Patterns of Creative Worker Migration Across the Lifespan: the migration and occupation paths of Bristol designers, 1950-2018

Ellen Hawksmoor Hughes

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Abstract

Creative workers are theorised as autonomous and highly mobile, migrating away from their family of origin and childhood friends, breaking away from inherited values and expectations into independence. In contrast to theory, across Europe, including the UK, creative workers are found living in their region of birth or education, suggesting that attachment to place, and social and familial ties are important. This thesis takes a biographical approach to understand the complexity of reasons for migration and occupation choices, set within their historical, political and social contexts. Using 63 in-depth interviews with designers who have lived in the city of Bristol, UK, the thesis maps sequential patterns of creative worker migration over the lifespan, and makes a deep analysis of the impact of early life experiences on migration and occupation outcomes. The thesis finds that migration and occupation outcomes are intimately connected to early family experiences. Designers, who were predominantly white, middle-class and male, depended heavily on family of origin for support into education, access to employment and for housing costs long into adulthood. Trajectories fell into three categories: *Stability*: remaining in situ was most common among working class designers who did not consider migration as necessary or important in their life trajectory. *Mobility*: moving from working to middle class through education and employment, migrating away from family of origin, seeking a place to make a new home in a new social position. *Recreation*: for middle-class designers, a movement away from their home of origin for education was anticipated from childhood. This was followed by one or two movements for a job, then, after the formation of a family, a movement to a location that was similar in feel to their home of origin. This thesis also contributes to migration theory in revealing a yo-yo pattern of migration: a sequence of movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region, showing that for many creative workers, a specific place, and the social connections contained within it, continue to be important across the life span.

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1   Introduction

The history of the city of Bristol is notably bound up with the transatlantic slave trade, the processing and packaging of tobacco and chocolate; the aviation, defence and financial services industries; its two universities; and the production of wildlife documentaries and children's animation. In the 1980s and 1990s the city was famed for its inner city riots, muggings and drug problems, and was the sort of place lazy journalists liked to describe as 'the graveyard of ambition' (Churchill, 2017; Wilson, 2014; Aubery, Chatterton and Hollands, 2005). Since the Millennium, the city image has changed, and the journalists' copy tells of Bristol as a 'playful city', a magnet for 'creatives' and 'radicals', and as one of the most expensive places to live in the UK (O'Malley, 2019; uSwitch, 2015; Goss, 2014; Booth, 2014). How has this change occurred? Who are these creative workers and where have they come from? How did they come to live in Bristol, and how do they afford to live there? These questions motivated the research for this PhD thesis.

The scope of the thesis is not limited, in spatial terms, to the city of Bristol. It traces the migration routes of a set of designers (also labelled in the literature 'creative workers') across their lifespans: from birth until the time of interview in 2014-18. The majority were born in locations across the UK and arrived into the city as adults; others were born in or near Bristol, left the city to live in locations nationally and internationally, before returning to their home city. Through a focus on migration paths across the lifespan, the thesis provides a wider, national view of creative worker migration in the UK.

This introductory chapter is shaped as follows: it begins by setting out the topic of this PhD thesis, it then articulates the research gap, states the research questions, highlights the contributions to knowledge, and provides an overview of the thesis structure.

The topic of this thesis is the migration and occupation paths of designers who have lived in Bristol, and it makes an analysis of 63 in-depth interviews with designers working across a wide range of industries including engineering, high-tech, TV/film/animation, architecture, advertising, graphic design, games, and illustration. The majority of the interviews were originally conducted by the author for Bristol and Bath by Design (Parraman *et al.*, 2016), an AHRC and Design Council funded study into the value and impact of design in the region. The Bristol and Bath by Design study was commissioned after the region was identified as a UK 'creative hotspot' by the 2010 NESTA Creative Clusters and Innovation report (Chapain *et al.*, 2010). Data collected in the interviews for the Bristol and Bath by Design study (Parraman *et al.*, 2016) included rich descriptions of sequential migration trajectories, family history, and education and career choices. This biographical data emerged during the interviews as the designers reflected on the value of their work and their reasons for locating in the region. Findings relating to migration and occupational choices were lightly touched upon in the Bristol and Bath by Design report (Parraman *et al.*, 2016). However, the focus of the report was on mapping design and measuring value creation in the Bristol and Bath region; the biographical detail contained within the interviews fell well beyond its scope.

