coming out of town for weekends so it can be like running a hotel for the weekend, people like hanging out here, they’ve got the country and the sea’ (03).

As relationships are re-worked over space and time, it is argued that in-migrants often find multiple ways to maintain social ties, encouraging the continuation of relationships which are, by necessity, practised over distance. In some cases, social ties are considered more robust and ‘authentic’ if established through second generation residents. Having an immediate attachment to place through particular relations arguably allows in-migrants whose children are born in Old Town to feel a more valid connection as they endeavour to construct a sense of self and belonging within the community:

‘I sometimes wish we had some rock solid links to the place, but it’s more of a feeling...like this is where we’re supposed to be right now...I mean, our daughters got ginger hair and she was born here, so that kind of helps, the fact that she was born here does help us feel more rooted to the community, like we have a stake here now’ (14).

7.3.8 Engaging with local people

It is contended that amongst long-distance family migrants, a desire to engage with local residents, neighbours and social groups is consistent. The potential for interaction and relationships with local people is arguably highly appealing to new-comers. It can be noted, however, that in-migrants identified ‘authentic’ encounters as those unfolding within an ‘inner circle’ of community:

‘There is an inner world in the Old Town...the Old Town is made up of all sorts of people who have gone to live there because they love the environment, the architecture, the way of life. Everybody knows each other, at least inside the inner circle, I never thought I’d break in, but once you’re in, you’re in and everybody knows you...it’s a very small community, it’s a community within a community’ (33).

Local people and the social networks they constitute may be said to provide in-comers with a distinct sense of security and stability during times of uncertainty or trauma. It is contended that the opportunity to utilise local social relations and networks at particular times, for example, during life-course transitions, ill health, and personal crisis, is a significant appeal for in-migrants. The following quote demonstrates how an absence of supportive social networks in place of origin emphasises the role of communities of interest in place of destination, in which individuals have experiences in common and can empathise accordingly:

‘We’ve really joined a community, and we’ve met people with children, I mean, I have friends in London, but I was of the first to have a child, and with the breakup being as tortuous as it was, it actually alienated me, I couldn’t involve the people because it was so out of order, so I actually started to go off on my own and deal with having a daughter, on my own, I didn’t really have a big structure round me. I had friends but you couldn’t really hang out them with kids and stuff’ (16).

In times of ill health, it is contended that place-specific social and physical characteristics and qualities allow in-migrants to maintain a certain quality-of-life, and emotional and mental health:

‘Yes, and it’s not only the physical environment which clearly provides health benefits, because of the fresh air, the air is clean, Jimmy can sit outside if he wants to with the door open, or sit in the garden, it’s just a completely different environment to what we had in London, yes we could sit in the garden, but amongst the noise and dirty air, For Jimmy’s emotional and mental health, he’s not isolated in the way in which he would have been if we’d remained in London. Here, he’s always talking to people, and that gives him a quality-of-life that he wouldn’t have elsewhere, gives him a sense of important and significance, and when you have an illness your world begins to shrink in all sorts of ways and it’s important to feel as though you still have something to contribute to other people, and this community allows Jimmy to do that’ (07).

A desire to live in Old Town is recognised by some respondents as something that initially connects people, regardless of status as ‘born and bred’ locals or relatively recent in-migrants. It is contended that this provides a fundamental link between individuals within the community, as those people who have made the decision to move to a particular place do so because they appreciate its distinctive charms, its landscape, its vistas, and it is them who are able to better champion it (Savage, 2005). A shared interest and understanding of Old Town is seen as an important tool that binds residents to both place and each other, in multiple and diverse ways. As Frankenberg (1966: 238) contends: ‘their common interest in things gives them a common interest in each other’:

‘Everyone’s got being here in common, and they obviously want to be here or else they’d bugger off somewhere different, and if you want to be here then you obviously have some kind of affinity with here’ (15).

In-migrants do, however, recognise that their presence in the community may encourage perceptions of in-comers as preventing 'local' people from purchasing property, and displacing the local population from the area:

'It's interesting because he [long-term resident] didn't say he was cross with me but he did say that that kind of a thing, you know, when they hear that people from outside of the area come in, and the people who already live here can't afford to buy here, you know, there's that element of, 'that's only for us' type thing' (16).

Whilst those who are elected to participate in the 'inner world' of Old Town arguably benefit from the inclusiveness and sense of belonging it provides, those who are excluded consider local social networks elitist. The following quote from a resident of 'main town' Hastings illustrates how local residents in Old Town are sometimes perceived:

'They're [Old Town residents] all so snobby, they have their own societies and clubs for everything, and really expensive bars on George Street, they're just full of private school kids whose parents pay for everything, taking coke in the toilets. That whole place is like, yeah, we like you here during the summer, spend your money, have your fish and chips and then bugger off home' (42).

7.3.9 Summary

This section has sought to analyse the findings of semi-structured interviews to uncover the social factors underpinning family migration within Old Town. In doing so, it has been revealed that social-led motives for migration, such as the importance of life-course considerations, enhanced personal and wider communities, and family relations within and family-ties outside of the household, are increasingly significant dimensions of family migration.

Findings reveal that in-migrants are enticed by the opportunity to participate in distinct social structures and networks within Old Town, and how complex meanings and expectations of 'community' shape experiences and outcomes of migration for family members. Semi-structured interviews reveal how place-specific dimensions of community in Old Town are a key appeal for in-migrants, and emphasise the increasing significance of social and cultural dimensions within the migration decision-making process. Semi-structured interviews highlight the increasing unevenness of the migration decision-making process, as it unfolds between partners and within families more widely. It is contended that migration decisions are increasingly characterised by uncertainty, compromise and negotiation, rather than being dominated by one family member.

Importantly, the re-negotiation and transformation of employment regimes, either as an intended or unintended outcome of migration, often underpins increasingly fragmented ‘family time’ and familial relations, as time is spent in multiple locations. It is argued, however, that in-migrants increasingly place an emphasis on quality-of-time together as a family, rather than quantity, and consciously construct ‘family time’, renewing efforts to spend time together.

7.4 Cultural-led motives for family migration

This section explores the cultural dimensions of family migration. The discussion seeks to more fully tease out the cultural factors that shape practices of family migration, and uncover some of the underlying cultural decision-making processes of family migrants. This focus is important given the arguments, outlined in Chapter 2, call for under-researched themes of family migration to be illuminated, and the non-economic motives within family migration practices more fully considered.

7.4.1 On the margins and ‘out of the way’: representations of the English seaside

This section begins by examining the cultural meanings attached by in-migrants to both ‘coast’ and ‘the seaside’, and explores how and why particular imaginings and / or expectations of these spaces shape processes of migration to Old Town, Hastings. As Carter (2009: 354) argues:

‘The coast is materially real, made by cultures, and is then given particular social meanings specific to the culture that has constructed that version of the coast’.

It is contended that empirical research reveals how post-2001 in-migrants are constructing particular versions of Old Town, as a seaside/coastal space. Findings reveal that Old Town and the related shoreline is constructed in different ways depending on the social group(s) involved (Carter, 2009), and the social construction of the coast can differ significantly. For some migrants, the material conditions of the coast, as a geophysical stretch of shoreline are mostly drawn upon, and representations of Old Town are grounded in the physical, ‘natural’, and ‘raw’ elements of the coastal. For other in-migrants, the social construction of the coast is more significant within decision-making processes, drawing upon historical, often nostalgic meanings of the seaside, and valuing the charm, tradition and kitsch nature of the ‘classic’ English seaside:

‘The seaside is more candy floss and rock as opposed to coast. I think there should be room for everything. Traditional English seaside for some is Punch and Judy, that thing should sort of survive shouldn’t it? You should be able to have an ice cream, but you should also be able to wander mindlessly on an empty beach. You can find both here I think. What would happen to the culture here if you didn’t have both?’ (29).

‘Hastings has always been a holiday place, whether you’re coming down here for a day trip or caravanning or camping or whatever, and people don’t want to see arty farty, they want rock and jellied eels and all that, that’s what the seaside’s all about isn’t it?’ (02).

There are arguably significant appeals inherent within each conceptualisation of Old Town, and it is contended that in-migrants who come to reside in the town draw profoundly upon such notions within the migration decision-making process. An enhanced physical quality-of-life was often associated with the fresh air and open spaces of coastal environs, whilst some in-migrants arguably draw upon more nostalgic imaginings of the seaside.

7.4.2 Counterurban appeals: dimensions of the rural

How in-migrants define and describe their new environment demonstrates that identities of ‘the rural’, ‘the urban’ or ‘non-urban’ are not fixed and universal but culturally constructed and deployed by each in-migrant in numerous and diverse ways (Valentine, 1997). Various descriptions of Old Town as ‘a village within a town’ and ‘coastal, but rural, but in a town too’, arguably reflect how representations and imaginings of Old Town are less distinct than those perhaps applicable to other spaces, such as the city or the rural. It is argued that different representations, meanings and appeals of rural and urban places are central to the residential decision-making processes of migrants (e.g. Halfacree, 1993; Smith and Phillips, 2001), and in-migrants to Old Town are consuming various cultural constructions of the case study location.

The physical and socio-cultural representations that in-migrants ascribed to Old Town, and which are considered to be most appealing, included the sea, character buildings and a close-knit-community. Semi-structured interviews consistently reveal how in-migrants are attracted by ‘rural’ qualities such as countryside, community, and traditional architecture, yet also value elements of the ‘urban’ such as a bustling high street and access to shops, service and amenities. These categories are not fixed, and it is arguably the blurring of them that is becoming increasingly appealing for in-migrants:

‘This place just felt right, it gave us things that the other places couldn’t, I mean, the sea is a big thing, there’s a lot to be said for looking at the sea every day. You’ve got all of the things that the other places could have given us, it’s like they’re all combined here...the sea, the countryside, community, quirky people...it can all be found here, which is wonderful’ (15).

‘It’s quite bohemian, it’s quite artistic, it’s got quite a free feeling. It’s the sea that does that as well, being near the sea. You’ve got miles of space, you can be in the middle of town then 10 seconds later you can hop on the railway and be up on the county park’ (04).

Plate 7. 1 shows the East Hill in Old Town, via which access can be gained to Hastings Country Park Nature Reserve, a 345ha area of maritime cliff with a cliff top area of maritime acid grassland and heath, gill woodland, scrub, neutral grassland, and amenity grassland (wildhastings.org.uk). It is contended that this is a relatively unique space on the South East coast, constituting the largest area of the High Weald ridge that meets the sea.



Plate 7. 1 East Hill in Old Town, with view towards Hastings Country Park Nature Reserve

For many in-migrants, the appeals of the ‘rural’ such as more space, close-knit community and enhanced physical environment can be found in coastal spaces such as Old Town. Significantly, however, Old Town is contended to lack many of the socio-spatial conditions associated with rural spaces that are viewed less favourable, such as remoteness and isolation from people and place:

‘So I sold my place after a while and rented a cottage in Essex, an hour from my office, in the middle of nowhere, and it was bliss. I was going to buy this cottage actually, it was very rural, so isolated, we had one neighbour and then none for miles, which was great friends would come up, great place to have crazy parties, but after a

while, I mean, my daughter doesn't live with me full-time, and if you get a bit low in a place like that, it really accentuates it, because you're just so isolated' (16).

It is contended that similar motivations and concerns that underpin many conventional counterurban moves to distinct rural spaces may be considered increasingly central to long-distance moves to coastal spaces. Escaping the busy, noisy, and dirty urban environs for a seaside setting is a significant appeal for many in-migrants, those down-from-London in particular. The following quote illustrates how increased space, cleaner environment and less hectic lifestyle are associated with the countryside, and yet, the appeal of the sea often influences the migration decision-making process more considerably:

'I really enjoyed living in South London, but there's not as much space, it's dirtier, busier, it's generally much nicer down here. I mean, we've always loved being by the sea, so I don't think we'd could ever just have moved to the countryside' (24).

It appears that post-2001 in-migrants in particular adopt new cultural strategies within migration decision-making processes that place increasing emphasis on particular place-specific appeals and quality-of-place concerns. The appeals and enticements more synonymous with rural and countryside spaces are steering migration trajectories down the urban hierarchy to coastal spaces. In-migrants to Old Town are attracted by a unique combination of particular urban, non-urban and rural characteristics and elements, of which they can consciously choose to engage with or not to construct a personal idyll. In order to attain what is often described as the 'best of both worlds', in-migrants adopt counterurban cultural motives, but reject distinctly rural spaces in favour of those on the coastal margins.

It is important to note that, for some in-migrants, past experiences of place and space are influential in the migration decision-making process, and re-focuses attention on the importance of considering the migrant's entire biography (Halfacree, 1993). The following quote illustrates how place of birth and childhood home, and the urban/rural characteristics and qualities of those places, arguably influences the direction of migration, and steers family migrants towards a less distinct space on the urban hierarchy:

'Maybe it was because I was brought up in London and coming from Cambridge, I don't suppose I am a country sort of person, maybe I like to be in the centre of town, but country? Not really, I don't know' (26).

7.4.3 Physical environment underpins socio-spatial separation

It has been well established that the physical environment of Old Town is a significant appeal for family migrants; in-migrants engaging with diverse elements of the coastal environment in multiple and multifaceted ways through their migration practices (see Chapter 6). This section goes further to examine the extent to which physical characteristics and qualities of Old Town shape socio-cultural conditions. The physical environment has considerable influence on socio-cultural structures within Old Town that appeal to in-migrants and shape outcomes of migration in diverse ways.

Semi-structured interviews also reveal how Old Town is often viewed as removed from the wider material influence of urban society, both in terms of a geographical separation and socio-spatial dislocation. The following quote neatly illustrates the 'natural' divide between Old Town and Hastings more widely, and how Old Town is considered 'closed off', both physically and culturally, from Hastings:

'I think it's quite insular here, it's naturally walled, separated from the rest of Hastings physically and culturally...we've got the big hill to the west, the cliffs, the East Hill, the sea, geographically it's quite closed off' (03).

In-migrants often use particular language to explain the divide between Old Town and Hastings; labelling the 'main town' of Hastings as the 'new' town, in contrast to the 'old' town. Whilst the Old Town is perceived as relatively unspoilt and preserved by its arguably unique physical setting, the 'new' town is nondescript and indistinct. Residents are often content to stay within Old Town, and 'straying' into the 'new' town is considered unnecessary:

'The Old Town has never really changed because it's stuck between two hills so it can't expand east or south, it's relatively unspoilt. People call the main town the new town. A huge amount of people don't stray out of the Old Town, there's a joke about needing a passport. The new town is just any seaside town; it could be anywhere' (10).

'I think people see Hastings and the Old Town as quite separate, as they talk about Hastings and then they talk about the Old Town, so I don't think there is that kind of integration, even though there are pathways that join them. I think that more people come to settle in the Old Town and that it has a separate identity' (18).

The divide between the 'new' and 'old' town in terms of identity, culture and character, prompts one in-migrant to proclaim that 'Old Town is a mini kingdom!' (40). This vividly exemplifies how Old Town is perceived as a more privileged space, in which some are elected and others excluded.

The physical environment is argued to be a fundamental factor in constructing particular socio-cultural imaginings of Old Town, and offers in-migrants and residents other benefits. The physical environment as offering 'protection' from wider society is often noted, and the natural qualities of Old Town's environment prevent the town from expanding, something that is considered inherently detrimental to the social character of Old Town:

'Because of the geographical structure of it [Old Town], you're protected by two big hills and the sea, you can't go back as you'll end up in Ore. Hastings itself kind of sits in a basin, so geographically it knocks the spots of other places like Brighton, because Brighton can kind of sprawl out along and back until it hits the South Downs' (14).

That Old Town is unlikely to undergo any substantial physical transformation is a significant appeal for many in-migrants, and arguably offers in-comers a sense of consistency and stability in an often unstable world. The physical environment is contended to encourage particular types of social engagement and cohesion. The following quote expresses how the layout and landscape of Old Town encourages residents to utilise the 'public realm', and expand and strengthen links with others through contact and interaction:

'In the Old Town, it's got one of the highest densities of development in terms of people per hectare anywhere in Britain which is on a par with a European city, and it's full of tiny, tiny houses, most of them without any gardens so they have to go out into the public realm and as a result, everyone knows each other' (06).

Various sub-cultures unique to Old Town clearly shape in-migrant's sense of attachment, or detachment, from wider society. Semi-structured interviews reveal a sense of disconnection from other spaces, yet many in-migrants are seemingly content with the distinct 'microclimate' that this detachment engendered:

'Even the Channel Tunnel has bypassed us and gone to Ashford...so we do have our own little microclimate and our own culture here' (27).

Old Town as insular and willingly disconnected is reinforced by other in-migrant perceptions. Despite inherently negative connotations of isolation however, this is often viewed positively, as

rather than being cut off from a world that is desired, residents are cut off from an undesirable, uncertain world with desired people. Experiencing this particular kind of socio-spatial isolation allows some migrants to (re) discover a sense of collective belonging and identity:

‘I love the fact that people cross-pollinate here, engage with each other, it’s something that doesn’t happen in London, perhaps that’s what most appeals to people coming here...they’ve been cut-off in London or elsewhere from everyone and now they want to live in a place that is admittedly quite insular sometime but you’re insulated from the world with other people in a community, you’re part of something’ (03).

For many in-migrants originating from more urban spaces, Old Town provides salvation from a sense of isolation from people and dislocation from place; a reprieve from anonymity within a ‘faceless crowd’. Some in-migrants are, however, often frustrated by the divide between Old Town and the ‘main town’ of Hastings, and view the separation as socially constructed, rather than an outcome of physical characteristics. Respondents acknowledge that the sometimes insular nature of Old Town has the potential to be detrimental, and would rather encourage enhanced connections and social ties to both people and place within a wider socio-cultural context:

‘It makes me a bit angry, because if you move somewhere you’ve got to embrace the lot, because it will never change otherwise. I think if we all sneak into our little worlds and close ourselves off then it won’t change and I think that’ll be a shame. I mean, you can’t just go, oh we’re here now, you’ve all got to piss off because we don’t like you, I don’t think it works like that either’ (17).

In some instances, the ‘old’ and ‘new’ towns are considered mutually dependent, rather than inherently separate. The Old Town as separate from the new town arguably stems from the Old Town being perceived as a place of privilege in which not everyone can participate, which, in turn, creates particular dynamics of inclusion and exclusion:

‘I don’t call it the new town; I don’t really see Old Town as separate from the main town, they kind of spiral into each other, they kind of need each other I think.... I find this a really bizarre energy here, I didn’t really understand the whole old town, new town thing when I first moved here, it wasn’t until I’d really moved in here that I began to realise that ahh, I’m living in the place where everyone wants to live’ (16).

Interestingly, recent in-migrants value more negative perceptions of wider Hastings as a tool to prevent people from moving there, and ‘discovering’ the Old Town, as well as excluding those considered ‘unsuitable’ or ‘undesirable’:

‘I don’t think much about what other people think of Hastings. It keeps out the people who shouldn’t be here anyway, you kind of half want it to regenerate and half keep it a secret from the masses...we kind of like being under the radar. I think the people who live here, some, including me, have a sometimes bizarre relationship with the place [laughter]’ (17).

7.4.4 The appeals of the sea

The sea is an integral element of coastal imagery, often as a wholesome, natural, regenerative, almost mythical element of the environment. The appeal of living ‘by the sea’ is outlined in various contexts throughout Chapter 6; including the physical elements of coastal environs as well as socio-cultural constructions of living in a coastal town and fishing village. Distinct representations of the coastal environs as healthy, wholesome and natural are often associated with wind-swept cliff-tops and beaches, and the raw, natural landscape.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the sea features in narratives of migration to Old Town for most in-migrants. The extent to which living by the sea shapes outcomes of migration for in-migrants and the family is, however, perhaps surprising. Whilst some in-migrants value the physical, tangible elements of living by the sea, such as access to coastal environs, including cliff tops and beaches, other in-migrants view the sea in somewhat more reflective and introspective terms. Engaging with the physical environment is a key factor for many in-migrants, and the physical expanse of the sea is often a calming influence in the lives of in-migrants:

‘The first year we moved here we were in the sea every five minutes. I’d never lived by the sea in this country and it’s fantastic isn’t it, just looking at that enormous ocean expanse, the horizon, it just relaxes you’ (28).