This PhD thesis re-analyses the interviews collected for Bristol and Bath by Design (Parraman *et al.*, 2016), from a significantly different perspective and theoretical framework, and to different aims. It takes a migration perspective, and aims to explore the relationship between early life (from birth until university age) and later migration and occupation outcomes. The analysis also relates to a growing literature claiming that creative work in the UK is dominated by the middle class, and that the working culture and rates of pay in the creative industries pose significant barriers to female, BAME and working class workers (for example see: Banks, 2017; O'Brien, et al, 2016; McRobbie, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013). During the course of the research for Bristol and Bath by Design (Parraman *et al.*,

2016), it was clear from visual observations of designers in their workplaces and at industry events, that the designers the research team encountered in Bristol were predominantly white and male. To understand who is enabled to become a designer in Bristol, this thesis further aims to explore how migration and occupation dynamics operate to the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others. This thesis presents data, and a perspective, not previously published in the Bristol and Bath by Design report (Parraman *et al.*, 2016).

Very little has been published on the migration dynamics of designers in the UK (see Reimer, 2016; Reimer, Pinch and Sunley, 2008), and even less so on the migration dynamics of designers who have lived or worked in Bristol (see Parraman *et al.*, 2016). Widening the lens a little, the designers in this study fit rather neatly into the classification of people labelled in the literature 'creative workers', about whose location preferences a great deal has been written internationally.

The term 'creative worker' is a loose one, and though explicit definitions are rarely made, it can be surmised that a 'creative worker' is a melding of Abraham Maslow's (1943) 'creative individual', Peter Drucker's (1959) 'knowledge worker' and a member of Richard Florida's (2002) 'creative class'. The differences between the three are subtle. The 'creative individual' uses their self-exploration and self-expression for the production of goods and services (Maslow, 1971). A 'knowledge worker' has been broadly defined as a highly educated person with creative and intellectual skills which can be applied to non-routine problem solving and the manipulation of symbols (Pyöriä, 2005). Members of Florida's creative class include knowledge workers, but are defined as individuals who 'add economic value through their creativity' and who, as a group, share similar consumption preferences (Florida, 2002). The majority, though not all of the designers in this study have high levels of formal education. They work across all the industrial sectors classed in the UK as the creative industries, and in engineering, which sits in a different industrial classification. Certainly, all of

them work creatively to solve problems and to manipulate symbols, and this description forms the definition of 'designer' used in this thesis. The designers interviewed for this thesis identified themselves as designers, and were drawn from the six industrial sectors identified as significant in the Bristol and Bath region (Parraman *et al.*, 2016):

1. Engineering, Aerospace, Product and Package Design
2. Multidisciplinary Design Studios
3. Animation, Motion Graphics, Media, Publishing
4. Heritage, Architecture, Landscape Design
5. Fashion and Textiles Studios
6. Applied Designer-Maker

The location preferences of creative workers has been of interest to both academics and policy makers since the publication of the book 'The Rise of the Creative Class' (Florida, 2002), and Florida's influential, though contested, claims for their role in urban economic development. Florida theorised that members of the creative class hold different migration patterns and motivations to the rest of the population. He claimed that members of the creative class are highly mobile, and choose to locate in cities that cater for their lifestyle tastes and preferences. The presence of the creative class in a city, he claimed, attracts hi-tech firms, leading to economic growth. The creative class were said to seek out places where their identities as creative workers could be validated, where they could engage in creative activities, and easily meet other people of like minds for collaboration.

Florida (2002) claimed the identities and careers of creative class were no longer tied to or shaped by traditional kinship bonds with parents and close family friends, or traditional expectations and roles (e.g. father, son, husband). Instead loose, transitory social connections were more important. The boundary between the creative class's work and life was blurred, and all experiences and relationships were considered useful in developing and

mobilising creative ideas. To attract the creative class, Florida (2002) recommended that a place needed to be open and tolerant, with a diverse population. Third spaces, a lively nightlife, out door activities and a distinct audio identity were considered important as the creative class thrived on experiences which inspired their creativity. The presence of an ethnically diverse population, gay community and a vibrant music scene, Florida (2014; 2002) claimed, signalled that a place was tolerant and open to new people, new ideas and creativity.