For many in-migrants, the sea, beach and ‘sea air’ offer respite from the metropolitan city, and mark a separation between different realms, such as work and home:

‘I go home after a hot summer’s evening in the city and I go for a walk on the beach. I get off the train and go and paddle in the sea and I think to myself ‘this is it?’’ (13).

When questioned about the appeals and enticements that feature in their migration decision-making process, typical comments included:

‘It’s the sea. It sounds silly but it is the sea. People love to live by the sea don’t they? We’d miss it now. I really can’t imagine not living by the sea now. When we lived up in Kent, the thought of going to Hastings for the day or spending the night, was fan-bloody-tastic. But because it’s there, you sometimes take it for granted, so now, it’s different, but we still love it’ (23).

‘It wasn’t just the house prices that drew us here; it was being by the sea. My husband had been in the navy and he knew he liked the sea, but he hadn’t lived by the sea for a long time, and we decided together that we both wanted to live by the sea, and now I wouldn’t want to be far away from it wherever I may live in the future because it’s more important to me than town or countryside, I love the sea’ (26).

The above quotes also allude to the impact that living in Old Town, by the sea, may have on future migration and locational decisions. This arguably supports the contention that migration events must be situated in the migrant’s entire biography, in order to fully appreciate the dynamics of the decision-making process (Halfacree, 1997). For many in-migrants, the sea was a reassuring presence in a constantly changing, sometimes chaotic world, and respondents often reflected on its restorative, almost mythical power:

‘It’s something that’s always there, it’s reassuring, it’s amazingly powerful. Whatever is going on in life the sea just does its thing, in and out, in and out; it’s healing and in just puts things in perspective. Sometimes I see a postcard from Victorian times and I don’t want to sound morbid but all those people are gone, all their little problems, all their little worries, but the sea is still there, doing the same thing’ (26).

7.4.5 Nostalgia

Semi-structured interviews reveal that, for many in-migrants, the seaside represents elements of a bygone age, of Victorian England and post-war Britain. Although the following quote refers to holidaying by the seaside, it captures how the ‘seaside’ represents a particular time-space for those visiting or migrating to the coast:

‘As the recession deepens and we are forced, out of economic necessity, to return to our seaside resorts...will we still find the Britain we remember?’ (The Guardian, 7/4/09).

The contemporary identity and socio-cultural appeal of Hastings as tied to multiple memories and imaginings of the past is clearly illustrated by one respondent:

‘I think there’s a very strong east end identity, going back to the 1950’s when east enders used to come down for holidays, and right up to the days of package holidays...the pier was very vibrant, all the big bands, the rolling stones, Jimi Hendrix played on the pier, mods and rockers, it had a powerful identity, and that identity still lingers in the hearts and minds of lots of people, lots of people from London know Hastings because that’s where their parents used to bring them as children. Even when package holidays took over, Hastings still had a cache for a certain type of tripper, the day tripper, and there were also, dare I say it, people who came down for naughty weekends, it developed a kind of cache, a kind of cult status as a result of that’ (06).

‘It was the sea air; I used to come here when I was younger and step off the train and breathe in the sea air, I’ve always remembered that’ (Survey, 22).

Interestingly, semi-structured interviews clearly show that many in-migrants draw on discourses of nostalgia to inform the direction of their move, arguably giving the migration decision-making process an additional tier of complexity. Many respondents revere ‘the past’ and the values and traditions associated with it, and feel that Old Town provides them with elements of the past that enhances general quality-of-life:

‘There’s something in the quality of the life here, like people often say, it’s like going back to the past’ (09).

A desire to go ‘back to the past’ is arguably a response to the anxieties of modern society and an absence of community, and reflects a wish to recapture elements of the past, in which an intimate and supportive community was the norm:

‘It was always going to be Old Town. It just always had that charm, I’d always loved it, always loved the feel of it, it’s very different, and it’s like stepping back in time. Even my parents when they come down just can’t believe this, what this place is like; it’s like pre-war England wandering around here. I mean, everyone knows everyone here; you can’t go out for a pint of milk without allowing an extra 15 minutes, because you’ll bump into someone and be chatting on the street while your pint goes warm’ (25).

Many in-migrants associate seaside spaces with particular memories and meanings, most often from their own childhood. The opportunity to retrieve elements of a positively evaluated past world, the 'golden age' of childhood in particular, is an important feature of the migration process for many in-migrants:

'Nick and I had both had childhoods where we were free to roam, you know, on a Saturday morning I'd go out with my friends and my mum would say, be back by before dark, she didn't have a clue where I was, we'd be off on our bikes. So we wanted to go somewhere where the children were free, much free-er than they could be in London' (06).

Rather than attempting to re-create the past, it is argued that in-migrant's own experiences of childhood encourage them to re-capture some of the positive elements of the past for their own children, such as independence and lack of restriction, through their migration practices. Other experiences of childhood, such as living by the sea, are also contended to influence the direction of migration. For some in-migrants, Old Town is reminiscent of previous time-spaces, such as post-war England, and the 'atmosphere' of that time was valued highly:

'Hastings Old Town is slightly jaded; it's at least 40 years behind anywhere else...it has that slightly distressed, jaded atmosphere, it reflects a world of the past. I suppose all of this reflects the fact that I grew up in the 1950's, a small seaside town that was still lodged in the 1940's, and for me they were very enjoyable, exciting and peaceful times in which to grow up' (07).

'There are all the retro shops; the fact that Foyle's War is filmed here has clearing infected everything; on an average day you'll see numerous women walking down the street looking as though they've steeped out of the 50's, in their tweed skirts and upright bicycles' (17).

7.4.6 Being at 'home' in Old Town

An important theme that emerges from semi-structured interviews is that of 'home'. For many in-migrants previously, residence in place of origin and locational decisions is often influenced by job-related considerations, and prevented respondents from making the decision to place themselves elsewhere. Identifying 'home' as a space in which routines of work, leisure and family

are performed through necessity rather than choice arguably prevents some respondents from attaching any significant meaning and value to their place of residence:

‘I tell you what the big thing is: we have a really lovely house in London, we’ve been offered 2.35 million for it, so obviously it’s a nice house...it’s somewhere to sleep, you know, eat, watch telly, have a bath, get ready to go out, it’s convenient...but it isn’t home, it isn’t like...I can’t wait to get home. It isn’t that. And here, already I’m like, I can’t wait to get home. I can’t wait to just hang out here’ (15).

‘The only thing we miss about London is the cultural life, all the bookshops, being 10 minutes away from the British Museum. When we go to London now we visit a couple of bookshops perhaps, but then think we can’t wait to be home, in our cottage, in Old Town, with each other and our cat...this is most definitely home now’ (07).

By selecting to move to Old Town and reside in this particular place, in-migrants begin to construct an account of why they live in this place, relating their residence to their choice and circumstance, and feeling most ‘at home’ (Savage, 2005):

‘It’s [moving] about somewhere to live that’s convenient for work when work is your life, when it’s everything, versus a home where you really want to be...our place in London, it isn’t like...I can’t wait to get home, it isn’t that. And here, already I’m like, I can’t wait to get home; I can’t wait to hang out here’ (15).

7.4.7 ‘Unearthing a hidden treasure’: Imagining the coastal idyll

The interviews also showed that in-migrants often have particular expectations that influence how the migration process unfolds. The following quote illustrates how abstract notions of residing in Old Town are re-shaped over time:

‘You have a vision of what you think it’s like, but actually, to live here, it’s quite different. Life still goes on even though you’re there, and you either like the close contact and stay there or you don’t and you get out’ (23).

Long-term residents often provide vivid illustrations of how and why they believe newcomers to the town are enticed by expectations of particular lifestyles. More established residents posit that recent incomers to Old Town are engaging with an idealised, more sanitised version of the town that neatly corresponds with more abstract imaginings of Old Town:

‘I think it’s the bubble, it’s a little bubble and people get attracted to the bubble and they suddenly realise they could move here, we could buy somewhere down there, and wouldn’t it be lovely to slob along, and eat in the fisherman’s café which doesn’t really exist anymore because it’s all been nicely upmarketed and wander round in my shorts and flip-flops’ (04).

Divergence between more idealistic imaginings of Old Town and the everyday may be argued to lead to conflict between new-comers and longer-term residents. A desire to maintain romanticised, ‘chocolate box’ notions of Old Town is arguably disrupted by everyday activities within the town:

‘Old Town is one of those areas where a lot of people from London come down and want it to be trendy, think of it as that trendy, by the sea, next big place to invest and then they complain about the noise from the pubs, and there have been a lot of issues locally, they think, oh, it’s a wonderful little village, chocolate box with Tudor buildings and cottages, and they don’t realise there’s a huge live music scene down here for example, it’s a very live, vibrant community, and there are issues that have come up lately’ (10).

Relatively recent in-migrants are often derided for desiring particular lifestyles, but believe that Old Town could perhaps provide elements of a particular lifestyle. The following quote demonstrates how ‘alternative’ lifestyles, based upon organic, wholesome and natural values, are not only a significant appeal for many in-migrants, but those situated within the middle-class in particular:

‘Old Town appeals to those who want a different kind of existence...it’s a shop locally, organic, natural, wholesome way of life, an almost ‘aspirational’ lifestyle that everyone wants to lead, the kind you see in The Times and The Guardian supplement pages’ (02).

For many in-migrants, ‘discovering’ somewhere ‘hidden’ is an appeal in itself. In-migrants value the experience of ‘unearthing a treasure’ through their migration practices, imbuing the process with a sense of exclusivity that has a ‘speciality nature’:

‘It’s the speciality nature, the fact that people think that they’ve discovered somewhere personally; it’s part of its cache. What we should be doing is making the place as successful and interesting as possible then once it becomes successful, people find out about it by themselves and they almost cherish it more than being force fed

loads of articles in papers saying how wonderful this place is. People like hidden gems, they like the idea of unearthing a treasure' (06).

7.4.8 'Down from London': from the city to the coastal margins

Analyses of the interviews reveal a complex migratory relationship between London and Old Town. There is nothing particularly new about the argument that in-migrants to Old Town and Hastings more widely have often originated from the city. Rather, it is contended that this particular social grouping demonstrates distinct concerns and desires and particular motives for moving, and adopt new strategies in various spheres to facilitate their mobility. Often, their mobility is influenced by a willingness to 'lose out' in certain areas of their lives, and shaped by how they mitigate loss in view of other, potential gains (see section 7. 2. 1).

It is contended that analysis of this sub-group of in-migrants must acknowledge the particular characteristics and forms of capital of this group, and the wider implications of their migration practices. This section examines the economic and cultural resources brought down to Old Town from London by in-migrants, and how these create and maintain particular socio-economic and cultural conditions within the town. It is argued that this sub-group of in-migrants are relatively affluent and bring with them behaviours and varying ideals of city living (Butler and Robson, 2001).

It is not being argued that migration flows from London to Hastings are a new or contemporary phenomenon. In-migration from London, both historically and currently, is based upon a rich artistic community and creative industry, and the movement of artists, writers and other creative groups into Hastings and Old Town is an integral feature of both spaces (see Chapter 5). Long-term residents of Old Town in particular are aware of the rich history of in-migration from London, but are unsure as to whether this trend has developed any further:

'There's always been people moving here from London, always been a movement of people in and out, it's not new, this goes back to the 1800's people like to live by the seaside, I don't know whether we've got any more people from London choosing to live here, or artists living here than we ever had' (29).

It is acknowledged that flows of migration from London to Hastings have historically been part of wider population dynamics within the town. Contemporary in-migrants 'down-from-London' are, however, a particular social grouping with distinctive cultural motivations and expectations that distinguish them from previous flows of in-migration from London, and contribute profoundly to

the changing 'social character' of Old Town as discussed in Section 7. 5. 8. The following quote neatly demonstrates the perceived distinction between the 'indigenous' community, and 'in-coming' community:

'The indigenous community, the fishing community have one idea of what this place is all about, the in-comers from London and Brighton have another view of what it's all about' (26).

The type of in-comer to Old Town from the city, since 2001, is often considered a 'fairly recent phenomenon', and arguably marks a subtle shift in population within the town:

'In our eyes, it's a fairly recent phenomenon [people down from London], when we first moved here, it was at least 60, 70% old town people...we've made friends with a lot of people who have come down from London' (40).

In the context of Old Town, migration flows from the city to the coast have historically been rooted in retirement migration; in-migrants moving out of London to less urban locales once their formal working lives have ceased. Whilst neighbouring coastal locales such as Bexhill and Eastbourne are associated with this particular migration dynamic, it is contended that Old Town is attracting a younger, more mobile and affluent family migrant from London, with certain motivations, forms of capital and cultural preferences. The following quote illustrates how 'certain' types of person or group increasingly comprise contemporary migration flows from London to the coastal margins:

'People did come here because they wanted to retire by the sea and that kind of Bexhill image you know, worked all their lives in London and wanted a change. Now it seems to be younger people, there are certain types, certain groups of people who are coming' (29).

As discussed in Section 7. 5. 8, it is important to acknowledge the different forms of capital these 'certain' in-migrants bring with them as they counterurbanise down the urban hierarchy. The economic capital in-migrants acquire from the sale of relatively higher value property in London, for example, often facilitates the purchase of relatively larger properties, as well as buy outright. The enhanced economic capital of relatively recent in-comers from London is considered a distinguishing factor from 'other', previous in-comers, described by long-term residents as 'ordinary' in terms of wealth and resources. The following quote illustrates how many long-term residents have originated from London, but are constructed as different against contemporary in-comers:

‘This place is becoming more desirable for people who are moving out of London and perhaps have a bit of money. A lot of the people who have lived here a while did originate from London, but I’m not talking posh now, I’m talking ordinary folks’ (09).

There is a desire to be involved in the social, cultural and economic milieu of the town that arguably differs from previous in-migrants, and property ownership is often considered by in-comers from London as key to ‘staking a claim’ in the community:

‘I think what we’re talking about now, it’s a very different thing; people are actually staking a claim in the town now’ (08).

That property in Old Town is relatively less expensive is often perceived by long-term residents as an initial enticement that attracts potential in-migrants to the area. Residential decision-making is arguably significantly steered by housing considerations, such as type and size of dwelling, as well as relative price of property. It is, however, argued that in-comers from London respond to different stimuli for migration, and it was found that long-term residents often question the appeal of property as the key motivation for migration for this sub-group:

‘Yes, the property here is cheap, but it can’t be the price alone that people like, because there are plenty of other places in Britain where property is just as cheap’ (27).

That relatively cheaper property is an initial appeal is again noted in the following quote. Less tangible enticements are, however, considered to be increasingly significant in retaining in-migrants, such as the ‘bohemian feel’ to Old Town, physical environment, and community:

‘It might be the property that gets you here, but it’s other things that keep you here...the sea, the community, the bohemian feel to the place, so it’s everything combined, the sea, the country park, it’s all the beautiful things here, as well as a little town, a little place where you’ve got places where you can sit out, where people are friendly, where you can always expect a welcome’ (14).

Semi-structured interviews reveal that contemporary in-migrants down-from-London are increasingly privileging ‘other’ considerations, issues and concerns within the migration decision-making process. The following quote captures some of the ‘other’ appeals and enticements that

may influence the direction of migration for long-distance family migrants, such as environmental and lifestyle factors:

‘Do people come down here for the property because it cheaper than London? If you sell a property in London and come down here, property is fairly cheap so you can get a nice spot by the sea, or do you come because the light is fantastic, it’s brilliant. Do they come because the weather’s good, I mean, it’s a great lifestyle’ (29).

It is contended, therefore, that many long-distance family migrants from London are increasingly questioning the nature and place of the city within their lives, and that this is reflected in the timing and direction of migration. The characteristics of ‘life-on-the—coast’ may be said to be an increasingly significant motive for migration, and arguably offers in-migrants the antithesis of the urban experience:

‘People come here for other reasons...the quality-of-life, the experience of being by the sea, walking it, being on windswept cliffs, eating fish and chips, I think that’s what’s really, really important’ (29).

For many recent in-migrants from London, the opportunity to escape the materialistic plane of the city in pursuit of ‘the experience of being by the sea’ is central to their decision-making. In-migrants, from London in particular, position the liminal status of the seaside against the ‘serious’ world of London, and are enticed by Old Town, and Hastings more widely as an inherently social space, to which they can retreat from the stress and dangers of the city. Rather than seeking to engage fully with the ‘good life’ counter-culture, it appears that in-migrants are keen to capture elements of ‘the good life’ through migration practices, whilst not cutting ties with the city entirely. The desire for a less materialistic, arguably simpler, lifestyle is increasingly significant. The following quote exemplifies how ‘hanging out’ and ‘mucking about’ on the coastal margins is increasingly more highly valued than the shopping, eating out and other consumption practices of the city:

‘I’ve had enough of shopping at weekends and buying clothes, and we’ve eaten at hundreds of fantastic restaurants, and it’s not like we want to give that up completely, but it’s actually quite nice just being in a space and hanging out by the sea and mucking about in the country’ (15).

The transient nature of social encounters in London, amongst the hustle and bustle of city living, is also argued to influence motives for migration. The desire for continuity and stability within relationships that are effortless and straightforward is illustrated in the following quote:

‘In London, if I see or meet you in the shop or whatever, it’s like, hi, how you doing, and then you step out the door and it’s like a train or a bus has come flying by and you’re just going to get on it, do you know what I mean, London is so transient. What I like about here is walking out onto the street and you’re like, hi, hi, hello, that easiness’ (16).

Semi-structured interviews reveal how many in-comers from London are questioning the role of material pursuits and gains more broadly. The following quotes from two in-comers from London illustrate how less tangible desires are becoming increasingly significant within the lives of in-migrants more widely. Further, it is contended that the desire for less materialistic gains permeates the migration decision-making process, and diminishes the importance of economic-led motives:

‘I think we’re all sick of that, you know, kill yourself generation, for money that we’ve realised, actually, isn’t going to make that much of a difference, because it’s never going to go far enough, so you might as well change your expectations’ (28).

‘What actually makes people happy? It’s not necessarily having more, more, more, in a materialistic way. Imagine what it’s like having everything you want. I think there are some qualities in life which make people happy, which have little to do with material things’ (09).

Semi-structured interviews with local estate agents identify that Old Town is a community affected by a relatively strong outside housing demand (see Chapter 5). It is argued that the demand for second homes and holiday homes is predominantly from London-based residents, whose proximity to Old Town facilitates weekend breaks, as well as longer periods of residency over summer. The increasing propensity for second homes in non-urban locales post-2000 is noted by the Countryside Agency, contending that ‘the number of second-home owners has also gone up by 10,000 to 135,000 in the past four years (The Times, 22/6/2004). For a community invested in the notion of social engagement and cohesion, properties that remain vacant for extended periods of time are considered detrimental to the social fabric of Old Town, and attract criticism from long-term residents:

‘Uninhabited houses....they’re never here. There are often times when there are 11 houses empty between this house and the next inhabited house on the street, the lady next door for example is only here every 3 months for a couple of days as she lives in London. Unfortunately this destabilises the community, because a community like this needs, if it’s going to continue to have feel like Midsummer Norton without the murders, it needs people to be here to take an interest in the issues that challenge it, the potential dangers to its coherence and unfortunately, that’s not always the case’ (07).

‘A lot of people from London have cottages down here, somewhere to stay during the summer, or come on holiday to, or they kind of live here, but don’t really as they still commute into London, and I suppose if you’re privileged enough to do that then fine. I don’t mind it, we live next door to someone with a holiday home and all the other people on the street hate it, but we don’t mind really’ (20).

Meethan (1996) argues that, historically, there has been a definite spatial and social distinction between residents and tourists in coastal locales and resorts. Those in-migrants residing in Old Town in second homes on a part-time basis arguably occupy a different space; full-time, ‘authentic’ residents often viewing them as ‘visitors’, whilst in-comers with second homes often consider themselves integrated into the community. It may be said that this creates a differing sense of place-identity and belonging amongst Old Town’s increasingly diverse population.

Often, in-comers from London are welcome, but as full-time residents, rather than second home owners and those that buy-to-let. The emphasis in the following quote is on encouraging in-migrants to become fully embedded in the socio-economic and cultural milieu of Old Town, rather than live, work and play in multiple locales:

‘I don’t think anyone minds them coming to live down here, what people don’t want to have happen is people buying places as second homes, buy to let, and whatever. That is a real danger which is why we want to encourage people to live down here and work down here and give them stimulating work to do’ (07).

There are, however, in-migrants from London that do choose to live full-time in Old Town, but maintain ties to London through employment practices. In-migrants from London are viewed as getting ‘the best of both worlds’, participating in the city as a vibrant, culturally diverse and exciting space, whilst Old Town offers sanctuary and respite from the hustle and bustle of the urban experience:

‘The commute to London seems even more horrific now that we’re used to living here and everything is a walk away. I see many neighbours undertake the commute every day to London and frankly I don’t envy them at all, but that’s a choice they make to be able to work in a vibrant, exciting city such as London but come home to this little sanctuary by the sea’ (07).

In-migrants that continue to maintain links with London through employment practices are often considered to be altering the ‘social character’ of Old Town, which is arguably centred upon a ‘village-type concept’ in which the entire community is involved daily. The absence of in-migrants from Old Town during the week is arguably detrimental to the maintenance of a close knit, localised social structure synonymous with ‘village life’:

‘It’s the whole community village-type concept where the place is dead during the week because everyone’s at work and it’s only on weekends that people are here because they’re actually living there. I think it does have an impact, especially in terms of getting onto the local housing ladder; it just exacerbates the problem’ (13).

Those in-migrants that move to Old Town from London to establish small businesses, however, also risk criticism from long-term residents. There appears to be an established social and cultural order within Old Town that necessitates stability and continuity, rather than change:

‘Some people don’t like people from London coming down, especially if they’re starting up businesses, they think they’re changing the town too much, even if the new people think they’re changing it for the better’ (02).

‘I do find that sometimes there is negativity here, and I’m not talking about newcomers, I’m talking about people who have been here a long time, it’s almost as though they’d rather think something negative rather than something positive. Their attitude towards people with money, rich people, it’s like they don’t like people who come in who are like this because they’re rich and they’ve come in and people are rather like, well, what do they think they’re doing?’ (09).

It is contended that London has a powerful cultural ambience that permeates migration practices, and in-migrants, inadvertently or otherwise, may bring with them ideals of city living that conflict with the social character and cultural ethos of Old Town. It is argued that the qualities and

characteristics of Old Town that appeal to in-comers from London are challenged by the behaviour and ideals of those in-migrating from city spaces:

‘I think what is most worrying for those of us who love Old Town, because of its slightly jaded, bohemian and nostalgic, are those who are coming into Old Town who want to change it, and want it to become Hampstead by the sea, and are challenging all those things which the majority of us who have lived here for a while, love about it, which is the cobwebs’ (07).

Long-term residents often identify in-migrants from London as the culturally sophisticated middle class, who impose distinct urbane and cultural values on ‘locals’ / ‘yokels’. The following quote illustrates how in-comers from London are encouraged to adapt to socio-cultural structures and regimes already in place, rather than attempt to reshape them to meet their own needs:

‘Some people who have come here from London have a totally different attitude towards locals...some of them don’t want to join the community; they want the community to join them. Some of them have the attitude, oh these yokels, I can show them a thing or two, but if you sit there and watch instead of acting you’ll gradually realise that you don’t need to change anything, we’re all quite happy here. But some people will come and want to change the Old Town, and that’s wrong’ (29).

It is contended that analyses of this particular social grouping must take into account how the nature of the city influences life-course concerns, and, in turn, examine the role of life-course considerations within the migration decision-making process. The economic conditions of the city, for example, combined with life-course events such as family forming and child rearing, are often cited as key motives for moving. The progression from first home to larger property with more space to accommodate a growing family is, in London, arguably constrained by relatively elevated property prices. Relatively less expensive property in Old Town and Hastings more widely is often considered a significant enticement:

‘I think there’s a new wave of people is coming from London and Brighton...because a lot of people can’t afford to buy houses there. I think a lot of people had flats in Brighton, young, as their first place, and they have a family and then realise they can’t afford their family home, whereas in Hastings you can afford a fantastic family home, you really can’ (17).

In-migrants often note how reaching particular milestones in the city, such as marriage, family forming and certain ages, often inform the timing of migration decisions. For many respondents, it is less tangible changes, such as certain places no longer 'being right' that encourage a move out of the city:

'I think we get to a certain age where certain places aren't right. London isn't right, unless maybe you had family there or was born and brought up there. You know, I came via Ireland to London to Hastings. I mean, I could happily move again, because my husband is Londoner and he loves Hastings because it's so close to home, he can't leave the London thing, and I think once a Londoner, you've got to keep a toe in there' (17).

The above quote also alludes to the cultural cache or status of being a 'Londoner', and the importance of this identity to many in-migrants from London. The proximity of Old Town to London allows some in-migrants to maintain cultural ties to the city, and prevents residing outside of London from diluting distinctive, place-specific behaviour and identity.

7.4.9 'Escaping the city'

Further to Section 7.4.8, this section examines some of the motives for migration for in-migrants 'down-from-London'. It is often when in-migrants consider Old Town in opposition to London that distinct place-specific qualities and characteristics of different environments are vividly revealed. The contrast between the metropolitan city and Old Town is explicitly noted by many in-migrants, as they compare material, socio-cultural and economic aspects of their lives before and after moving. The following quote illustrates how in-migrants conceive the city as a post-modern, fragmented, cosmopolitan centre:

'London is sort of the cutting edge of modernity, of post modernity. It's lively, it's for young people, it's fast, it's noisy, it's busy, it's expensive...what really attracted us to Old Town was the significant contrast to London' (07).

It is contended that a desire to escape the city was a significant feature of the migration decision-making process for many in-migrants, post-2001 in particular. Often, in-migrants wish to escape the physical confinements and stresses associated with residing in urban spaces, such as a busy, noisy and congested environment. Old Town arguably provides 'salvation from the bustling metropolitan milieu and in-migrants are attracted by the opportunity to regularly escape into other, diverse settings surrounding Old Town:

‘Here it works because you’ve got the sea, the beautiful countryside, all those lovely places around it, little escape routes, whereas in London we felt we were too deeply set in it, we couldn’t escape, we had to drive really far to escape from it. I just love it here, I love it, love it, love it!’ (17).

‘It’s actually quite nice being just being in a space and hanging out by the sea and mucking about in the country...that’s kind of what you get out of town [London] to do at weekends anyway’ (15).

Increasingly undesirable socio-cultural conditions in city spaces are also a significant factor for some respondents, stating that whilst the multi-racial and multi-cultural elements in metropolitan locations are often diverse and exciting, over time they had become a less positive aspect of residing in the city. Movement into a predominantly ‘white’ town offers some in-migrants an enhanced sense of belonging. In some instances, in-migrants state a lost sense of belonging, as well as an awareness of how increasingly ‘gritty’ and deprived certain areas have become:

‘I’d get on the bus as I worked at Waterloo, so I’d get on the bus every morning and it would be like, I felt like I had 30 odd languages being spoken around me, which was very stimulating, but you could be anywhere, even in the time I lived and worked in London I noticed the change, so much in the different cultures moving in and out. It was very urban, quite gritty I suppose, there were a lot of council estates and it was quite poverty stricken, it was quite raw’ (38).

Other in-migrants cite an atmosphere of distrust in city spaces, and taken-for-granted behaviour and actions are often met with wariness and suspicion:

‘I mean, when you live in London for as long as I did, because in my twenties I was in a band and it was fun...but at the beginning of your thirties you begin to forget that you’re in London, and you’d go into your local corner shop and you’d say hi, how you doing, day in day out, they’d still look at you as though you were going to rob the place. And, you know, you start to take that personally, you start to think there’s something wrong with me, you know?’ (16).

Below is a passage from the same respondent featured in the above quote, and vividly illustrates the contrast between London and Old Town:

‘I’ve never experienced a place like this before; I seem to keep telling people this. I’ll tell you, the first time it really hit me...when I came here and finally moved in I went to a coffee shop, I was in the sun and I sat down and was doing a bit of scribbling and this woman came out and I ordered a coffee and she came back out with it and I said, shall I pay you, because obviously I come from London, and she said, no, no I trust you, and when she said that I thought, you know, I haven’t heard that for years!’ (16).

In-migrants are also concerned about overcoming constraints that the economic conditions of the city place upon particular aspects of lifestyle. The following quote demonstrates how relatively high rental costs often prevent respondents from pursuing other activities:

‘My partner and I were both working from home in London, paying a huge amount of rent on a flat in the middle of Acton, not a very pretty area but we had a nice flat, but we stayed in there all day working and not going out because we couldn’t really afford to do anything else. We moved near the sea front and paid a third of the rent of what we paid in London, so we suddenly had extra money to do things, which was very nice’ (24).

Long-term residents, however, often consider those in-migrants using Old Town as respite from ‘city life’ as indulging their own counterurban impulses, without fully understanding the distinct ‘tone’ of the town:

‘We kind of like being under the radar here, but maybe, since you’re here, that’s evidence that it won’t be that way for much longer...people are buying places, they just see the place as a break from city life or whatever, and those kind of people, they just don’t get the town, the tone of the place’ (24).

7.4.10 ‘One cannot hold back the floodgates forever’: Gentrification in Old Town

This section focuses attention on processes of gentrification as they unfold at the coastal margins, and highlights the complexities of the connections between migration and gentrification in coastal locales. Rather than viewing gentrification as a phenomenon that occurs explicitly or implicitly in urban spaces, the material, social and symbolic dimensions of this process are examined in the context of Old Town, on the margins of the global city region of London (Dorling and Thomas, 2004).

This section has a focus on in-migrants from London as key agents of gentrification. It is contended that the proximity of Old Town to London gives rise to some distinct micro-level changes within Old Town through the movement of family migrants from the city to the coastal margins. The contemporary migratory relationship between the two locales provides much of the backdrop for discussions of gentrification in Old Town. In addition, semi-structured interviews also reveal complex tensions surrounding flows of in-migrants and long-term residents in the case study area, producing arguably highly charged senses of place and entitlement to place.

It is contended that, in the context of Old Town, in-migrants are steering processes of change down the urban hierarchy to less distinct spaces on the coastal margins. This arguably contrasts with Hamnett's assertion that gentrification is one of the leading edges of contemporary metropolitan restructuring (1991: 174, emphasis added). Empirical evidence highlights in-migrants down from London in particular in bringing with them distinct tastes and social and cultural discursive practices, that (re)shape social structures within the town. The nature of capital resources this sub-group of in-migrants possess and their cultural preferences is also contended to underpin the changing socio-economic and cultural landscape of Old Town.

'Old Town is gentrified in some ways; it attracts certain people with certain values'
(survey 9).

Migration flows from London to Old Town, and Hastings more widely, are not a contemporary phenomenon (see Chapter 5 for further discussion). Rather, it is argued that it is the contemporary family migrant participating in migration from London to the coast that is influencing community, neighbourhood, property markets and the retail landscape in Old Town. Empirical evidence suggests that this particular sub-group of in-migrants have different motives, desires and aspirations compared to those in-comers from London previously. The following quote demonstrates awareness amongst long-term residents of a 'different type of person' moving to Old Town from London:

'A while back they thought that people from London were going to come and push people out. They were trying to build jobs and factories, trying to spread out. They were building a lot of houses and not a lot of factories, so people would come down and there'd be no jobs for them, so that petered out. Now of course, it's a different type of person, who's got a house in London but also wants a place by the seaside'
(20).

The above quote also alludes to the role of previous structural changes made to stimulate and encourage migration flows from London to Hastings, for example, in terms of the labour market. It is, however, argued that in the context of Old Town, the contemporary family migrant is a 'different type of person', and responds to different stimuli for migration, rather than the prospect of employment related opportunities or enticements. A shift in population is also identified by Old Town residents, and the absence of people 'from around here' highlight emerging expressions of population change:

'I have noticed that more and more people aren't from here. Going out for breakfast with a friend the other day, and we sat in there for an hour and there wasn't one person who we knew from the Old Town, and even those who live in Hastings, they've just moved down here, so it's becoming increasingly transient, or to use a better word, *there has been a transition*' (18, emphasis added).

It is argued that certain types of restaurants, cafes and shops have emerged in Old Town as visible signs of gentrification, and that these new cafes, shops and bars are increasingly orientated toward a younger, 'trendier' and more mobile gentrifier. In the context of Old Town, empirical evidence reveals that relatively recent in-migrants down from London are key contributors to a changing socio-economic and cultural landscape. For many long-term residents, however, the movement of in-migrants from London often makes long-term residents uncomfortable; the change in character of local shops, for example, creating a different sense of place (Zukin *et al.*, 2009: 48):

'The nature of the shops, the kind of shops that we've now have changed, you know, for example a delicatessen was here once but it closed down, but now it would sustain itself, and it must be the nature of the people who are buying houses and who have got larger incomes who are actually here now, that is actually what's sustaining it...some of the locals may not like some of the people who've moved in, but the difference is having a high street full of empty shops or a high street of good shops and delicatessens' (31).

The above quote highlights how the 'nature of the people' moving to Old Town is partly sustaining particular facets of the retail landscape. The economic capital of relatively recent incomers is arguably central to this, and whilst in-migrants may provoke some negative reaction from 'local' residents, they are often viewed as key to thriving commercial spaces. That the main shopping streets in Old Town have prospered since 2001/02 is noted by other, long-term residents:

‘Well, about 7, 8 years ago, at least half the shops in the high street were empty and a third of the shops in George Street were empty, and now you can’t get a shop’ (25).

It is important to note, however, that whilst new-comers may help sustain elements of the retail landscape in Old Town, there is a risk that commercial spaces will become increasingly exclusive, through offering particular goods such as organic produce but at higher prices, that enhance the quality-of-life for affluent, new middle classes, but discourages those that may be less affluent from shopping there:

‘I like Judges [bakery] because I like organic food even though it is expensive. If you go in there and watch the clientele, the customers, you’ll see that it is only for a select few, they are a certain type. And while people like this may be coming in and buying properties, it’s not an inclusive group, it’s an exclusive group, they are all quite wealthy’ (33).

New shops, cafes and bars have also become hang-outs for gentrifiers, as well as places for social networking among stay-at-home parents (Zukin, 1995; Lloyd, 2006 in Zukin, 2009):

‘It’s an affluent area, quite trendy, a bit overrun with boutiques and cafes and bars. The area is full of couples, the husband goes off to work, the wives push the babies around, I mean, how many coffee shops does a stay-at-home mother need?!’ (34).

The reworking of some properties in Old Town also highlights a shifting landscape, as incoming family migrants convert properties to make them desirable for living, and re-construct dilapidated buildings. Plate 7. 2 shows a relatively modern property situated between two ‘traditional’ properties.



Plate 7. 2 Modern property in Old Town (Tackleway)

Semi-structured interviews reveal how many local spaces, such as cafes and bars, have become increasingly sanitised for middle-class in-comers to consume. Long-term residents note how some spaces utilised exclusively by the fishing community and ‘locals’ in ‘authentic’ ways, have yielded to meet the needs of newcomers. It is argued that, in turn, these spaces supply the less tangible need for social and cultural capital, as in-comers participate in the aesthetics, atmosphere and sense of Old Town’s culturally distinct offerings (Florida, 2002):

‘Even the Mermaid, which was a fisherman’s café, even that’s been all done up now, they’ve scrapped all the grease off the floor, it’s just not the same!’ (05).

Whilst the dynamics of change and revitalisation in Old Town may benefit certain shops and services within Old Town, it is argued that other elements are at risk, such as local property markets. It may be contended that increases in property prices are responding to the distinct form of economic capital that in-migrants from London bring with them as they counterurbanise to the coast. Semi-structured interviews reveal that some in-comers are purchasing property outright, taking advantage of the significant disparity between property prices in London and Old town respectively. This is succinctly captured by one long-term resident, asserting that ‘if you’re coming down from London, for what you can buy down here, you’d get a telephone box there’ (19). The following quote again illustrates how the in-migration of long-distance family migrants has, in many ways, created an exclusive property market that ‘outsiders’ are able to buy into, whilst ‘local people’ are largely excluded:

‘I know house prices are re-adjusting now, but it’s got to the point where only people from the outside can buy, local people can’t, but only in the Old Town, the rest of the town isn’t as expensive, so you’ve have had that sort of, people coming in and changing things, I think there has been a certain element of that. A lot of people have such equity in London; they can come down here and buy a place, cash’ (20).

In terms of property, there are other, arguably more positive, outcomes of migration flows from London. One form of gentrification unfolding in Old Town is the restoration of old housing stock by members of the incoming middle classes, who are rich in economic capital and have the resources to develop and renovate formerly dilapidated property. Although previous properties may have been neglected, the following quote illustrates how they were occupied by ‘real Hastings people’. The conflict between maintaining a ‘local’ population and improving the condition of local housing stock is evident in the following quote:

‘A lot of the houses were in a bit of a state because there was only one family member left to care for the house, and there were a few bedsits, a few families, but a lot of the houses were divided up, but it was more real Hastings people if you like, and people without any money, so it’s changed completely. Now, the people coming here do look after the houses better because they’ve got the money, I feel ambivalent about it really’ (23).

This ambivalence towards affluent in-comers from London is reiterated by other long-term residents, who fear the aesthetic benefits to the town conceal other outcomes, such as excluding local buyers from property markets, displacing residents and obscuring dynamics of broader social inequalities within Old Town. Despite some residents believing that in-migrants, from London in particular, are integral to investment in and renaissance of Old Town, there are also concerns surrounding the creation of a ‘pocket of privilege’, in which certain residents can participate, whilst the ‘others’ it creates are excluded:

‘The risk is that there is an ‘us and them’ scenario and you don’t want that, a mini version of what’s happened in London boroughs where people with a load of money have moved in and on the face of it they’re regenerating, making the houses nice and what have you but what they’re actually doing is squeezing out the people who used to live there, and they can’t afford the prices’ (30).

Gentrification in the form of property market changes is contended to be one of the more recognisable impacts of contemporary flows of in-migration to Old Town amongst long-term residents. It is contended that some residents consider the improved aesthetics of housing stock and reinvigoration of commercial spaces as ‘a veneer’ placed upon the town, arguably enhancing overall attraction and appeal, but ultimately underpinned by inflated property prices that do not benefit local people:

‘The last thing we want is a veneer of gentrification placed upon the town, which does not benefit local people, and there is only property price appreciation driven by external forces’ (02).

Long-term residents are perhaps similarly unconvinced that contemporary flows of in-migrants to Old Town can provide solutions to more entrenched social inequalities and the employment and education challenges that wider Hastings faces. It is contended that the visible ‘burst of new restaurants’ may perhaps benefit certain residents and enhance their quality-of-life, whilst wider socio-economic concerns for other residents remain obscured:

‘I think that what Hastings needs is more jobs and better education, and that way the whole thing will improve, it won’t just be a wave of people moving down here with a bit of money and there’ll be burst of a few new restaurants’ (17).

It is contended that there are also concerns surrounding how some in-migrants from London remain tied to the city through consumption habits and practices. The following quote illustrates how whilst many in-comers take advantage of relatively lower property prices in Old Town, arguably placing local, lower-income households at a disadvantage, they prefer to return to London to exercise their economic capital:

‘There’s a downside to people moving here, that I and several other people who have worked in the community see, is that people are buying cheaper houses here and spending all their money in London, and it’s making it difficult for other, lower-income families to buy housing, and that’s the side of the coin that no one seems to be addressing yet’ (18).

Long-term residents often feel uncomfortable when in-comers down from London appear to benefit from comparatively cheaper property prices and lower cost of residing in Old Town, yet maintain their ‘London ideals’ which are often considered incompatible with the social and cultural ethos of the town. The ‘new faces’ that appear in Old Town are expected to invest both economic and

social capital in the community, and 'contributing' is viewed as a tool that enables social cohesion, rather than insular collectives of counterurban gentrifiers from London:

'Lots of people from London live on the high street; I see new faces all the time...I think most people have moved in over the last few years, and you can see that in the changes in George Street, where all these bars have opened. If they bring money and invest in the community then it's fine, but if they come with their London ideals and just wanting to live cheaply in Hastings then it's not, because they're not contributing and they're still remaining as an aggregate group, and they're not mixing in' (29).