Mobility is central to Florida's theory in three ways. First, in his argument that the creative class regularly move between jobs. Second, in terms of his argument that the creative class make an intellectual movement away from their family of origin, childhood experiences and the confines of traditional social structures such as family, organised religion, civic organisations and hierarchical workplaces. Third, mobility is also physical: the creative class migrated away from their place of birth, to places where they can 'validate their identities as creative people' (Florida, 2002, p.218).

Internationally, empirical evidence on creative worker migration offers little to support Florida's theory, suggesting instead that creative workers migrate for traditional reasons connected to employment and to stages in the lifecycle, such as movement for higher education, or when establishing a new family (Brown, 2015; Faggian, Comunian, & Li, 2014; Borén & Young, 2013; Verdich, 2010; Martin-Brelot, *et al.*, 2010; Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009; Houston, et al, 2008). Empirical studies also find that creative workers are no more mobile than their non-creative counterparts (Faggian et al., 2014; Borén & Young, 2013; Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009). Contrary to Florida's claim that the creative class are moving away from strong family ties, findings show that proximity to family and friends, and factors connected to their personal trajectory are important in migration outcomes (Chow, 2017; Borén & Young, 2013; Dai et al., 2012; Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010; Boyle, 2006). 'Personal trajectory' is defined as 'the attachment of a person to geographical location resulting from his/her previous life course.' (Martin-

Brelot *et al.*, 2010, p.860). The factors relating to personal trajectory are listed as 'born here', 'family here', 'studied here' and 'proximity to friends' (Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010) but they receive little further examination in the literature.

In the UK, graduates of creative degree courses are found to be less mobile than graduates of non-creative subjects in the first six months after graduation, and more likely to return to live in their parents' home (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014). A study of creative workers in Newcastle-Gateshead and Birmingham found that many participants lived in their native city and had strong attachments to place, linked to their social networks and sense of community (Chapain and Comunian, 2010). The literature on creative worker migration in the UK is limited, but suggests a continued connection with family and low levels of migration.

Recent critiques of work in the cultural and creative industries in the UK also suggest a strong connection between family of origin and occupation outcomes. Coming from a middle-class family, high in economic, cultural and social capital is extremely beneficial to career outcomes (Banks, 2017; Koppman, 2016; O'Brien, et al, 2016; McRobbie, 2016; McLeod, O'Donohoe, & Townley, 2009). These forms of capital, it is argued, enable young middle-class children to access higher education (Banks, 2017), and the work environment as they grow into adulthood (Koppman, 2016; O'Brien, *et al*, 2016; McLeod, O'Donohoe, & Townley, 2009). The role of early life in the migration and occupation dynamics of creative workers in the UK is little explored, and research has yet to consider the two dynamics together. With the exception of Faggian *et al.* (2014), who studied the sequential migration behaviour of graduates of creative subjects from the beginning of university until six months after graduation in 2006/2007, only singular A to B migration moves have been studied. To-date creative worker migration literature has paid little attention to migration and occupation trajectories across the lifespan. This PhD thesis addresses this gap. It takes a biographical approach to understand the complexity of reasons for

migration and occupation choices in the context of the biographical trajectory, and within their historical, political and social contexts (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). The research addresses two main questions:

1. What are designers' migration and occupation trajectories over their lifetime?

2. What is the connection between early life (from birth until university age) and subsequent migration and occupation decisions?

1.1 Contributions to the Literature

The thesis contributes to the literature in a number of ways. First, it is argued that the factors that impact on the internal migration of the UK population in general (Fielding, 2012), also impact on creative worker migration. Particularly: social class and associated expectations of migration underpin migration trajectories; housing costs and careers on the housing ladder are as important as occupation in migration moves; migration is impacted by national economic changes; the North/South economic divide influences migration routes.

Second, while the majority of designers were neither born nor educated in Bristol, most had strong familial connections with the city or region. When designers were faced with a range of locations in which they could find employment, migration choices mainly revolved around family and friends, and a desire to feel at home, and were far less concerned with city amenities or milieu, as Florida (2002) describes.

Third, over the lifespan, a yo-yo pattern of migration is revealed. Yo-yo migration is a sequence of movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region. Yo-yo migration adds new insight into middle-class migration patterns, and shows that high mobility does not always mean a movement progressively away from starting place. This research shows that

for some, place, and the familial and the social connections contained within a specific place, continue to be important across the lifespan.