As in-migrants counterurbanise to the coast from London, other cultural tastes, preferences and behaviours are arguably steered down the urban hierarchy to the margins. It is contended that London has a powerful cultural ambience that is pervasive in working lives, as well as leisure and recreational spheres, and affects the cultural tastes and preferences of in-coming migrants. The following quote illustrates how in-comers are often perceived as, unconsciously or otherwise, imposing their own cultural tastes and values on established socio-cultural traditions:

'People from London are coming down and trying to turn it into what they've left behind, and that's just not us, that's not the Old Town. The people who come down and try to turn it into something else, they will probably find it difficult to be accepted' (19).

There is arguably an inclination to compare Old Town with other, similarly artistic, 'trendy', and creative locales in London, such as Notting Hill, as well as areas which are considered 'successfully' gentrified, such as Hackney. Whilst many in-comers are content to draw on notions of Old Town as an 'up and coming' place to live within the migration decision-making process, long-term residents consider representations of Old Town as London transported to the coast, exaggerated:

'Old Town as the new Notting Hill-by-sea? All I'm going to say is don't believe the hype...that was said at some dinner party for a lot of grand media types and somehow that little concept has run away with itself' (34).

'They're very much into the big I am, aren't we clever, they want to gentrify the area, they're very much into bringing London down and making it into Notting Hill by sea, and making all sorts of ridiculous claims.... that they're regenerating Hastings, when everyone else has been grafting as well, and they've upset a huge amount of local

people. Because of that, they really do stand out like a sore thumb, and I feel sorry for them in a way, and somewhere like this, you're noted by your absence, your contribution' (02).

Despite some in-migrants inadvertently or otherwise trying to recreate elements of their place of origin, other newcomers are aware that forging ties and social networks with in-migrants from similar locales and backgrounds may construct particular socio-spatial relations within Old Town. It is argued that London's middle classes share a common relationship to each other, which encourages in-migrants, consciously or unconsciously, to seek out 'people like us' (Butler, 2003: 2469). Some incomers do, however, dispute the formation of such insular communities:

'I think a lot of the people who have moved down from London want to be part of a community, they don't just want to be a pocket of Londoners in Hastings, they want to be part of what's going on....it's not like some weird ex-pat community here; I mean, that can happen...it's happened in lots of places' (28).

The influence of the creative classes in creating a 'bubble' of gentrification in Old Town is often noted by both long-term residents and relative newcomers. It is argued that in-migrants in the creative industries consider the cache of 'discovering' somewhere particularly appealing. This particular sub-group of in-migrants are perceived as changing the 'cultural character' of the town, from 'old English market town' to 'organic, vegetarian and arty':

'There are a number of people who have moved into the town within the last 5 years or so who have contacts in London and who can exploit the media and are presenting themselves as those who have 'found' Old Town and are turning it organic and vegetarian and bringing in all these interesting arty shops and would like to see the end of its slightly old English market town feel' (07).

Similarly, the following quote demonstrates how the retail landscape of Old Town is changing, facilitated by the in-coming of a particular sub-group with certain needs and requirements. Long-term residents note how numerous new shops have opened that arguably serve and benefit a new clientele, such as the 'trendies' moving to the town from Brighton and London respectively:

'Suddenly you're seeing shops like Judges, the delicatessen open up, you're seeing all sorts of new and designer types of retro shops...and there are all sorts of trendies moving in, there's a whole kind of media industry moving down here, I think they've all got pretty sick of Brighton, and the train is only about an hour and fifteen minutes from Charing Cross or London Bridge' (27).

It is contended that the role of the creative classes within processes of gentrification is key. The gentrification of creative spaces by a new, arguably privileged, wave of the creative class is noted, and the 'colonisation' of Old Town as a creative centre is compared to other, more recognisable centres of gentrification, such as Hackney and Brighton. A vibrant creative centre is contended to attract not only other, creative people, but those looking to take advantage of a 'funky', bohemian, cafe culture that arguably develops alongside a burgeoning 'artistic and cultural scene':

'Artists colonise places like this, it's happened in Brighton, it's happened in Hackney, it's happening here, artists colonise the place, they open up the cafes, the art galleries, they make it funky, they make it a place that people want to come, but then everyone comes down here, they buy property, the property prices go up and the artists have to leave' (27).

It is noted by long-term residents that as more creative people, alongside other in-migrants, move into Old Town, property prices and rent costs of studio spaces are raised, and both commercial and residential displacement occurs.

Whilst it is important to consider the agency of in-coming migrants, and how it can shape the socio-economic and cultural landscape of Old Town, examining how the agency of long-term residents, those that have stayed in the area, may constrain or hinder processes of gentrification, is also key. It has been established that many long-term residents believe that, whereas once the town absorbed the influences, cultural tastes and behaviour of previous in-comers, currently, in-comers are 'absorbing the town':

'The town has in the past absorbed all of the incomers, and now I think the incomers might be absorbing the town...and I think that if that's happening it's very sad' (04).

It is argued that contemporary flows of in-migrants are differentiated from previous flows by the forms of capital and resources they possess, as well as different aspirations and desires, that may change the social character of the town. Long-term residents are arguably aware of the 'classic' gentrification scenario in which people from the 'outside' and those 'inside' are divided by economic capital and resources. Many believe, however, that Old Town is 'holding out' against the effects of some of these disparities more effectively compared to other locales, and that it micro-scale, local resistance that is preventing further change:

'Here is holding out much better than most places [against gentrification], but you're back to that classic thing where people from outside have much more money than people from inside...but there is a huge local resistance to change' (20).

The characteristics of the local population are noted in the following quote as key to preventing Old Town becoming 'too trendy' or 'too quaint':

'I suppose what we don't want is for Old Town to get too trendy, that spoils it in a way if it gets too consciously like that. We don't want it to get like Rye, with all their teas shops, too quaint, but I don't think it will happen somehow, there's too much of a mixture of people and stuff going on here' (23).

Although middle-class in-comers from London may not be a numerical majority, the forms of capital they possess and their cultural tastes and behaviour may conceal other social inequalities within the town. It is contended that many 'locals' are hidden away, occupying a different space on the social and occupational hierarchy from other, middle-class, affluent households, to which the more positive outcomes of gentrification do not always filter down:

'Old Town is a very affluent area but there is a lot of hidden poverty there I think. I feel that is the problem, that is an affluent area, that the properties are quite valuable there, it may not be poverty in terms of financial poverty but there are issues there, there's very limited play space for young people, job opportunities for young people are limited, community facilities for people are limited, there are some hidden issues there' (08).

Whilst many in-migrants from London consider emerging expressions of social, cultural, economic and physical change in Old Town as an opportunity for local renaissance, to revitalise the area, those who have stayed in Old Town, long-term residents, lament the shift from a working community to a arguably gentrified landscape; an emerging organic, vegetarian and 'trendy' cultural crowd diluting the authentic, working class ethos of the town:

'When we moved it was different, it was very much a working community...the shops were all fairly thriving, you could get almost anything you wanted in the Old Town, everyone knew each other, it was pretty nice, things have gradually changed, it's full of antique shops now, it's changed complexion no end. We had a tremendous range of shops here, nice butchers, fishmonger, and it's all changed dramatically' (02).

7.4.11 'Communities of place' in Old Town

This section will explore the appeals and enticements of 'community' for in-migrants, and examine in more depth the increasing significance of social attachments and belonging within the context of migration decision-making. Rather than attempt to unravel the meanings attached to the concept of 'community' more generally, this section will explore how it is the idea of Old Town as a community that has currency within the migration decision-making process for respondents. The discussion will focus on four key themes and forms of community. First, in-migrant perceptions of the 'village' community are explored, and related experiences of neighbourhood and belonging examined. Second, the idea of community as a nostalgic construction is explored. Third, community as implicitly shaped by agency of long-term residents is investigated. Finally, imagined communities, or 'communities-in-the-mind' are examined.

Using semi-structured interviews, notions of 'being local', identity and belonging are examined within the context of Old Town, and arguably refocuses attention on the increasing importance of social networks and local social systems within migration processes. Rather than mapping connections between people, this section explores how interactions between them, and the significance of these interactions within the lives of in-migrants, shape experiences of 'community' and belonging in Old Town. It is contended that particular socio-cultural and moral rules, codes and behaviours shape wider social networks, and regulate many of the interactions between residents. In turn, social relationships are affected, and experiences of 'community' for both long-term residents and in-migrants differ considerably.

It is contended that the diversity of social groups and sub-cultures within Old Town construct multiple social networks that provide Old Town with a particular 'character':

'Why the Old Town works is because it's a collection of these really rather bizarre little sub-cultures, the arty farty, the fishermen, the chavs, the earthy, environmental people, the hippies, the bonfire boys, that's what makes up the character of the town' (29).

In terms of its 'community life' or its sense of identity 'as a community', discourses of history and heritage are central. There is a rich tradition arguably grounded in the fishing community (see Section 7. 4. 14) of mutual support and shared goals and values that continues to shape contemporary social patterns and relations within Old Town, and residents are keen to protect this:

‘I will say that the community there works very, very well, people know one another, people are supportive of one another, people are very protective of the history and the heritage of the place, fiercely so’ (08).

It is argued that ‘community’ for many contemporary in-migrants is associated with ‘rural’ and ‘village’ spaces, rather than the city, or urban locales. Often, in-migrants cited the anonymity of residing in urban spaces as a key factor in the migration decision-making process. The desire to belong, and experience a ‘village atmosphere’ is the antithesis of the ‘anonymous, faceless crowd’ that urban locales are often characterised by:

‘[Old Town] has a sort of village atmosphere, there’s no anonymity, you are part of a community, you belong, people know you, they know of you, they speak to you, and there is something very affirming about that. There comes a point in one’s life where you don’t want to be part of an anonymous, faceless crowd.... that can be exciting and innovating in a certain type of life, but as you reach maturity...something more is required, you begin to think about belonging and being part of a community, Hastings Old Town provides that, very significantly’ (07).

Semi-structured interviews highlight the perception amongst in-migrants that moving to Old Town allows them to participate in a distinct socio-cultural experience; one embedded in kinship, unity and engagement with others:

‘There is a huge community spirit down here, you know your neighbours, and they know you...there’s always something going on to get involved with as well...unless you’re some kind of recluse it’s impossible to not get swept up by it all, it’s a nice feeling, something you don’t get in many places’ (18).

Establishing links and relationships with neighbours beyond ‘small talk’ and pleasantries is desirable yet uncommon in place of origin. The physical proximity of neighbours in Old Town is often noted, as is the absence or lack of any social interaction. The benefits of engaging with neighbours are not only the provision of physical security but a sense of continuity and familiarity, achieved through the routine of interacting with familiar people. The following quote illustrates how interaction with neighbours previously was confined to fleeting moments, whereas Old Town provides the opportunity for more embedded encounters:

‘We knew our neighbours back in London enough to say hello when we passed them, but we never socialised with them, and everyone seemed quite happy with that ‘hi hi’,

bit of gossip out on the pavement way of living. For example, here, when we moved we lost the cat and everybody helped look for him and showed a genuine concern, it's just a different vibe to London here really' (01).

The transience of social networks and encounters is often noted by in-migrants, in particular those from city or urban spaces. The desire for continuity and stability through social interactions is increasingly significant for family migrants, as they seek to establish their place within a 'community':

'In our mews, we were not friendly with any neighbours and we lived there for 9 years. It's that renting thing in London that made it tricky, people rent, they move. But here, there's a kind of community spirit that means people go out of their way to be friends with their neighbours. In 3 weeks time we're having a drinks evening so we'll invite everyone round, we'd never have done that living in that mews, it all felt very...secular there, everyone was very self-contained in their own house...it's just that thing of getting to know the neighbours and wanting to be in a bit of a community' (15).

The interviews indicate that contemporary in-migrants are consciously seeking out the 'idea of community' through migration practices, rather than it being an unintended outcome of moving to a new place, and that the 'community' in Old Town allows in-migrants to perform the kind of impromptu, informal actions that no longer take place in place of origin, such as 'nipping round' to see friends:

'You don't have that London thing down here where everyone's a bit wary, I mean it's community, and I think that's the one thing that everyone who has moved down has been looking for, because, ok, we've all got mates in London or wherever but you wouldn't phone them up and ask them to nip round and give you a hand because it's just far too complicated, but here you would' (28).

Semi-structured interviews reveal how many respondents believe that these distinct forms of contact and interaction with others imbue both place and people with a sense of self-belief and security. Being part of a collective within the 'community' is considered inherently valuable, supportive and ultimately life-enhancing:

'We have contact with all of our neighbours. They're people who we have dinner parties with, who we have days out with...we all get together...we drink too much,

play cards, and it's that sense of being part of a diverse community that really does believe in itself and constantly tries to support one another by doing things together' (07).

It may be said that many taken-for-granted actions, such as making conversation with strangers, engender anxiety rather than mutual engagement in place of origin. Opportunities for acknowledgement and reciprocal exchanges within routine encounters are provided by social networks within Old Town:

'If somebody talks to you on the bus in London, you think, you worry, you move away, you think there's something wrong with that person, here, people do talk to each other, they say good morning when you go into a shop, and if you went in there the next day, they'd remember you' (16).

One form of 'community' that is often noted by in-migrants is the imagined community of the past. The role of nostalgia within migration decision-making processes is discussed in more depth in Section 7. 4. 6:

'The old town has got that community feel, I cannot walk down the street without people saying hello to me, and it's just like what I imagine it to be like, years ago, living in a village. I've lived in a British village before and I was lonely, and I used to walk around and think, if only I knew someone, it was nothing like here [Old Town]' (09).

'I think I always knew that Old Town would provide that same sense of history and grounding...there's a sense of rooted-ness here, down to earth-ness...that down to earth-ness in London in those old communities where people have lived there for generations...and that's the feeling I got here' (14).

An opportunity to feel 'rooted' to place is increasingly significant for many in-migrants when making locational decisions, and is underpinned by a desire to establish continuity and security in their lives more widely. It was found that in-migrants consider the presence of long-standing families in Old Town to generate a distinct brand of 'community' and place identity that is highly appealing, and prompts comparisons with the social character of some London communities:

'It's like a cradle almost, it has a strong identity. If you think about communities where people stand on doorsteps and talk, like Bethnal Green, a tight knit community,

and I think the Old Town was that kind of tight knit community and everybody knows everybody else. I would say that the traditional families that have always been here, that have not migrated, are still that tight knit group' (26).

'Hastings kind of has a similar feel to London in that it's got a great fantastic mixture of people and not quite as sophisticated as Brighton perhaps, it's still got its original people, Hastings has really got a lot of its original people, families who have lived here for years, it's got the arty community, it's got the fishing community' (29).

Similarly, becoming embedded in local social networks is argued to be a powerful tool with which to acquire a distinct brand of ontological security. Knowing neighbours, interacting with others through routine practices, and becoming involved in both formal and informal social networks may be said to provide in-migrants with an additional tier of security outside of familial networks:

'Being a resident in Old Town is a fabulous thing to be if you make the effort to be sociable and say hello to people before they say hello to you, the it's great to be in this bubble, because when people walk along the street they make the effort to say hello...it's very comforting and you feel very protected' (18).

In times of trauma or distress, in-migrants often believe that they will be supported by the social order around them, producing a general ontological security. The following quote reveals how the particular social dynamics within the 'community' often provides an inclusive and secure environment for vulnerable residents:

'The community do look out for you, for example, when I had a big personal disaster and the amount of local support and help I had, people were really caring and it was absolutely phenomenal, all the old boys were coming up to me and giving me a little tap on the arm, loads of people came up to me and offered to help, you wouldn't get that anywhere else, and after that I knew I'd stay, because I knew I had the support' (10)

The social relationships and networks of support that are established by in-migrants may be argued to provide an additional tier of ontological security. In a sense, for many of the in-migrants, this particular community solves its members' ontological security problems for them, since society is a shared cognitive ordering of the environment (Giddens, 1991). The physical qualities and characteristics of Old Town are also contended to facilitate a 'close knit community' in which in-

comers live 'cheek by jowl'. The proximity of residents to each other in rows of terraced properties encourages people to associate with others, and is, in many instances, an appeal in itself:

'The people who tend to buy in, whether they're from London or Brighton, buy because they like that intimacy, they like living cheek by jowl, they like the fact that if they have an argument 3 people in the street will hear it, there's no privacy, so there's no question of not knowing your neighbours' (18).

However, that semi-structured interviews reveal competing discourses of 'community', belonging, neighbourhood and 'village life'. In-migrants often cite the desire for community as a key factor in their migration decision-making. Nonetheless, acceptance into the 'community' is contingent on particular, sanctioned forms of behaviour on the part of the in-comer. However implicit, it is argued that there are particular socially sanctioned forms of behaviour and moral codes that are embedded in community and considered valid. In-migrants are encouraged to acknowledge and accept these rules if they are to gain admittance to and acceptance from the wider community. The following quote illustrates how there is an intangible social order within Old Town that in-migrants must adapt to, rather than attempting to adapt the town:

'People who come here from the outside have to kind of fit in to all this...there is a strong influence from other things, other places, other people and their personalities, and time moves on and things change obviously, but there is a feeling that has been here so long you can't really come here and try and change it into something it's not, people have to adapt' (29).

Whilst the influences and cultural tastes of those moving into Old Town are arguably inscribed upon the landscape through the increase of certain bars, cafes and shops, it is contended that the activities, values and cultures of long-term residents continue to shape Old Town in more implicit and less visibly ways. Whilst in-migrants consider being able to implement their agency a benefit of being part of the Old Town community, this may obscure some underlying and entrenched rules and modes of behaviour already in place. The following quote illustrates how acknowledging and negotiating these rules is often part of the migration process:

'When we met with the estate agent we found out that the house had belonged to someone who'd done something or was highly regarded by the community, so we put an offer in, along with plenty of other people mind you, the difference being that we visited with the local vicar, we baked cakes for the W. I, we went to community group meetings, had tea with people from the Old Town Traders Association...so when we got the house, it worked out well' (39).

Semi-structured interviews reveal that dominant social rules and moral codes within the town encourage in-migrants to evaluate their place and actions within the 'community'; teaching in-comers to self-scrutinise, self-evaluate and self-regulate, and compare their behaviour to that of the masses around them:

'Take George Street over there, it's an interesting place...you've got these two pubs at the end, the Hastings Arms and the Dragon. Now, those are a real puller for everyone, you've got these two groups outside or inside and it's a beautiful vibe there, but at the same time, if you go and get too drunk or act like a nutter or something you can't go to the shop without being spotted, so you're very much, kind of like in a glass bowl I suppose' (16).

The depiction of social encounters as being in a 'glass bowl' arguably alludes to how surveillance of members of the 'community' by other members shapes and regulates social encounters. The actions and behaviour of residents are observed and noted by others, and, for some in-migrants, this is closer to typical imaginings of the rural village:

'It is a village here, you can't get away with anything, everybody knows what you're doing!' (10).

These forms of observation often mean that formal surveillance schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch are rare. In place of organised observation, distinct social structures within the town facilitate informal, unofficial practices:

'We all know each other and we all help each other out. We've never had a neighbourhood watch along here; we just all keep an eye out' (40).

For many in-migrants, this form of community forms the basis of a wider philosophy of care and support within Old Town, and looking out for others is considered a 'natural' condition of belonging to the community. That people are noted by their absence arguably provides an additional tier of security for residents, in particular elderly residents.

'Because it's a community here, people naturally look out for each other, like if someone hasn't been seen for a couple of days, people notice' (10).

Practices of observation and informal surveillance are also argued to reinforce the notion that Old Town is a safe space for children, and recreates some of the elements of a 'golden age' of childhood that parents may have experienced. Relying on and trusting other residents to ensure the safety of children is discussed previously in Chapter 6 (Section 6. 10. 5) in terms of play spaces. The following quote illustrates how other activities, such as the journey to school, are observed by other residents:

'The kids used to walk to school, Maggie used to walk to school with her brother on their own, the way I used to walk to school, and they used to walk through the Old Town, and at school closing time all the little old ladies, people looking out their windows, they knew that they were my two kids, and they knew more people in the Old Town than I did' (06).

Often, those that observe and scrutinise actions and behaviour are more negatively portrayed as 'curtain twitchers':

'You do get your curtain twitchers, and that's one of the aspects of life here that I'm not so keen on, but some people can over-ride that kind of thing, and that's what I do like' (18).

It is argued that although many in-migrants use community networks and neighbourhood as one of their means for arranging their lifestyle, the opportunity to be detached from local involvement is also valued by some in-migrants. Migrants are aware of the community 'out there' in Old Town, but also recognise a tension between a desire to belong and participate in particular social networks and feeling that one need not get too drawn into an environment in which there is little personal control:

'So what I learnt when I was away this week [in London] was that here, I have to listen more and speak less. Because it is unbelievable...I mean, I come from a small town I Yorkshire, but there's something even clique-er, it's literally, I could say something to you, you could, unwittingly, say something to someone else, and the next minutes it's, you know? So I'm glad I have a connection to London, because I think if I lived here full-time, day in and day out, it could get too much' (16).

Flows of contemporary in-migrants into a place that cites the importance of history, heritage and tradition to its 'sense of community' and identity, yet is also being shaped by the desires, values and cultural tastes of in-comers, raises some interesting questions about how and why social groups

shape local social structures such as 'community'. Whereas Savage *et al* (2005) contest that local social relations, place identities and attachments are becoming increasingly defined by the perceptions and values of incoming migrant groups, it is argued that the values and cultures of long-term residents should not be dismissed.

In addition, it is contended that many in-comers into Old Town create a 'community-in-the-mind; a 'softened' image of place that fits more neatly with an imagined coastal idyll. In-migrants attachment to place may begin long before moving, as they assign complex and emotional meanings to particular sites. The following quotes from long-term residents illustrate how some in-migrants are perceived to construct powerful imaginary connections to place:

'People come down from London or wherever and they buy a quaint little place down here by the sea and think that their way of life is going to be like something out of 'Foyle's War', all walks along the seafront and cycling around, buying organic bread and growing their vegetables' (02).

'It's one of those areas where a lot of people from London come down and want it to be trendy, think of it as that trendy, by the sea, next big place to invest and then they complain about the noise from the pubs, and there have been a lot of issues locally, they think, oh, it's a wonderful little village, chocolate box with tutor buildings and cottages, they don't realise there's a huge live music scene down here, it's a very live, vibrant community' (10).

7.4.12 Old Town: An alternative place for alternative people

In-migrants to Old Town are also buying into Old Town to consume and participate in an alternative lifestyle, which embraces eccentricity, individualism and freedom of expression and is tolerant of the 'other'. In-migrants draw upon social meanings founded on the reputation of Old Town as a place of difference within the migration decision-making process. The social ethos of the town is succinctly captured by one resident claiming that 'not being conventional makes you the norm in this town' (40).

Embedded behaviour and social values arguably encourage in-migrants to participate in the 'alternative' socio-cultural identity of the town, and play an active role in reproducing certain behaviours, values and beliefs:

'I think you get one or two eccentrics and people look at them and think, well if they

can get away with it then maybe I can too, and then they start to act a bit strange, and then you get the next one and the next one and they all go that way' (26).

'Alternative' ideologies and socio-cultural practices are clearly considered integral to the identity of Old Town. Typical comments which vividly capture the distinct form of community that is engendered when people have a sense of belonging to both place and each other include:

'When you arrive, you realise it's God's Out Tray, where do you put all the eccentrics? You send them to Old Town! It's a place where you find people who have been something, who were someone and who had money, but now all that has changed.... nowhere else would you have such a mixture of people, ex-headmistresses, brigadiers wives, a society lady, a retired navel captain, a couple of poof couples, and everyone just delights in one another's other company, we have great fun together...we still have tea parties, where all the ladies dress up and carry parasols, and we all dress as if we've just stepped out of an E. M Forster novel, it really is a very strange and delightfully daft place to be' (07).

Socio-cultural practices considered 'eccentric' in other places are actively encouraged in Old Town, and offer in-migrants liberation from the confinements of place of origin, and freedom of expression:

'Where I was before, my daughter said to me she wasn't going to say hello to me anymore because I was wearing a hat and she thought I was becoming eccentric. The opposite applies here, life is fascinating. It's the richness of life here, there's so much fun, it's magical' (09).

7.4.13 Being 'local': 'real' Old Town people

Following on from Section 7. 4. 12, this section further examines the concept of 'local' in its various manifestations. It may be suggested that the term 'local' has become increasingly ambiguous and requires a more rigorous examination (see Urry, 1987). This section examines the criteria for 'being local' in the context of Old Town, and contends that it is contingent on multiple factors tied to familial histories and heritage, birthrights, and 'authentic' claims to 'local' traditions and knowledge. This creates a hierarchy within Old Town, in which 'born and bred locals' are privileged whilst others occupy other spaces on a spectrum of 'local-ness'. This social hierarchy engenders a distinct sense of place and identity that is, however, valued by in-migrants, perhaps in response to the transient nature of people in place of origin. The following quote succinctly

captures the accepted orthodoxy within Old Town that 'real Old Town people' are those that are born in Hastings, and have innate familial ties to place:

'The only real Old Town people are the people who are born and bred in Hastings and whose families have lived here for centuries' (02).

The concept of the 'Old Towner' is arguably fairly rigid, and founded upon familial ties, 'roots' and birthplace:

'I know people who have been here for 25 years or so and they're still not accepted, but in other cases it's not about how long you've lived here but who you are, what you're like. But in most instances you do have to be born here, have the family here, the roots, to be considered an Old Towner' (10).

It is argued that in-migrants seek to negotiate the established social order in Old Town, rather than attempt to integrate as 'local'. Contemporary in-comers often recognise their status as a new group, and construct their identity as being part of the 'renaissance' in Old Town, against other groups within the town. Their status is arguably relative to other groups, and although finding a place in the world is often complex, ultimately, it is rewarding. The diverse meanings attached to being 'local' in Old Town by residents are vividly illustrated in the following quote:

'I don't feel like a true local, there's a bit of a hierarchy to this place. I think in the old town you can only be a true local if your families been here for 500 years [laughter] I've met people who have lived here for 30, 40 years and they don't even describe themselves as locals. Obviously they're locals but...there is a difference...there are probably people like us, and similar people like us and if we got together we'd probably call ourselves locals, but then if we got together with another group who were born here and lived here then...I don't think we're locals because we're part of the renaissance' (08).

Semi-structured interviews reveal that in-migrants perceive 'locals' as having the power to make them feel more, or less, welcome and accepted. That 'locals' can sanction or endorse certain people and activities, and encourage in-comers to feel 'in place' is illustrated in the following quote:

'A couple of months we had a couple of regulars coming in and sitting at the bar and having a drink, which was nice. They were sort of real locals, and that made us feel

kind of accepted, it was really nice' (17).

Equally, the actions of 'locals' can make in-migrants feel excluded or 'out of place', if in-comers question an established way of life in the town, for example:

'The bloke who owns another B&B said the pub next door was too noisy, wanted to close it down. The owner said, sorry friend, that pub has been there 400 years; you've been here 5 minutes. Consequently now, he's been barred from the pub. If you step on people's toes....the Old Towners will drive you away, one way or the other. Not in a violent way, in a way that they'll snub you, a lot of them do snub him. And it's the way he's done it to himself; he's dug his own grave really' (23).

In-migrants 'down from London' often note the complexities of negotiating local social structures and identities in Old Town, as well as establishing their place in the town alongside other residents. The following quote demonstrates how attempting to overcome initial perceptions and prejudices of in-comers from London as inherently detrimental is sometimes futile:

'People are very protective of the Old Town, who is, who is not local. I mean, I've lived and worked here for 4 years and I think I'm quite local, but you have to be born here to be local. If you're from out of town, it's hard work. You think sometimes that you blend in, but underneath you think you'll always be this person who comes from London, or somewhere else. If you weren't here when you were in your nappies that that's that I guess' (22).

In-comers from London often recognised the importance of 'winning over' local residents, and adopt strategies to appease particular elements of the community. Many in-migrants from London attempt to establish a middle ground between their own desires and cultural tastes, and the traditions and expectations of the local population:

'We open up our house and garden to everyone every year for strawberries and cream teas, we were lucky enough to be able to buy a house with one of the biggest gardens in Old Town so we like to share it....that way everyone can get together, young and old, it's good for us and good for the place' (39).

Other in-migrants 'down from London' believe that expressing an intent to stay, live, work and play in Old Town, and become part of the community is key to being accepted. The desire to

protect the town from external forces that may potentially be detrimental is understood and often admired by in-comers:

‘There is a tremendous passion for this place, and a tremendous protectiveness, so I can understand where people are coming from...but we’re not from London running this business, we’re here, we live here, and I think that’s been a really important message to get across to people’ (14).

In-comers that move down from London to return to Old Town may be said to have a rather ambiguous status that shapes their experiences of local social structures in different ways. The following quote exemplifies how, despite familial ties to Old Town, the status of those that have moved away and returned is sometimes uncertain:

‘To be local, I think you have to be born here. Your family might have here for a while, but that’s not enough. I’ve been here for 8 years, I spent all my summers here with my grandmother, my dad worked on the local paper, and I’d expect to be lumped in with the DFL’s. I don’t really know how they see me’ (13).

It is contended that ‘being local’ engenders a sense of possession over place, and ‘local’ people often recognise and challenge unknown people who appear ‘out of place’, as well as offer advice to visitors, tourists and new arrivals (Laurier and Philo, 2006). Through being ‘local’, it may be said that some people acquire ‘rights’ to assert their authority, opinions or beliefs to others who, in contrast to their status as ‘knowing’, are ‘unknowing’:

‘I did feel like, as a newcomer, I didn’t have the right to say anything, and even though I was here, and I was part of it, it’s hard not to feel like that when there are people who live next door who were born on the street’ (14).

Particular social groups within Old Town arguably have a more authoritative presence within Old Town. ‘Proper Old Towners’ and those in the fishing community are distinguished from other residents by their long-time residency and status in the town, and their views and opinions are perhaps legitimised by their claims to history and heritage. In-comers are, therefore, expected to acknowledge the position of these social groups in relation to their own in-migration to the town:

‘The fishermen and the Old Towners, the proper Old Towners, they have a lot of say in the town...people have to realise that’ (29).

It may be said that there are implicit values, moral codes and rules of behaviour that, if adhered to, facilitate acceptance by long-term residents. Within the following quote, there is arguably an emphasis on in-comers being genuine, sincere and honest. That Old Town residents place significant value on embedded social networks, rather than the cursory exchanges that may occur between people in place of origin, is contended to filter down to shape how individual in-migrants are regarded:

‘If you’re prepared to be yourself completely then you’ll be accepted, and I think that means fully, you know, just be yourself, because this town can handle it. I think it’s just one of those places where if you try to mince around and keep everyone happy then I don’t think it’s going to work’ (17).

‘It’s a funny old place the Old Town, you can’t bullshit them...what I’ve found with the Old Town is that some people have lived here 20, 25 years and they’ve still not been accepted. Its people who come down here, you know, saying, I’m all this, I’ve got that; it’s those people who rub everyone up the wrong way. I mean, I’ve lived here since 1990, in that time I’ve seen a lot of people come and go...I think if you just mind your business and be honest with people then you’ll get on all right, you’ll fit in’ (11).

In-migrants are expected to make efforts to adapt to social regimes already in place, rather than question them. There is an emphasis within the following quote on in-comers ‘knowing their place’, and not imposing their own desires and beliefs too vigorously:

‘You either fit in or you don’t. If you want to fit in, you can, you will. If you don’t, you can’t come down here... if you’ve been here five minutes, you can’t dictate how you want to run this town, what you want closed, going round with a petition, you just can’t’ (23).

Other in-migrants have experiences of residing in Old Town that are arguably less contingent on particular requisites and conditions. The diverse, bohemian, and often eccentric nature of Old Town has been discussed previously as a key appeal in itself for many in-migrants (see Section 7.4. 12). It may be said that this philosophy also underpins the acceptance of a diverse array of in-comers, in which people are welcome regardless of economic or social status:

‘It’s a proper neighbourly place, a genuine group of people, and it’s an area where it doesn’t matter who you are, what you are, what you’ve got, how much money you’ve

got, your sexuality, how eccentric you are, what you do for a living, if people like you, they like, they accept you and nobody gives a toss, you just get on, everybody just muddles through' (05).

Despite the significance and apparent status of being 'born and bred' in Old Town, in-migrants often note that being tied to place through birth is not an inherently positive experience:

'The root of it all are the people who were here before, that's still being maintained, that next generation. Some people who are born and bred here can't wait to get away but there are also other ones who are not like that' (26).

The difference in attitudes and philosophies between born and bred locals and in-migrants is contended to influence the experience of living in Old Town, and ultimately whether or not this experience is life-enhancing. This is most vividly illustrated in the following quote, and demonstrates how the conscious decision to move to and reside in Old Town, rather than being constrained by socio-economic circumstances, constructs very different narratives of belonging and local identity:

'I think if you're born and bred you have more negative stuff to say about the place, you're stuck here, you're tapped by birth or finance. A lot of the positive stuff you hear is from people who have moved here from elsewhere. If you've moved here, you've made a choice to live here, moving is a choice, you have made a decision to do it and you probably have a different view on things. If you're born and bred you probably think of the good old days, but you need to make a compromise though when things change and I think they find it harder' (04).

The above quote also alludes to the changing social and cultural character of Old Town, and long-time residents often associate 'the good old days' with particular social groups within the town. The 'indigenous' population of Old Town are considered by some to now be 'outsiders', as contemporary flows of in-migrants from London and elsewhere bring with them their own cultural tastes, values and behaviour that (re) shape economic, social and cultural regimes within the town:

'Many of the people who are most annoyed with these so called trendies moving into Old Town are a bit older and have lived here for a long time, they like the way things were and don't want to see them change...I would have to say that the indigenous population as it were are probably all outsiders now, there aren't really any older 'Old Towners' anymore who live here' (05).

7.4.14 The 'creative class':

The history of artistic and creative pursuits in Old Town is contended to contribute to a distinct sense of place that entices other creative people. The movement of creative people from London to Old Town is arguably driven by the locational choices of other creative people previously; the holders of 'creative capital', who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas (Florida, 2002: 223). In-migrants that comprise the creative class are arguably a new social class, and the behaviours, cultural preferences and lifestyles of individuals within this group can be commodified to appeal to other in-migrants, enhancing migration flows to Old Town. The following quote vividly illustrates how Old Town has historically provided a 'creative centre' that is encouraging contemporary flows of creative people:

'This place, for centuries, has always been the base of a creative sector. People come here, they collect here, because of its obvious character and nature, and they stay here, and it's outside the mainstream, so it keeps all the flotsam and jetsam here. There is huge creative centre here, there are loads and loads and loads of artists, and writers, and poets and performers and filmmakers and journalists, and now more than ever, because of the easier way of life, because of the character of the place, its eccentricities' (27).

In line with the contention of this thesis that contemporary family migrants moving to Old Town have distinct motivations for moving and diverse migration practices, it is argued that there is a 'new wave' of the 'creative class' to Old Town. This younger, more mobile sub-group of in-migrants are attracted by the 'quirky' and 'odd' setting for creative pursuits, rather than cheap property, and are arguably more ambitious with different creative agendas in comparison to previous in-comers:

'I like the art scene, there's something very odd about it' (16).

'I think what's happening now is that there is a new wave of younger, creative people coming to Hastings, certainly in the 6 years since I've been here and their very driven, they're very determined, and they're determined to make their businesses work and they're making their livelihood out of it, Whereas in the past the artistic community here was considered, especially over the last 20, 30 years there's definitely been a feeling of people moving here just because properties were cheap and they'd paint occasionally then they'd lie in bed all day. There still is a bit of that, but there's room for everyone here, and there's just so many of them now' (17).

How creativity is ‘displayed’ is argued to differentiate a ‘new wave’ of the creative class from previous in-comers. The emergence of a ‘gallery scene’ in Old Town within the last five years (e.g. Leigh Gallery, Weekend, Gallery, Gallery 53) is contended to be a visible manifestation of the creative class from London, alongside an older, ‘underground art and cultural scene’ (see Plate 7.3).



Plate 7.3 Art galleries on High Street, Old Town

Whereas previously, in-migrants from London have been attracted primarily by improved housing at relatively low cost, the emergence of a ‘gallery scene’ is contended to mark a subtle shift in both the type of in-migrant moving to Old Town, and type of clientele and cultural consumer that is anticipated in Old Town:

‘There’s always been a big art and cultural scene here, but it’s been kind of underground. There’s not really a gallery scene. Hastings has always had very good houses at affordable prices, and we’ve always had this flow of artists coming down and living here, from London...but it’s only really been the last 4 or 5 years when galleries have started to open’ (12).

Structural conditions within the town are also argued to encourage a distinct creative environment, in which in-comers from London can combine work and home space. The availability of large, relatively less expensive property often allows in-migrants to simultaneously purchase work and residential space, rather than acquire a separate studio space. This arguably solves many problems associated with the separation of home and work, and is particularly appealing to in-migrants that consider more flexible employment regimes that allow more time with family and friends, a key motive for migration:

‘Most of the artists live and work here; they have studios in their houses because there aren’t many studio spaces. Property is cheap enough here that you can come down from London, from a 2 bedroom flat and but a four bedroom house which means you can have a really nice studio in your house’ (31).

‘My partner had a stressful job in London. We knew if we sold our place in Islington for silly money we could buy a place big enough for some studio space and he could try and get back to his art’ (41).

The House of Commons Coastal Town Report (2006/7) further notes the importance of ‘indigenous’, ‘home-grown enterprise’ developing in Hastings, as opposed to large scale inward investment that the New Economics Foundation considers inappropriate for many coastal towns (House of Common Coastal Town Report, 2006/7). It is contended, however, that the emergence of a gallery scene and the number of in-migrants that can afford to purchase properties large enough to provide studio space, reflects the form of capital that the contemporary creative person and cultural consumer moving to Old Town possesses. Rather than the distinct brand of bohemia that an ‘underground art and cultural scene’ arguably engenders, in-comers from London are considered a more middle-class creative group, who will provide a more ‘sanitised’ creative experience for a particular kind of clientele:

‘It’s getting really arty farty down here. A lot of the DFL’s are the arty farties and they’re coming down here to open their studios and their galleries, that kind of thing, which, ok, probably is a good thing, probably isn’t a good thing. It’s hard to say’ (21).

7.4.15 ‘A different world’: The fishing community in Old Town

The fishing community is arguably a complex structure of definitive roles, relationships and behaviours that construct a ‘different world’. The shared experience of this world may be said to form the basis of a distinct local community (Pahl, 1964). This section explores how the fishing community shapes experiences of place and identity for in-migrants moving to Old Town. It is outlined in Chapter 6 that a key attraction of coastal space for in-migrants is the notion of an authentic coastal lifestyle, in which life is inextricably linked to the sea and fishing community. This particular community is arguably constructed of social-capital-rich, working class networks, in which connections with others are maintained and valued, and social exclusion and lack of connectiveness is rare. It is contended that this is a key appeal for in-migrants, who lament the

disintegration of social cohesion in place of origin and cite a desire for community and inclusion as influential in the migration decision-making process.

Old Town is often considered a distinct coastal locale, defined by its deeply embedded ties to the fishing industry, and the community that has developed alongside it. It can be argued that the fishing industry in Old Town is shaped by distinct socio-economic forces compared to other 'fishing towns' such as Rye:

'When you compare Old Town to Eastbourne, Brighton or Rye, they're much wealthier. Rye has its own fishing fleet, but it's a bit foo foo, a bit twee, it's nothing to do with the town, it's separated from the old part of Rye, it's not intertwined like it is here. It's all one here; the town is part of it' (20).

The fishing industry arguably underpins the working-class nature and ethos of Old Town, and provides the community with a sense of purpose, function and 'authenticity' that positions it differently from other coastal towns, such as Brighton and Rye, which are often considered 'trendy' or 'twee' by respondents (see Chapter 6):

'The Old Town isn't like anywhere else, because it still, fortunately, has its character which is based upon its fishing fleet, it's got an industry, it's got purpose...the Old Town has got that flavour and character of a working town, they call it Dirty Old Town, because it's still a working town' (29).

It is contended that having a long-established core industry engenders local solidarities and a 'sense of community' that positions Old Town differently from other, neighbouring coastal locales. The sense of social cohesion that is based on local fishing families arguably sits at the centre of the industry as much as fishing practices themselves, and it is argued that this has filtered down into other elements of community and social networks. For many in-migrants, the fishing community is a significant element of a distinct socio-cultural experience in which they can participate:

'In Old Town, because of the history, the fishing families here...they must be the most connected people here...their families being connected to different points in history. I think the fisherman here with their heritage and rootedness...it just gives the place a different feeling from anywhere else I've been' (14).