Fourth, the thesis demonstrates the deep interconnection between early experiences and family of origin, and later migration and occupation outcomes. The thesis supports literature which suggests inherited social, economic and cultural capital are important in accessing education and work in the creative industries (Banks, 2017; O'Brien *et al.*, 2016; Koppman, 2016; McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009), and finds that designers, who were predominantly white, middle-class and male, depended heavily on family of origin for support into education, access to employment, and for housing costs. For many, their very identity as a designer was tied to their parents' occupations, and the world they inhabited as children. The profession of designer in Bristol is largely exclusive of women, people of working class and BAME backgrounds. Coming from a white, middle-class background is highly beneficial for success in this occupation and location.

Fifth, the gender imbalance in the creative industries, and design in particular, is recognised in the literature (Reimer, 2016; Skillset, 2010). Gender is a central issue running throughout this thesis, which is predominantly concerned with male migration. The thesis argues that gendered roles in design are reproduced intergenerationally, and tied migration (Bielby and Bielby, 1992) is highlighted as a contributing factor in the low representation of women in the design industry.

Sixth, school teachers and art school tutors are shown to be instrumental in directing young adults in their university choices, and thereby influencing migration routes. Tutors undertook a form of cultural matching between the perceived abilities and interests of students, and the specialisms, reputation and ethos of individual courses and higher education institutions.

Seventh, designers who had lived in London did not experience the capital as a social escalator (Fielding, 1992) due to difficulties accessing or climbing

the property and career ladders. This was particularly the case for designers in the creative industries, for whom there were no structured career ladders to climb.

Eighth, the chapter argues that the unique evolution of the city of Bristol, and central government funding for the film, TV and animation, high tech and engineering sectors during the twentieth century, led to the success of engineering and the creative industries in Bristol.

These contributions question the appropriateness of generalised policy recommendations for urban development, made irrespective of the cultural factors within individual countries, or the evolution of specific places and their unique contexts. The thesis suggests that policy should shift focus away from in-migration of creative workers, to the issues that will benefit long term dwellers and migrants alike: provision of good schools, affordable housing, sustainable jobs and strong communications between communities.

1.2   Structure of Thesis

Following from this introductory chapter, Chapter Two, the literature review, first reviews the main theories used in relation to creative worker migration: traditional (Ravenstein, 1889), human capital (Sjaastad, 1962) and the creative class (Florida, 2002). It then explores the conceptualisation within positive psychology of the asocial 'creative individual' (Maslow, 1943, 1971), which underlies Florida's creative class theory. Particular attention is given to the ways in which Maslow characterises the creative individual as masculine, authentic and independent. Following from this, the literature on the work in the creative industries in the UK is reviewed, as is the empirical evidence on creative worker migration. The final section outlines patterns of UK internal migration for the general population. This is followed by statement of the research questions for this PhD thesis.

Chapter Three, the methods and methodology section sets the study within the differing theoretical and philosophical perspectives in the related literature. It argues against taking a neoclassical perspective, based on the modelled behaviour of the individual economic actor (King, 2012), and details the critical realist perspective taken for this research (Iosifides, 2011; Bakewell, 2010; Collinson, 2009), and its biographical approach (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). It then gives context to the Bristol and Bath by Design report (Parraman *et al.*, 2016) and elaborates on the ways in which this thesis employs a different theoretical framework to the original report. It then describes the methodology used for data gathering and analysis. In order to investigate migration and occupation trajectories over designer's lifespans and within their historical contexts, interviewees accounts were divided into three generational groups: Baby Boomers: those born between 1945 and 1965 (Willetts, 2010); Generation X – those born between 1966 and 1981 (Katz, 2017); and Millennials who were born between 1982 and 2000 (Howe and Strauss, 2000). Given the biographical detail presented, the anonymity of the designers interviewed for this study was of particular importance; the steps taken to protect the identities of the designers is discussed in the ethics section, as are issues relating to quality, validity and reliability.

Chapter Four, Bristol: Design and Demographics, provides context to the city in which the designers in this study resided and were in employment. The first section focuses on demographic and industrial changes to the city, particularly since the Second World War, and outlines the ways in which design has long been part of Bristol's industrial development. The second section describes changes in art school education since the Second World War, nationally and in the city, and the perception of Bristol Polytechnic (later the University of the West of England) as a traditional institution. The third section focuses on Bristol's cultural strategy at the turn of the millennium, and the development of the cultural and creative industries in the city from that time. The final section reflects on other aspects of the city, often obscured in its positive image as a creative city: the high costs of

housing, low levels of educational attainment, youth unemployment, and racial and class inequalities.