The fishing community is considered by long-term residents as integral to the character and identity of Old Town, and time-honoured ways of working within this industry are often centred around the family, encouraging a 'different' way of living underpinned by particular social relations:

'I think the fishing industry contributes to the town's identity 100%. But if you think, someone's been here working, their father, their grandfather, their grandfather before them....and there is a different social way of living amongst that' (29).

The 'different social way of living' may be argued to create a rather insular community, from which recent in-migrants may be excluded. Yet the bohemian nature of this community does allow for some access to certain spaces on the periphery, such as the fisherman's café, if not the core of the community:

'There are lots of eccentric people there, it can be definitely divided, you used to have all of the fishing families who were very much to the fore and the newcomers. And the fisherman were very active, they all lived in the Old Town and it was a total fishing community, and really, we just moved into their town, so we were very respectful of that. If you weren't respectful of it of course it caused friction, but because the fisherman were seen to be quite bohemian anyway, it was no problem to eat at the fisherman's café, it was the thing to do' (04).

It may be said that newcomers are, however, still enticed by the fishing community as part of the 'package' of wider Hastings, and fishermen are viewed as a 'commodity' that ensures the town maintains a strong identity as a fishing village and a high profile more widely:

'They're [fishermen] a very precious commodity here because people will come down to the fishing beach, the fish market has a high profile, it's part of the identity of Old Town, it's actually part of the Hastings package' (29).

'It's more bohemia than Brighton or Rye, it's almost kept its pirate, smuggling tendencies, I think the fishing community down here contribute to that, those from the past are still a dark force, really scary, dangerous people!' (25).

Familial ties within the fishing industry also allow some local people access to increasingly inaccessible property markets. Properties owned by members of the fishing community are often kept within families and continually inherited. This tradition is believed to retain families that would otherwise have been displaced from the area:

‘A lot of the houses in the Old Town were owned by people descended from fishing families, and although there are still a lot of fishing families in the Old Town, it’s mostly because they’ve inherited their house because they couldn’t afford to buy any of them anymore’ (20).

Other properties historically constructed for fishing families are often appropriated by in-comers to the town, as they consume an element of a ‘repackaged’ time-space from a traditional and time-honoured industry. The following quote illustrates how younger in-migrants are attracted by the original features and historical character of the fishing cottages:

‘All of these houses out here [gestures outside] were all once fishing cottages, for the fisherman and their families. Now they’ve all been sold off except for perhaps one or two. There’s a young couple living in that one...it’s mostly young couples who have moved in, they’re willing to pay the money, I think they like the original features, they’re very well-built...but soon I think they’ll grow out of them, they were made for the fishing families, there’s nothing fancy about them’ (32).

It is argued that some members of the fishing community are capitalising on the relative increase in property prices in the town. Whilst elderly households are often considered to be the most disadvantaged and the least mobile, the inflation of property prices is allowing some elderly members of the fishing community to sell their properties and purchase retirement flats north of Old Town, in Ore:

‘The fishing community has changed over the years. A lot of the older people have moved to Ore. They can sell their properties for much more now than before, and they can get a nice retirement flat which they probably wouldn’t have been able to afford’ (05).

The centrality of the fishing industry in Old Town is, however, considered by some residents to be diminishing. Although fishing families remain integral to life in Old Town, the fishing industry more generally is often considered vulnerable, affected by wider changes to fishing directives and rules:

‘There are still remnants of the fishing industry but they keep it in the family. They’re still integral I would say to life in the Old Town. I go down to the beach to buy my fish and talk to them; you’re very conscious that they’re there, they’re in the pubs, we sort of feel concerned for them and support their cause’ (04).

The fishing industry is also vulnerable to changes within the family itself. The importance of gender is illustrated in the following quote:

‘Some of the fishing families are still going in the town, you’ve got some Peppers still, Buckstead, but there aren’t any Mitchells fishing anymore, no Breeds. Some of the fishing families have no male heirs so they die off’ (20).

For some residents, it has become a token industry, rooted in the past and more representative of Old Town’s appeal as a tourist destination. Residents acknowledge that the appeal of Old Town is often attached to its history as a fishing village, and noted the value of the fishing community. The town’s identity is argued to have become inextricable from this element and it is believed that attention must be re-focused on other appeals and enticements to ensure its continuation:

‘As much as I love the net houses and all that, you can’t go on forever on them, you’ve got to have something else to bring people into Old Town, and bring money into the town, otherwise we will just die’ (19).

One form of the fishing community is as a community of the past, underpinned by discourses of nostalgia. The fishing industry as less representative of Hastings and more of a nostalgic construct is revealed by the interviews:

‘I think the fishing industry is losing its importance, if you go to the shops and buy fish it’s not all Hastings fish, it comes from other places, it’s losing its importance, and change is very difficult as what is going to replace it? Fishing is like a nostalgic thing, and they do bring fish in, but there is a strong element of nostalgia about it’ (24).

It may be said that the cultural ambience of the fishing industry is closely tied to the traditions and social practices performed by fishing families. The legacy of local knowledge and experience is passed on through generations, to both male and female members of the family, who will occupy different roles. Who joins the fishing industry is also dependent on level of education:

‘Those in the families aren’t quite educated enough, they’ll probably take things over. The others who get a good schooling won’t. It’s a skill that you’ve got to pick up. Also, if it’s in the family then it almost comes as second nature. You need to know what the winds are or the tides; it passes down when you’re a little kid on the beach’ (20).

As older members of fishing families retire, and younger members of families seek employment elsewhere, the legacy of local knowledge and experience contained within families arguably becomes vulnerable. The following quote illustrates how the character and 'atmosphere' of the fishing community is believed by some residents to have become increasingly 'clinical' as the involvement of family members declines:

'A lot of the very old women used to gut fish on the beach, and you could still get that atmosphere, you'd have the great granny, the granny, the daughter, and all the grandchildren, and if you spoke to the older ones, you'd get a real idea of how thing used to be, but of course, they've all died off now, and you've got the younger ones coming up, but the next generation or the next one down, they haven't been gutting fish on the beach so they're working in the town centre or wherever, so that's going, and it's all become very clinical, it's lost that atmosphere I think' (29).

Despite a perceived change in the social and cultural character of the fishing industry in Old Town, individuals from fishing families and those that are actively involved in the industry remain deeply embedded in the community more widely. It may be said that those from fishing families are often considered gatekeepers; upholding the social and cultural traditions and philosophies of Old Town that are accepted by the wider community. It is contended that their claims to history and heritage legitimise their opinions and beliefs, and allow them to become, inadvertently or otherwise, arbiters of morals, values and cultural tastes. For some in-migrants, integration into the community more widely was facilitated by acceptance from this group:

'I feel quite in with the locals here now, since I got involved with the fisherman here...they're fun too, a bit eccentric...they know most people within the town, so once you're in with them then...they're kind of like the fishing mafia!' (42).

Particular alliances of power within Old Town are arguably closely tied to the politics of the fishing industry. The fishing community, however, is argued to not always been unified, and a micro-scale network of rules and behaviour arguably exists, based on deeply embedded familial histories:

'They don't all get on together, some of them really dislike each other, they will not work with each other. If they worked with each other their lives would be a whole lot easier, but they don't. There are all sorts of reasons for it, sometimes its blood, its family, there's all sorts of conflict, some of it goes back years and years, it's a bit like the Italian mafia isn't it' (20).

It is argued that Old Town residents often place their trust in these informal leaders and gatekeepers, and rely on them, in part, to preserve the social order in Old Town:

‘There is very solid history here which has been part of the inheritance of the fishing families that keeps Hastings old town sane, when all about them are certain glimpses of eccentricity and insanity’ (07).

Organised networks of power within this community are also established to resist change, or manage any perceived threat to the community. The forthcoming Jerwood Gallery to be built on The Stade is the catalyst for formal protest. Plate 7. 4 shows a poster placed on a net hut by Hastings Fishermen which states ‘NO Jerwood on The Stade Coach Park’:



Plate 7. 4 **Protest poster against the Jerwood Gallery**

In summary, it is contended that a complex set of regulating social and cultural rituals govern the wider fishing community, and in-migrants to Old Town recognise and value the social importance of the fishing industry as integral to the identity of the town. The presence of the ‘working beach’ and active fishing industry is argued to contribute to a sense of continuity within the town, and emerging expressions of social, cultural and economic change, and processes of ‘invasion and displacement’ (Shields, 1991: 81) often associated with population change, are perhaps constrained.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has sought to analyse the findings of semi-structured interviews to uncover the economic, social and cultural factors underpinning the process of family migration within Old Town. In doing so, it has been shown that processes and outcomes of long-distance family migration are contingent on multiple appeals and enticements, which, in turn, highlight the ways in which the factors underpinning contemporary family migration are becoming increasingly complex.

Most significantly, empirical accounts have demonstrated that the non-economic realm of family migration is becoming increasingly significant. The findings point to the ways in which previously peripheral social and cultural factors are as central to migration decision-making as economic factors, and begin to reveal how contemporary family migration is becoming more complex. With the aims of this thesis in mind, a number of points are particularly noteworthy:-

It can be stated that the 'family' have been re-positioned within the migration decision-making processes within the context of Old Town. Findings from interviews support the contention of this thesis that placing the family 'front and centre' of migration studies (Cooke, 2008) reveals the extent to which family relations, relationships and familial ties to place impact on the processes and outcomes of family migration as much as, if not more than, economic concerns, such as labour market considerations.

Social-led motives are becoming increasingly significant in processes of long-distance family migration in Old Town. The growing influence of the family and family relationships within the decision-making processes of in-migrants within Old Town emphasises the need to reconsider the place of the family within migration studies (Mulder, 2007). Foremost, findings reveal the presence of children and child-rearing steers the direction and timing of migration in particular ways, and illuminate a number of issues related to physical environment, social-cultural conditions, education, and aspirations for children (Little and Austin, 1996).

Furthermore, family relations and familial ties to place have emerged as an important motive for many households moving into Old Town. It has been demonstrated that family-ties are important in people's live (Bengtson, 2001; Komter and Vollebergh, 2002), and therefore play a part in people's migration decision-making processes. It appears that behaviour relating to migration and location choice is often situated within the wider family context (Mulder, 2007), and some in-migrants seek to be closer to sons and / or daughters, and / or grandchildren. For other in-migrants, the appeal of being closer to family members is tied to care exchange, as family members provide

support networks in which informal care giving and childcare may be provided in reciprocal arrangements.

Examining social-led motives and outcomes has allowed an insight into why particular households decide to move, as well as the meanings and expectations which they attach to particular spaces at different times in their lives. Empirical evidence suggests that more fully conceptualising life-course events within the context of migration and residential location decisions can provide more robust explanations of family migration. Findings from interviews with in-migrants provide an insight into how particular life-stages, such as family-forming and child-rearing are playing an increasingly significant role in the migration decision-making process.

Family migrants are renegotiating both temporal and spatial attachments to employment regimes, altering work practices to facilitate an enhanced quality-of-life and alternative lifestyles 'by the sea'. Findings reveal that work cultures of family migrants are becoming increasingly diverse and flexible, as migrants re-work conventional employment relations to reveal emerging post-migration labour practices. As a result, family relations within the home and the workplace are becoming increasingly blurred post-migration, as in-migrants reshape employment regimes to encourage more 'family-friendly' work practices, to enable families to negotiate the home-work balance in more efficient and effective ways (Allen *et al.*, 2004).

Findings also beg questions of the pertinence of the human-capital thesis for understanding the decision-making processes of family migrants. It can be asserted that human-capital factors, such as occupational credentials and professional degrees, are not of consideration for many contemporary family migrants when making migration decisions in the context of Old Town. Rather than migration as a rational choice, as an assessment of the (primarily) economic implications, in-migrants increasingly draw on social and cultural motivations to shape migration trajectories, and consider outcomes of migration in non-economic terms (Halfacree, 2004; Smith, 2004).

That in-migrants are becoming increasingly risk-tolerant within economic domains also indicates that securing long-term economic returns is becoming less significant within migration practices. Findings suggest that discourses of risk and potential short-term losses and insecurity are often anticipated by in-migrants, and accepted as necessary if 'gains' are to be secured. In addition, it has been argued that family migrants are transforming employment regimes to facilitate gains in socio-cultural spheres, which allow them to actively 'step out' of conventional labour market structures on their own terms in an effort to integrate work and home (Smith and Phillips, 2001).

It is argued that concepts of risk, reward, and returns underpin emerging geographies of loss and gain within family migration practices. Empirical evidence suggests that losses in particular realms are often anticipated and accepted, if reasonable gains can be made in other domains and areas of 'life'. Whilst economic approaches to migration behaviour remain pertinent (Greenwood, 1975; Morrison and Lichter, 1988; Spitze, 1988), it is demonstrated that other, social and cultural concerns and desires are becoming increasingly significant in family migration processes, and shape the spatial and temporal dimensions of mobility in diverse and complex ways.

Findings from the interviews reveal some of the underlying cultural decision-making processes of family migrants. Foremost, semi-structured interview have exposed the complex factors that underpin counterurban migration from the city to the coastal margins. The findings suggest that certain social groups, such as in-migrants 'down-from-London' are acting on counterurban impulses, including the desire for enhanced physical environs and the predilection to 'escape' urban centres, but moving to less distinct spaces on the urban hierarchy (Walmsley *et al.*, 1998, Halfacree, 2008). Examining migration flows in the context of counterurbanisation reveals the distinct characteristics and aspirations of the social groups in-migrating to coastal locales, and points to the relative affluence of households leaving certain socio-spatial locations for spaces on the periphery.

Key motives for family migrants counterurbanising to the coast include the desire for larger, relatively 'cheaper' properties, the opportunity to reshape conventional employment relations, and the opportunity to downshift, rather than 'wind down' (Clark, 2009). It was found that counterurban migration flows are place-specific, and key appeals for family migrants are locally-contingent characteristics and qualities. The appeals of the case study area include enhanced quality-of-life for children, social support networks, communities of place, coastal environs and alternative lifestyles 'by the sea'. The findings extend counterurban migration debates through exposing the complexities that exist between and within socio-spatial locations and the social groups in-migrating to coastal locales.

Finally, utilising a wider spatial framework demonstrates that emerging expressions of economic, social and cultural change at the coastal margins are tied to the characteristics and behaviour of long-distance family migrants participating in counterurban population movements. Investigating the interface between family migration and processes and outcomes of gentrification in the context of counterurbanisation demonstrates that certain social groups from London are actively (re) shaping the spatial limits of economic, social and cultural change, as they move from the city to the coastal periphery (Dutton, 2003). Findings from semi-structured interviews provide an insight into how affluent households are abandoning the city as a residential space and actively informing how

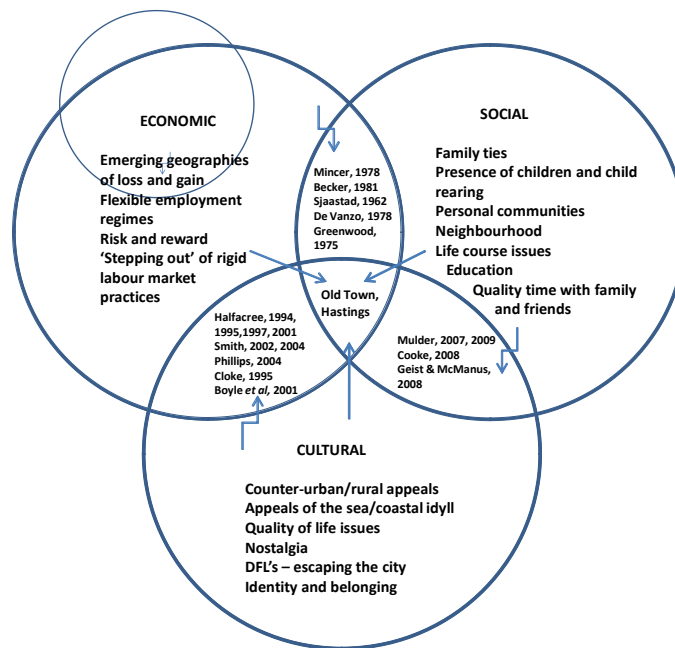


Figure 7. 1 Conceptual diagram illustrating the overlaps between economic-, social- and cultural-led motives of family migration.

In summary, this chapter reveals multiple non-economic motives for long-distance family migration. Empirical evidence supports the view of this thesis that processes of family migration are increasingly complex and complicated, and considering economic-, social-, or cultural-led processes and related outcomes in isolation may provide only partial accounts and understandings of family migration practices.

In going 'beyond' the economic, the non-economic worlds of family migration as revealed through a cultural lens can be explored, encouraging a broader perspective that will encompass 'ways of seeing places, migration and migrants' and 'balance or complement research done within the dominant economic tradition' (Halfacree, 2004: 240). Critical to this discussion is a more robust examination of the specific cultural motives and appetites that are significant for distinct types of family migrants, and shaping the migration decision-making process and outcomes of contemporary mobilities in diverse and complex ways.

This chapter has examined the economic-, social-, and cultural-led motives for family migration in the context of Old Town, Hastings. Empirical accounts of the economic and non-economic realms of family migration have sought to facilitate a more robust theoretical framework within which family migration may be examined.

8 Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a synthesis of the key findings of the thesis. Overall, the discussion demonstrates the increasing complexity of family migration, and illustrates some of the ways in which future studies of family migration may further explore, in more depth, the changing social, cultural and economic context of family migration. The chapter is divided into main three sections. First, the discussion highlights the key conceptual, theoretical and empirical contributions of the thesis. It is suggested that 'Down from London' may be a relevant conceptual marker for future studies of urban and rural change; with potential migrants focussed on moving out of metropolitan centres down the urban hierarchy for non-economic and economic reasons. Second, the main aims of the thesis are revisited, to specify how the research has fulfilled the remit of the thesis. The third section concludes the key findings of the thesis.

8.2 Key contributions of the thesis

8.2.1 Advancing conceptualisations of family migration

The findings of the thesis demonstrate the growing influence of non-economic motive-led family migration, in contrast to the dominance of labour--motivated migration in previous studies of family migration (DaVanzo, 1981). The growing influence of non-economic motives for family migration emphasises the importance of emerging cultural underpinnings of family migration, ensuring that contemporary mobilities are not inherently economic in nature, but cultural events are also an integral dimension of family migration processes. To date, family migration studies have tended to consider these motives secondary to other, primary factors, such as moving for job and other employment-related reasons. Importantly, it has been demonstrated in this thesis that the opportunity to 'down-shift' (Clark, 2009) is central to migration decision-making processes. The findings suggest that the prospect of reducing mortgage obligations and enhancing general quality-of-life is fundamental to the diverse processes of 'downshifting' for in-migrants to Old Town. Households with relatively large economic capital, often accrued from the sale of property in place of origin, were found to be able to purchase property in Old Town outright, or significantly lessen the cost of housing.

At the same time, the thesis clearly supports Mulder's (2007) contention that studies of family migration must consider the wider family context within the migration decision-making process; in

doing so emphasising the need to more fully recognise the growing appeal of moving to be closer to other, extended family members. The findings show that the role of family-ties is a key factor in the migration decision-making process of many households. Interestingly, in-migrants were influenced by 'concrete' family-ties, such as the presence of (grand) parents, step families and other family members in Old Town, as well as enticed by less tangible family-ties to place, such as personal histories of the family in the area. This thesis stresses the need to consider the wider family context in processes of family migration, in particular, the role of extended family in shaping the direction and timing of migration. The increasing influence of extended family and role of family-ties more fully signals the re-prioritisation of the family within migration decision-making processes.

In addition, the thesis has begun to uncover the influence of education-related considerations; in-migrants rejecting state education in place of origin for comparatively lower private school fees in Hastings and the surrounding areas. The thesis corroborates some recent national media discourses which suggest that relatively affluent households are 'leaving the city' due to low-quality state education (The Telegraph, 29/5/2005) alongside concerns over crime and housing costs. The findings suggest that amongst affluent families, access to private education is an increasingly pertinent factor in the migration decision-making process, and this highlights how new social and spatial relations in Old Town are often contingent upon the increasingly polarised social spaces children inhabit through their education (Butler, 2003: 2469).