Chapter Five, The Baby Boomers, analyses the migration and occupation trajectories of interviewees born between 1945 and 1965. It gives an overview of the designers' migration trajectories and rates of migration. Designers' trajectories are then analysed in detail. Chapter Five argues that early family experiences, social class, and associated expectations of migration underpin migration trajectories. It further highlights the role of teachers and art foundation tutors in migration outcomes.

Chapter Six, Generation X, analyses the migration and occupation trajectories of interviewees born between 1966 and 1981. It gives an overview of designers' migration trajectories and rates of migration, which are then analysed in detail. London emerges as important in the interviews and the chapter focuses particularly on the role of London in relation to Fielding's (1992) theory of London as an escalator region for social mobility. The impact of gendered tied migration (Bielby and Bielby, 1992) is also discussed.

Chapter Seven, The Millennials, analyses the migration and occupation trajectories of interviewees born between 1982 and 2000. As with the previous chapters, it gives an overview of designers' migration trajectories and rates of migration, followed by a detailed analysis of designers' trajectories. The chapter focuses particularly on parental support into home ownership (Druta and Ronald, 2016; Heath and Calvert, 2013), and the changing role of London in migration, occupation and housing trajectories.

Chapter Eight, the Conclusion, begins by providing an overview of the thesis findings. The second section discusses findings across the generations and highlights the thesis' contribution to knowledge. The third section discusses the limitations of the study, recommendations for future study, and finally, implications for policy and concluding remarks.

In the weeks before finishing this PhD, the UK has been in lockdown as it endures the Covid-19 pandemic. Migration of any sort has been made temporarily illegal, a situation which seemed unimaginable before Covid-19 struck. The body of this thesis was written before Covid-19, but the pandemic throws many of the themes of the thesis into sharper focus, particularly how forces outside of an individual's control can impact on migration outcomes, the construction of ideas around migration, progress and ambition, the inherent problems of utilising a one-size-fits all theory in urban planning, and the reliability of making predictions for future migration behaviour.

2   Literature Review

This thesis is focused on the migration and occupation routes of creative workers in the UK. The literature reviewed in this chapter includes contributions from migration theory in general terms, creative worker migration studies internationally, and UK internal migration. Very few designers interviewed for this study made international migrations. Because of this, the large and complex field of international migration theory and research has been excluded from the review. The review includes literature on creative work in the UK, which has emerged since the promotion of the creative industries under the Labour government in 1998 (DCMS, 1998). The literature on the politics of the creation of creative industries sector, and the transition from the cultural to the creative industries is considerable, and due to space constraints only lightly touched upon in this review. As the thesis aims to explore how people come to be a designer in Bristol, the review focuses conceptualisations of creative work and the creative worker, and on the literature on inequalities in the creative industries. The literature review is divided into five sections. The first considers the main theories used in relation to creative worker migration. The second section explores the conceptualisation within positive psychology of the creative individual. The third section reviews the literature on the realities of creative work in the UK, the fourth reviews the empirical evidence on creative worker migration, and the fifth section gives an overview of patterns of UK internal migration. This is followed by a statement of the research questions for this thesis.

2.1   Migration and Progress: Traditional Migration Theory

Ernst Georg Ravenstein, (1834- 1913) is understood as the foundational father of migration theory, and his writing on internal migration in the UK in the nineteenth century tells of an attitude in neoclassical migration theories towards those who migrate, and those who don't. In his seminal text 'The

Rules of Migration' (1889) Ravenstein claimed 'Migration means life and progress; a sedentary population stagnation' (Ravenstein, 1889, p.288). At this basic level, Florida (2002) and Ravenstein have much in common: status is given to those who move away from their place of birth; they represent progress and modernity. Those who remain in a place are in some way lacking in drive, caught up in familial relationships, cosseted, and are part of yesterday, the old world. They dwell, they sit, they brood, they are inactive.

In context, Ravenstein (1889) was writing about large-scale nineteenth century migration movements from rural areas to cities in the UK, in response to industrialisation. Contrastingly, migration rates in the UK at the time Florida (2002) was writing in were low (Fielding, 2012; Dennett and Rees, 2010; McCormick, 1997). Despite changes in contexts, the concept derived from Ravenstein (1889), that a spatial move away from one's place of origin is a progressive step, is normalised in neoclassical migration literature, and in terms of internal migration (international migration has other dynamics and is beyond the scope of this thesis), those who move continue to be held in higher status compared with those who stay put.