The increasing influence of non-economic motive-led family migration can be argued to underpin emerging expressions of family migration. The findings of the thesis point to unfolding processes of family migration within both economic and non-economic realms of migration decision-making, and question the dominance of family migration as an expression of simplistic economic motives and considerations. It is argued that emerging geographies of loss and gain within migration practices should be more fully considered; dimensions of risk and reward, trade-offs and compromises integral to re-thinking the meaning and place of loss and gain as situated within the family and the household. By exploring these dimensions, the thesis reveals that the role of conventional economic gains, such as monetary returns and earning potential (Sjaastad, 1962; Mincer, 1978), in determining the timing and direction of migration may be less dominant. In the context of Old Town, it has been shown that family migrants are willing to make economic compromises and trade-offs if other gains can be made, and that these are often viewed positively.

Often, altering fundamental aspects of employment regimes led to loss (es) in certain spheres, such as salary or efficiency. It is asserted that in-migrants attain increasingly flexible employment regimes by changing certain elements, such as place of work and hours worked. Rather than a

change in the employment status of one or more members of the household, findings point to family migrants adopting particular strategies to maintain prior employment status; altering commuting practices and reconstituting working and living arrangements. The complexities of combining commitments in the spheres of work, home and family can be interpreted to encourage family migrants to adopt 'unconventional' alternatives to maintaining rigid employment regimes. In the context of Old Town, the thesis reveals that in-migrants moving from London are particularly likely to maintain employment status, such as place and type of work, but adopt strategies including longer but less frequent commutes, and maintaining a residence in London. This particular finding can be said to draw attention to the increasing number of dual-career family migrants undertaking a 'part-time' commuter partnership in which one partner lives near to place of work for a proportion of the week (van der Klis and Mulder, 2008). The proportion of family migrants to Old Town that continue to commute to London in some form may indicate the increasingly fluid boundaries of global cities, which encourage migrants to remain socio-culturally and physically attached to London, even when residing on the coastal margins. This fluidity extends to a perceived urban/rural divide and associated lifestyles, the boundaries of which are 'becoming increasingly blurred as the middle classes move out of inner urban locales but continue to commute to towns and cities (The Times, 22/6/2004).

Findings further point to family migrants working at distances from place of work, over dual or multiple locales, in both formal and informal spaces, in order to imbue previously rigid labour practices with increased flexibility. It is contended that these employment strategies are at the centre of a new family/work/home balance, in which increasing flexibility filters down in positive ways to other members of the family and household more widely. It can be can be hypothesised that less rigid employment regimes, improved work-life balances and flexible living arrangements enable family migrants to nurture emerging lifestyles and ideologies centred upon the family. Findings point to the increasing momentum of movement out of the city towards other locales in the global-city region; family migrants attracted by an enhanced quality – of - life, environmental factors, and more space. It can be contended that structural factors such as economic insecurity in the city and house price differentials also encourage migrants to seek other residential locations

In addition, the thesis reveals the growing role of children within the migration decision-making processes (see Bushin, 2009). It is argued that the migration decision-making process is inherently shaped by life-course considerations, such as family forming or child rearing. Providing children with an enhanced environment, physical and social quality-of-life are key factors, as well as discourses of physical safety and emotional well-being. It can be noted here that the opportunity to enhance time spent with children partially underpins the re-negotiation of labour market practices, and again is arguably framed by a desire to re-prioritise the family in processes of migration.

Importantly, the thesis reveals that families are increasingly moving down the urban hierarchy, from the city to the coast. Findings reveal that in-migrants to Old Town are, in part, initially attracted by property price differentials, cheaper housing cost adjustments, and relatively lower cost of living. It is contended that places further down the urban hierarchy are more affordable, significantly influencing the direction migration. These differences are perhaps most apparent in migration flows between London and Hastings, and mark a tangible shift between property prices in the city and on the coast. This thesis supports the view of Withers *et al* (2008: 323) that 'place to place' migration ought to examine further housing-cost adjustments to more fully understand migration flows.

It can be argued that the findings of this thesis point to an increasing predilection amongst family migration to move out the city, in particular, middle-class, relatively affluent households. This has been explored in a rural context (Champion *et al.*, 2005; Phillips, 2007; Hoggart, 2007), but has arguably neglected similar processes unfolding on the coastal fringe (s). The thesis has drawn attention to particular social groupings 'escaping the city' and descending down the urban hierarchy from London to Old Town, and further shown that such counterurban moves are underpinned by a 'rural' perceived quality-of-life dimension, such as fresh air, enhanced physical environment, and 'community'. Findings support the assertion by the Urban Task Force (2005: 2) that there appears to be an accelerating drift of affluent families from inner cities in search of improved environmental factors such as 'less congestion and a safer environment'. These processes are, however, unfolding on the coastal fringe of a global city region, arguably constructing a more robust picture of the migration decision-making processes as having 'other' dimensions, rather than a simplistic urban to rural population shift.

By exploring the intersection between family migration and counterurban movements in the context of Old Town and reconsidering processes of family migration as complex and dynamic, the thesis suggests that some facets of counterurban processes may need to be re-thought. The movement of families desiring a 'rural' quality-of-life and relocating to the coast may provide other insights into counterurban migration as a distinctly 'rural' process. The increasing appeal of coastal and seaside spaces may be tied to the increasing blurring of rural and urban space, in which the boundary between each space seems 'increasingly porous' (Murdoch and Day, 1998: 186).

Findings suggest that the links between family migration and counterurban migration need to be re-theorised, in light of the spatial differences underpinning the rise of new, middle-class populations on the coastal margins. It can be argued that studies of family migration and counterurban migration should more fully explore the intersection between these often disparate research

agendas, distinguishing between the movement of families moving into rural villages, small towns and finally, the coastal fringe. This thesis has stressed the growing need to re-think the spatial boundaries of counterurban movements, and (re) conceptualise the coastal margin(s) as a distinct space alongside the arguably rigid categories utilised in studies of family migration, of the urban /city, suburbs and rural/countryside. This may prompt perspectives of counterurban migration as an intrinsically 'rural' process to be reconsidered, for example, as a 'coastal' process.

By exploring counterurban motives for migration, it is not intended to replace the economic perspective of migration, rather, to integrate this with the non-economic perspective. Rather, engaging with counterurban debates provides an additional cultural lens through which to examine the non-economic decision-making of family migrants; drawing attention to dominant socio-cultural and economic practices associated with each research agenda (Halfacree, 2004).

By examining these spatial differences, it is contended that the city as the country's 'other' (Carter, 2009) in processes of family migration may need to be re-thought. The increasing propensity of family migrants to move to undertake counterurban, motive-led moves out of the city and towards the coast, underpinned by a perceived 'rural' dimension, suggests that the coast overlaps both the spatial entities of the country and the city, providing the setting for an emerging societal process.

Within the context of Old Town, the coast is conceptualised as a space which simultaneously connects the city and the country, highlighting the notion that the coast acts as a border or space that both conjoins and separates and provides a unique liminal environ for unfolding processes of family migration. It is contended that studies of family migration and counterurban migration may be able to utilise conceptualisations of the coast as a 'third category' alongside the city and the country to further understandings of each research agenda (Carter, 2009). Further to this, it is argued that the liminal nature of the coastal fringe as 'an anomalous category, overflowing with meaning because it is neither land or sea, nature nor culture' (Fiske, 1989:56) could provide fertile ground for exploring counterurban movements of family migrants to less distinct spaces on the urban hierarchy.

The thesis demonstrates that that whilst Old Town does indeed form part of a town that may be considered urban (Greater Hastings), Old Town does not form part of the commuter hinterland traditionally associated with London; locales such as the conventional commuter 'hotspots' of Brighton, Reading, Windsor and St. Albans. The findings point to the importance of examining spaces on the periphery of the global-city region attracting affluent households from the city, whose predilection for perceived rural qualities encourages a move out of the city, whilst maintaining ties with the global city through labour market practices, albeit in modified forms.

Thus, the findings point to the importance of examining spaces on the periphery of a global city region (Dutton, 2003; Lees, 2003) that are not conventional commuter space (s), but are emerging as a new and exciting setting for emerging / unfolding processes of family migration.

In addition, the thesis more fully explores the geographical intersections between city, region and places on the margins in the context of family migration and counterurban migration, examining the flow of migrants within and between. Key to this is teasing out the spatial complexities of family migration and counterurban movements by unravelling the links between the different spatialities. The coast as a different spatial and temporal construct is contended to be important in distinguishing it from the urban and rural; informing the construction of coastal space (s) as being on the 'margins'. It is important to note that Hastings occupies a particular space on the 'margins' of the global city region. Whilst Brighton as a coastal locale may be considered on the physical margins, it is relatively 'centred' in a socio-economic sense due to relatively effective rail connections. In contrast, it is argued that Hastings is situated on the 'margin' of the 'margins', in that in a coastal context, it occupies the economic, social and cultural margins and may be argued to be 'a place apart' from other coastal locales on the South East coast. This suggests that flows of family and counterurban migration are a new phenomenon, rather than just having been obscured by the dominance of counterurban movements to rural spaces. It is perhaps interesting to consider how processes of family migration and counterurban migration unfold within similar coastal margins, such as Margate and Blackpool, as well as on the margins of regional city centres, such as Manchester and Leeds.

8.2.2 Deepening theoretical understandings of family migration

Existing theoretical understandings of family migration tend to suggest that individuals move according to economic- or employment-related reasons, in what is essentially a rational, individual act that will yield economic returns. The main findings of the thesis demonstrate that previous theorisations of family migration may be partially outdated. The thesis has stressed the growing influence of non-economic motive-led family migration, and how these partially underpin new expressions of family migration. The findings beg important questions of the pertinence of the human—capital thesis for adequately understanding contemporary processes of family migration, and theoretical questions surrounding migration flows of family migrants. It is argued that the human—capital hypothesis has considered a particular flow of migration; one underpinned by economic considerations such as labour market outcomes for members of the family and returns to the household.

The thesis supports the assertion by Bailey and Boyle (2004) that conceptual flexibility and

theoretical innovation is required in order to re-think strands of existing theory which have previously been dominated by the human-capital model, in which economic outcomes are central to theorisations of the family and family migration. It is important to note that the thesis does not consider the non-economic dimensions of migration as somehow more important than the economic dimensions (Sayer, 1997). Rather, in agreement with Halfacree (2004), the findings encourage a perspective which stresses the value of alternative understandings of migration. Findings address often 'undervalued aspects of the migration process' (Halfacree, 2004: 241), suggesting that multiple currents constitute the migration decision-making process, resulting in multiple reasons for the action of migration. The thesis stresses the merits of a cultural-focus for understanding processes of family migration, and it is contended that by questioning the economic/non-economic dualism of migration, and challenging the economism of internal migration, the role of non-economic factors in the migration decision-making process may be glimpsed.

Implicitly, the thesis points to some interesting insight into the geographies of internal family migration. It has been suggested that new expressions of family are emerging, and these are increasingly underpinned by non-economic motive-led considerations. It can be argued that the growing influence of non-economic motive-led has simply been obscured by the dominance of the human-capital hypothesis. It is postulated, however, that by engaging with counterurban migration debates, the findings expose a new migration flow that is implicitly shaped by a desire for perceived 'rural' qualities, and underpinned by spatial differentiation. In addition, it is suggested that the thesis provides evidence of counterurban family migrants acting as potential gentrifiers of coastal environs.

The thesis also explores the links between the in-migration of relatively affluent households from London and the social, cultural and economic dynamics of gentrification in Old Town. It is contended that Old Town as situated on the periphery of a global city region represents a new point of the urban / city gentrification frontier (Davidson, 2007), which may point to some intriguing insights into the uneven time-space geographies of gentrification. The thesis has endeavoured to more fully explore the links between gentrification and wider societal processes, such as the mobilities of family migrants, and examine the socio-spatial dynamics of gentrification as it unfolds lower down the urban hierarchy in both cultural and economic spheres. It can be stated that the thesis explores the current spatial boundaries of gentrification and endeavours to 'examine the unfolding migration dimensions of gentrification' (Smith, 2002: 391).

In the UK context, studies of gentrification have focussed primarily on London, and the empirical and theoretical research produced provided a specific perspective of gentrification (Butler and Hamnett, 1994; Hamnett and Williams, 1980; Munt, 1987; Williams, 1976). This has arguably led

to less attention being focussed on processes of gentrification in places lower down the urban hierarchy (Smith, 1996). This thesis reveals emerging geographies of family migration and counterurban movements in a global city region, and begs questions of the dominant spatial representation of gentrification as tied to the inner cities (Phillips, 2005).

Similarly to Dutton's (2003) research on the influence of London on the gentrification of regional provincial cities, the counterurban movement of family migrants within a global city region, out of the City and towards the coastal margins, draws attention to the impact of interconnectedness of people and places on processes of gentrification as they unfold lower down the hierarchy. In-migrants to Old Town from London often bring with them distinct socio-cultural, political and economic values and tastes that influence the development of gentrification lower down the urban hierarchy. Previously, Bondi (1999) has explored the role of family migrants as potential gentrifiers, and findings do indeed show that in-migrants to Old Town are acting as producers of 'positive' gentrification in coastal locales; participating in and performing particular 'coastal' lifestyles and identities.

In addition, and in the context of Old Town, households appear to be encouraged to escape the city by property price differentials, underpinned by structural conditions engendered by the economic recession, as well as being 'forced' to leave for the perceived needs of, and aspirations for children in the household. This begs theoretical questions surrounding migration flows from global cities to other locales. For example, it can be questioned whether other coastal environs on the margins of global cities or other regional centres, such as Margate and Blackpool, will in future begin to attract relatively affluent households from the city; members of those households acting as potential gentrifiers (Bondi, 1999).

8.2.3 Extending the empirical foci of studies of family migration

This thesis has demonstrated how and why micro-locations on the coastal margins possess distinct qualities and characteristics that attract family migrants to locales on the periphery of a global city region. The thesis reveals how and why this particular location is crucial to understanding processes of family migration within a counterurbanisation context as they unfold within Old Town. First, family migrants consciously seek out locales that provide a perceived 'rural' quality-of-life, where they can participate in certain rural lifestyles and identities, but are not inherently rural. Rather, family migrants commonly desire enhanced social and environmental factors, such as 'community' and clean air, but their attachment to 'rural' elements is moderated by a desire to avoid the socio-spatial isolation often associated with 'typical' rural spaces. In-migrants commonly seek a location that facilitates the forging of particular lifestyles, but also allows the

maintenance of employment status for one or both partners contingent upon links with the global city of London. Proximity to London for work and leisure arguably creates a complex relationship between city, region, and places on the margin for in-migrants.

The intersection of family migration, counterurban migration and gentrification as they unfold on the geographical margin of a global city region, and on the 'margin of the margins' in terms of socio-cultural and economic factors, emphasises the spatial complexities of each process. The thesis has revealed the importance of family-led and motive-led migration to locales lower down the urban hierarchy, and the emergence of family migrants as counterurban gentrifiers. This is often understated, and obscures the significance of social and cultural dimensions of family migration, as well as the importance of place-specific qualities and characteristics. The growing influence of cultural motives within the migration decision-making process can be said to reflect the complex and diverse 'package' of appeals and enticements that increasingly influences the direction of migration.

Furthermore, it is suggested that family migrants 'down from London' are a significant conceptual focus in their own right, with implications for how studies of urban and rural change are conceptualised in the future. Whilst urban to rural counterurbanisation is well documented, it is argued that urban to urban movements of migrants down from London provide a different spatial context within which to examine motives and outcomes of contemporary family migrants, providing an alternative conceptual focus to that underpinning counterurbanisation studies. Rather than examining the migration practices of family migrants leaving metropolitan centres in terms of an urban to rural shift, it is argued that those migrants moving down from London to Hastings highlight 'other' expressions of mobility, drawing attention to urban to urban moves of family migrants to 'other' locales on the urban hierarchy for non-economic and economic reasons.

Although the findings highlight the complexity of relations between London and urban locales further down the urban hierarchy in the south-east city region (Dutton, 2003), it is contended that just one expression of 'down from London' migration trajectories is identified. It is important to note that migratory movements out of other, regional cities to the periphery of city regions may also constitute an existing future research agenda, as family migrants chose to move out of metropolitan centres in pursuit of particular lifestyles and enhanced quality of life factors, adopting new strategies in various spheres to facilitate their mobility. It is argued that particular social groupings moving out of regional metropolitan centres will have distinctive cultural motivations and expectations that distinguish them from previous flows of migration associated previously with conventional counterurban motives.

In addition to the spatial complexities of family migration and counterurban movements, the identification of certain social groupings illuminates the social complexities that further complicate, yet ultimately deepen, understandings of migration. The importance of relatively affluent households moving from London to Old Town is revealed to be a key migration flow; in-comers from the city possessing diverse social, cultural and economic motives, aspirations, and tastes. This particular group are enticed by elements of coastal environs, such as enhanced physical environment, as well as social appeals, such as family-ties and familial connections to the locale.

It is important to note how the economic recession that began in approximately mid-2008 will influence the migration practices of family migrants; taking into account how the extent and degree of wider structural economic uncertainty may shape processes and outcomes of migration for contemporary family migrants. For example, the significant economic capital acquired by some migrants through the relative difference in property markets in London and Old Town is likely to be adversely affected, preventing the purchase of properties outright; a feature of many moves down from London prior to the economic recession. The possibility of long-term interest rate rises were also commented on by interviewees that had become self-employed/small business owners as potentially detrimental (see pg 216). Informal encounters with household survey and interview participants subsequent to gathering empirical data revealed that migrants that had altered employment regimes to facilitate a move, for example becoming self-employed, adopting more flexible 'family friendly' regimes and working from home, had further re-shaped work practices in response to economic constraints and uncertainty. One respondent had been forced to significantly downsize their business in London, dismissing employees and resuming control over daily management that, subsequent to moving, had been allocated to other colleagues to allow more time with family in Old Town.

8.3 Revisiting the main aims of the thesis

This section revisits the main aims of the thesis, and demonstrates how the key findings relate to the main research questions. The thesis has primarily focussed on two main concepts: family migration and counterurban migration. To summarise, there are five main aims related to these two central concepts, which are, in turn, intertwined with geographies of gentrification.

1. To examine the diversity and complexity of contemporary processes of family migration, using the case study of Old Town, Hastings.

The thesis has engaged with Bailey and Boyle's (2004) claim that family migration 'encompasses a wide variety of families, migrations and institutional contexts' (238), and the increasing complications and complexities of contemporary processes of family migration prevent it being captured in a single typology.

First, it is important to note the distinctive context of the research; findings reveal that family migrants moving to Old Town are relatively affluent and educated, and are often seemingly 'conventional' family units that have a specific experience of migration. However, the diversity of migration flows to Old Town, in terms of motives, outcomes and experiences of migration, begs questions of how family migrants are often conceptualised as 'homogenous lumps'. Findings reveal that there is diversity in the social characteristics of contemporary family migrants, and the changing social and spatial context of family migration has implications for how family migrants and migration are theorised and conceptualised.

Family-led migration to the coastal margins is a strand of migration theory that is often overlooked. The thesis has endeavoured to engage with this emerging area of research, and provides a robust, evidence-base for more fully examining changing population dynamics in the UK context, and new expressions of family migration as they unfold on the coastal margins. Migration flows to the coast historically are often perceived to be primarily retirement migration (Law and Warnes, 1996), or involving those migrants dependent on the state for housing-related costs. Findings contradict some academic and media discourses which represent many coastal locations as such, and reveal that family-led migration to the coastal periphery can offer new insights into the increasingly complicated and diverse characteristics of family migrants and family migration.

It is important to note here that contingencies of local context intrinsically shape how and why family migrants are drawn to Old Town; providing in-migrants with a particular sense of place and experience of a coastal / seaside environs. The thesis has revealed multiple and diverse, yet distinct, appeals of place, which for some in-migrants are tied to perceived ideals of rural living.

The power of place-specific appeals to draw migrants is of considerable interest in geographical studies (Fotheringham *et al.*, 2000), and particular social, economic, demographic, locational and environmental factors appeal to different family migrants in different ways. It is found, however, that many in-migrants are united by their desire to reside in a locale that reinforces particular socio-cultural lifestyles and aspirations, and migrants are attracted by the appeals of an enhanced quality-of-life, physical environment, access to less expensive private education, flexible work practices, personal communities and wider support networks, and the opportunity to 'escape' inner urban locales.

The socio-economic appeals of downsizing are also central to the migration decision-making processes. Findings consolidate the assertion by Davies-Withers *et al* (2008: 323) that housing cost adjustments are becoming increasingly significant, and a 'critical component' in understanding migration flows and strategies. In particular, family migrants moving from London to Old Town with considerable economic capital are enticed by more affordable properties that can be purchased outright, thus alleviating a significant financial obligation. Findings suggest that a new flow of relatively affluent family migrants from London to Old Town is significantly connected to the opportunity to change lifestyles and acquire a particular work-life balance that is facilitated by advantageous house price differential.

Findings have also revealed the importance of the wider family context (e.g. parents, children and siblings living outside of the household) to the direction and timing of migration. The thesis has demonstrated that the re-prioritisation of the 'family' within migration studies may be contingent on the role of family-ties and extended family, for example, moving to be closer to grandparents once potential migrants transition into a family forming stage, or moving to be closer to children that have moved subsequent to divorce or separation of parents. In some ways, findings support Michielin *et al's* (2008: 327) contention that 'family-ties might lead people to move closer to parents or children. In line with Clark and Huang (2006: 44), the findings reaffirm that that whilst 'economic motivations are still a major factor in the migration or mobility processes, it is important to be aware of the way in which family life enters into the decision-making'. Other findings consolidate Cooke's (2008: 262) contention that internal family migration should 'embrace the family as a central component of migration', moving the family 'front and centre' in discussions of family migration. This will reveal the complications and complexities of 'other' motives for family migration, such as downshifting and the role of extended family.

2. Investigate the pertinence of the human-capital thesis for understanding the decision-making of contemporary family migrants

The thesis has engaged with Bailey and Bolye's (2004) assertion that much of the existing theory has been dominated by the neoclassical human-capital framework, which has focussed primarily on economic motives and outcomes, and poorly theorised the family. Findings suggest that a well-established perspective on the economic effects of family migration (e.g. labour market status of family members and economic outcomes of family migration) can often obscure the broader social and cultural implications of family migration processes. Findings suggest that extending analyses beyond this common approach, identified by Halfacree (1995), to include the socio-cultural dimensions of family migration, may challenge an often narrow perspective of family migration underpinned by traditional approaches such as the neoclassical human-capital framework. The thesis has endeavoured to offer a robust analyses of the processes and outcomes of family migration, utilising a more 'cultural-aware lens' (Halfacree, 2004) to examine quality-of-life issues, appeals of sense of place, population movements such as downshifting, 'alternative' lifestyles and formation of new work-life ideologies, and subjective outcomes of migration such as enhanced social and psychological well-being.

The thesis has sought to present a more balanced (re) conceptualisation of processes and outcomes of family migration, by not discounting the economic dimensions of migration, rather, demonstrating how and why the increasing significance of non-economic considerations and consequences of family migration imbue processes with a fluidity and dynamism that a purely economic analysis of migration does not often fully allow for. By paying attention to the non-economic worlds of migration, it is revealed that secondary factors for migration are increasingly primary motivations, and begins to beg questions of the tendency to 'stay put' in the economic realm of migration, in which the human-capital hypothesis is arguably at the centre.

3. To examine counterurbanisation movements of families moving to Old Town

It has been demonstrated that to more fully understand contemporary family migration, counterurban population movements must be considered. The movement of family migrants 'down from London' to the coastal periphery of Old Town reflects the increasing complexity of counterurban impulses amongst relatively affluent households. Although the 'counterurban drift' of affluent families to the British countryside (e.g. Champion, 2004; Champion and Shepherd, 2006) is well documented, the changing magnitude and scale of the counterurban dimension of family migration has not been fully explored (Smith, 2009). In response to this, as well as assertions that the topic of counterurbanisation has become 'academically stagnant' (Halfacree, 2008: 479), it is contended that examining counterurban moves in a different spatial context will reveal new flows and expressions of migration, and help (re) invigorate elements of counterurban research.

Migrating families that move to coastal locales will have different motives and outcomes of their move compared to migrating families that move to inner urban areas, suburban areas or rural villages, thus it is argued that sociospatial differentiation is a key factor for understanding the contemporary relocation of family units, and wider changing population trends. Findings reveal that a broad range of people experience counterurbanisation in multiple ways, and the significance of a move from inner urban locales to the coastal periphery differs for those involved. Often, contemporary family migrants undertake counterurban moves to the coastal periphery, often in search of perceived 'idyllic rural lifestyles', environs and experiences (Hoggart, 2007; Phillips, 2007). Internal population flows from the city to the coast beg questions of the pertinence of longstanding understandings of family migration, which are founded on the supposition that family migration is underpinned primarily by labour- or career motivated concerns and aspirations. Rather, the thesis has revealed how and why family migrants move to the coastal periphery of a global city region, in search of enhanced quality-of-life, 'family-friendly' work practices, and 'alternative' lifestyles 'by the sea'. Findings also reveal that the presence of children, or the prospect of family forming and / or child rearing, often encourages households from the City to seek other residential locales, and corroborates Holt and Bowlby's (2007) assertion that families are often excluded from inner urban spaces due to inappropriate housing and residential environments, and seek 'safe', stable spaces in which social, locational and environmental factors are considered beneficial and will not dislocate or disenfranchise children.

Overall, the findings are important, as they challenge the economic reductionism of some previous studies, and 'go beyond' the economic (Halfacree, 2004) by emphasising non-economic motives that re-configure counterurban movements. Although it can be argued that the economic dimension of counterurban migration is often considered a 'wholly darker, more hard-edged, materialistic and realistic explanation' (Fielding, 1998: 42), it can also be said that becoming more aware of the social and cultural dimensions of counterurban movements by family migrants can offer a more rounded understanding of processes and outcomes of family migration.

4. Investigate how the social, cultural and economic reach of London informs processes of family migration on the periphery of South East England

Old Town as situated within a global city region exposes the coastal town to the cultural, political and economic dominance of London. The 'Londonisation' effect on various provinces such as Bristol, Leeds, and Leamington Spa has previously been conceptualised based on these locales as emergent financial centres with ties to London (Dutton, 2003), yet has not fully explored the often uneven set of social, economic and cultural relations between London and areas on the South East

coastal periphery, that may influence the dynamics leading contemporary family migration processes.

The thesis has revealed that processes of family migration within a global city region are subject to the influence of London, and are shaped in implicit ways by the social, cultural and economic reach of the City. In-coming migrants to Old Town have been revealed to be a distinct emergent migrant group with links to the global city of London. The thesis has endeavoured to take into account the different sociospatial contexts that family migrants move in and out of, and examine how place of origin may influence processes and outcomes of family migration (Smith, 2009).

Findings demonstrate that, often, one or more partners within the household maintain their employment status subsequent to moving rather than change it, maintaining links with the global city of London through labour market practices. It has been shown that this allows in-migrants to reconstitute working and living arrangements, resulting in a higher incidence of commuter marriages and partner 'living apart together'. In turn, this allows in-migrants to redress the family /work / home balance that is often cited as 'unbalanced' prior to migration, and arguably encourages scholars of family migration to place the family / home / work balance at the centre of family migration studies.

The socio-cultural reach of London extends to shaping expectations and experiences of residing in Old Town for in-migrants. Chapter 5 documented that Old Town is an 'up and coming' destination for family migrants from London and has gained momentum since 2001/02; founded upon representations of the town as the 'next Hackney', and 'Notting Hill-by-sea' fostered by 'pioneer' groups of urbanites and members of the 'creative class' moving out of the City towards the coast.

Their role as engines of economic growth is widely accepted, and their spheres of influence – the city regions – are becoming widely recognised as fundamental building blocks in the national fabric (Urban Task Force, 2005).

5. To consider the interface between family migration and processes/outcomes of gentrification

The thesis has further explored Bondi's (1999) assertion that family migrants can 'act as gentrifiers', and investigates *who* the gentrifiers are by examining the geographical and social trajectories of family migrants; in particular those 'Down from London'. It can be said that the interconnections between gentrification as a key process underpinning new family geographies and emerging forms of family migration have, to date, not been fully explored. Findings reveal how

migrants that resided in the urban, inner city prior to migration become familiar with city areas and accustomed to city living, and shape the social, economic and cultural dynamics of gentrification in particular ways, as it unfolds not in the cities, but lower down the urban hierarchy.

The movement of relatively affluent households from urban locales to the coastal periphery arguably performs a central role in steering processes of gentrification lower down the urban hierarchy to less distinct spaces; in contrast to the city, urban or rural. It can be said that this particular social group encourage gentrification as exclusively tied to the inner cities to be questioned, and the thesis argues for dominant spatial representations of gentrification to be challenged (Phillips, 2005). The movement of affluent families down the urban hierarchy to the coastal periphery may also prompt discussion of family migrants acting as counterurban gentrifiers; demonstrating the socio-spatial diversities of gentrification in non-urban locales lower down the urban hierarchy, such as coastal towns.

Findings suggest that in many ways, the economic practices and cultural tastes of family migrants moving to Old Town account for processes of socio-cultural and economic change lower down the urban hierarchy, in Old Town. In a locale that does not occupy a particular strategic position in relation to key financial centres, the drift of in-migrants from London is increasing the new, middle-class population, similarly to that noted by Champion *et al.*, 2005) and Dorling and Rees (2003) in rural areas, with implications for the rate at which processes of gentrification are unfolding on the coastal margins.

Findings reveal that analyses of migration in relation to gentrification should reconsider the pertinence of life-course forms and transitions (Warnes, 1992). Interviews with in-migrants to Old Town illuminate processes of gentrification at an individual household level; the socio-temporal diversities of counterurban gentrifiers illustrating the complexities of connections between place, life-course and gentrification.

8.4 Conclusion

To conclude, the thesis has advanced knowledge of the complex and diverse processes of family migration by unravelling the conceptual links between family migration and counterurban migration. The conceptual juncture between family migration and counterurbanisation has tended to be neglected by each individual research agenda. By engaging with counterurban migration debates, a new perspective is gained which questions dominant theoretical understandings of family migration processes, in turn, widening the conceptual boundaries of counterurban movements and challenging its often taken-for-granted status.

By fully exploring the intersection between family migration and counterurban migration, it is argued that how familial mobilities 'criss-cross' counterurban mobilities to construct new temporal-spatial patterns will be revealed, and that this may inform an interesting research agenda for family migration and counterurban migration. This thesis supports the contention that 'something more' should be stirred into understandings of family migration (Halfacree, 2004: 246), and it is argued that the intersection of family migration studies and counterurban studies provides an opportunity to more fully examine the economic/non-economic dualism often central to understandings of family migration, enhancing the non-economic dimension. Although this thesis has drawn attention to the non-economic realm of family migration, it also cautions against privileging it above the economic realm, or positioning non-economic dimensions of family migration as an overarching explanation for mobility, without any degree of conceptual or theoretical flexibility

In addition to this, it may be argued that examining the movements of family migrants from the city to the coast in the context of counterurbanisation perhaps encourages scholars of family migration and counterurban migration to problematise the process of counterurban migration for family movers, and examine processes of family migration in relation to wider spatial considerations.

This thesis has disrupted conventional understandings of family migrants and transcends the relatively one-dimensional theorisations of family migration as an inherently economic process. The key findings advocate the re-evaluation of factors previously considered secondary and peripheral in migration decision-making processes, and highlight the significance of cultural motives within migration practices. Consequently, the thesis exposes contemporary processes of family migration as increasingly complex and dynamic, and argues for a broader cultural and economic lens to fully capture the processes and outcomes of 'other' expressions of family migration.

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Appendix 1: Household survey

 University of Brighton	University of Brighton School of Environment and Technology THE APPEALS OF OLD TOWN HASTINGS
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Section 1: Your household

I would like to begin by asking you some questions about your household.

1. Do you currently reside with your 'partner'?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

2. How many people live in your household?

One ☐ Two ☐ Three ☐ Four ☐ Five ☐

3. What best describes your family characteristics?

Married ☐ Married ☐ Cohabiting ☐ Cohabiting ☐ Other ☐
with children without children with children without children (please specify)

4. Please state which category best describes the individual characteristics of members of your family?

	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Education credentials	Income
Person 1 (You)					
Person 2 (Your partner)					
Person 3					
Person 4					
Person 5					

Section 2: Current Area of Residence

I would now like to ask you about your CURRENT area of residence.

5. How long have you been a resident of Old Town?

Less than ☐ 1 year 1-5 years ☐ 6-10 years ☐ 11-15 years ☐ 16-20 years ☐ More than ☐ 20 years

6. Please describe your type of dwelling:

Terraced ☐ Detached ☐ Semi-detached ☐ Flat ☐ Other ☐ (Please specify)

7. Please describe your housing tenure:

Owner ☐ (Owned outright) Owner ☐ (With mortgage) Private rented ☐ Other ☐ (Please specify)

Section 3: Living in Old Town Hastings

I would now like to ask you about your perceptions of living in your area of residence.

8. How would you describe Old Town? (e.g. urban, rural, coastal, noisy, quiet)

9. What perceptions of Old Town did you have prior to moving into the place?

10. Have these perceptions been realised since you moved to Old Town?

Yes ☐ No ☐ (please give your reasons) Don't know ☐

11. How would you describe your current quality of life?

	Very good	Quite good	No opinion	Quite bad	Very bad
Social (Community)					
Cultural (Leisure/facilities)					
Physical					

(environment)					
Economic (financial)					

12. What are the best things about living in Old Town?

13. What are the worst things about living in Old Town?

Section 4: Moving into Old Town

I would now like to ask you some questions about your move to Old Town.

14. How did you find your current property? (Please tick more than one if applicable)

Estate agent ☐ Internet ☐ Local press ☐ Family/friend ☐ Other (Please specify)

15. Did you consider other locations when searching for a property?

Yes ☐ No (go to Q. 18) ☐ Don't know ☐

16. What other locations were considered?

17. Why did you not move to these areas?

18. Were there specific reasons for selecting Old Town for your residence?

Yes ☐ No (go to Q. 20) ☐ Don't know (go to Q. 20) ☐

19. What were the specific reasons for selecting Old Town?

20. Do you feel the move to Old Town has been beneficial or detrimental in the following areas of your life (e.g. career, belonging to a community, local environment)

	Beneficial	No opinion	Detrimental
Career			
Employment conditions			
Financial stability			
Leisure/recreation services			
Public services (e.g. healthcare)			
Public transport			
Local environment			
Health and well-being			
Belonging to a community			
Contacts with friends/family			
Quality of education			
Personal safety			
Other (please specify):			

21. Did all family members move together when moving into your current residence?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

22. Why did the family move in this way?

Section 5: Migration decision-making

I would now like to ask you some questions about the decision to move

23. Which member of your household instigated the decision to move?

You ☐ Your partner ☐ Both ☐ Other ☐

24. What factors were involved in encouraging other family members to make the move?

25. Was the decision to move motivated by the potential to enhance the overall well-being of the household?

	Yes	No
Economic (e.g. income)		
Social (e.g. family/friends)		
Cultural (e.g. quality of life)		
Physical (e.g. housing/location)		
Other (please specify)		

26a. Did any family members have to make any **compromises** to enable the move to go ahead (i.e.in terms of career, contacts with friends and family)

Yes ☐ No ☐ (go to Q. 27) Don't know ☐ (go to Q. 27)

26b. What were the main **compromises** which were experienced by family members?

27a. Did any family members have to make any **sacrifices** to enable the move to go ahead? (i.e.in terms of career, contacts with friends and family)

Yes ☐ No ☐ (go to Q. 28) Don't know ☐ (go to Q. 28)

27b. What **sacrifices** were made by:

You:

Your partner:

28. Was selecting Old Town as your place of residence a joint decision, or did one person favour it more than the other?

Joint decision ☐ Independent/individual decision ☐ Don't know ☐

29. Are other major decisions within the household generally made on a joint basis?

Yes ☐ No ☐ (Please give your reasons) Don't know ☐

30. How would you best describe power relations within your household?

Egalitarian ☐ Female ☐
-dominated Male ☐
-dominated Don't know ☐

Section 6: The effects of the move

I would now like to ask you how your move has impacted on relationships within the household.

31a. Has your relationship with other family members changed since the move? (i.e. more/less stress, more/less time together)

Yes ☐ No ☐ (go to Q. 32) Don't know ☐ (go to Q. 32)

31b. In what positive ways has your relationship(s) changed since the move?

31c. In what negative ways has your relationship(s) changed since the move?

32a. Have some duties (e.g. chores/tasks such as cleaning, cooking, childcare) within the household changed since your move to Old Town?

Yes ☐ No ☐ (please give reasons for this) Don't know ☐

32b. How have they changed since your move to Old Town?

Section 7: The Household before the move

I would now like to ask you some questions about the household prior to the move to Old Town:

33. Where did you live before you moved to Old Town?

34. How would you describe that area? (e.g. urban, rural, coastal, noisy, quiet)

35. Why did you leave this former area of residence?

36. How would you describe the distance of your move from your former area of residence to Old Town?

Short ☐ Medium ☐ Long ☐ Don't know ☐

37. Please describe your current status and status prior to moving to Old Town:

	You		Your partner	
	Before move	Current	Before move	Current
Employment status				
Occupation				
Place of work				
Commuting time				
Mode of travel to work				

Thank you for participating in the research.

**All answers will be treated in strictest confidence
and all respondents will be anonymised.**

Appendix 2: Participant show card



University of Brighton

Please circle or tick which category best describes the individual characteristics of each member of your family

Gender:

Person 1 (you)	M	F
Person 2 (your partner)	M	F
Person 3	M	F
Person 4	M	F
Person 5	M	F

Age:

Person 1 (you)	0-4	5-15	16-17	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
Person 2 (your partner)	0-4	5-15	16-17	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
Person 3	0-4	5-15	16-17	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
Person 4	0-4	5-15	16-17	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
Person 5	0-4	5-15	16-17	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+

Ethnicity:

Person 1 (you)	White	Mixed	Asian	Black	Other
Person 2 (your partner)	White	Mixed	Asian	Black	Other
Person 3	White	Mixed	Asian	Black	Other
Person 4	White	Mixed	Asian	Black	Other
Person 5	White	Mixed	Asian	Black	Other

Education:

Person 1 (you)
No qualification
GCSE
AS/A Level
Degree
MA/MSc/MPhil
PhD

Professional qualification (e.g. Law)
Other (please state)
Person 2 (your partner)
No qualification
GCSE
AS/A Level
Degree
MA/MSc/MPhil
PhD
Professional qualification (e.g. Law)
Other (please state)

Income:

Person 1 (you)
No personal income (but over 16)
Less than £12,000
£12,000 – less than £30,000
£30,000 – less than £50,000
More than £50,000
Person 2 (your partner)
No personal income (but over 16)
Less than £12,000
£12,000 – less than £30,000
£30,000 – less than £50,000
More than £50,000

Appendix 3: Participant consent form



University of Brighton

Dear participant

I am a postgraduate student at the University of Brighton, conducting research on family migration in Old Town, Hastings. This research will be finding out how and why households make the decision to move, and experiences of moving for different family members. The Project is focussed on gaining an understanding of why, when and how families move, and what factors, issues and concerns influence family moves.

The interview will be an informal chat about your experiences of moving to Old Town, and living there. Discussions could include your opinions of Old Town, what you like / don't about living there and why you decided to move there, as well as finding out about any experiences of moving that are of interest or importance to you or members of your family. The research will form the basis of a PhD thesis and articles/books for academic publication. The results will be available to all participants who take part in the research.

All discussions will be treated in strictest confidence and all participants will be anonymised. If preferred, any identifying information disclosed will be removed during transcription. Participants are free to refuse to answer any questions on whatever grounds, without explanation, or stop the interview at any time. Participants also have the right to withdraw from the research at any time, on any grounds, without explanation.

With permission, interviewees will be tape recorded, for the purpose of transcription at a later stage. All data and personal details will be stored securely, and will only be seen by the researcher and the project supervisor. Information that is put onto a computer will be coded so that it is not traceable interviewees, and can only be accessed by a password. On completion of the project all participant information will be destroyed (January, 2010).

Name (please print).....

Signed..... Date.....

Contact Details

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