The major concept in the traditional theory of migration is that individuals migrate for employment or increased wages. The theory is centred on the modelled behaviour of the individual economic actor who makes a rational, strategic decision to migrate based on anticipated rates of pay, likelihood of employment and living costs (Greenwood, 1975). The individual migrant acts independently of others (e.g the family, household or other community) and is motivated only by the desire to maximise income (de Haas, 2010). Historically the theory has its roots in Ravenstein's analysis of statistical trends observed in census data for late-nineteenth century Britain (1885), and his resulting Laws of Migration (1889). Ravenstein acknowledged the influence on some migration flows of 'bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation)' (Ravenstein, 1885, p.286), but the vast majority of migration, he claimed, arose from the 'desire inherent in

most men to "better" themselves in material respects' (p.286). Based on the free movement of labour, Ravenstein's (1889) laws are considered the foundational statement of migration theory:

- Migration proceeds step by step.
- The bulk of migrants travel short distances.
- Each migration current has a counter current.
- Towns have a higher rate of growth through migration than through natural growth.
- Women migrate more than men within their country of origin, but men form the majority of international migrations.
- Migration increases over time alongside developments in industry, commerce and transportation.
- The majority of migration is for better pay.

The theory positions migration as a core factor in economic growth and urban development. The direction of migration was observed as mainly rural to urban, and growth in towns and cities caused by in-migration rather than by natural growth through birth rates. The theory takes a balanced growth perspective: as labour moves from rural to urban areas, labour becomes scarce in rural areas leading to an increase in wages in rural locations, thus the impact of migration is considered a positive one for both rural and urban areas (Harris and Todaro, 1970). Within traditional theory, a number of models of migration have been formulated. The models are based on the Newtonian gravity model which proposes that individuals are attracted to places with a greater population than their place of origin, but that other variables can influence the decision to migrate. Variables include distance, psychic costs (leaving familiar surroundings, friends and family), access to information, and the personal characteristics of the migrant (Greenwood, 1975). The models differ, but the theory of the utility-maximising individual, and the claim that 'differences in wages are the main cause of migration' (Hicks, 1932, p.76), which underpin these models, remains the same. Two important aspects of Ravenstein's laws: gendered

patterns of migration, and family migration, were overlooked in migration theory until the latter part of the twentieth century: Morokvasic (1984) highlighted non-economic reasons for women's migration: relationship dynamics, lack of rights, and the transgression of gendered social norms; Mincer (1978) and Stark (1991) placed the family unit at the centre of the migration decision.

The traditional theory holds that the propensity to migrate is connected to stages in the lifecycle, and that overall, migration decreases with age (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015; Dennett and Rees, 2010). Using data from the literature, Tyrrell and Kraftl (2015) report the following lifecycle pattern for migration in the UK: a high level of migration in infancy which then falls to a low level at school age, and remains steady until age 18. At this point there is steep rise in mobility as young adults move for higher education, employment and co-habitation. Migration rates then fall as couples form and settle to nurture new families. After a period of stability during middle age and into old age, there is a slight increase in migration due to changes in geriatric care arrangements. The literature typically examines patterns in the migration of various age cohorts, taking age as a proxy for life stage (for example see Bernard, Bell and Charles-Edwards, 2016).

The theory of migration within a city is based on the changing spatial needs of householders as they move through the lifecycle (Rossi, 1955). Starting in early adulthood, it is theorised that individuals are likely to live in the city centre close to their place of work, thus minimising commuting costs. As partnerships are formed and children arrive, the household grows and a larger living space is needed. A trade off is made between space and travel to work time and the household moves to the suburbs where larger housing is available at a lower cost (Kim, Pagliara and Preston, 2005). At this life stage other factors, such as good schools, local amenities and safety also become important. It is claimed that life changes, such as changes in occupation, the addition of children to the household, as well as changes in coupled-relationships trigger household mobility (Clark and Dieleman,

1996). As children grow up and the household shrinks, couples may then decide to relocate to a smaller residence (Rabe and Taylor, 2010; Clark and Huang, 2003).

2.2 Future Earnings: Human Capital Theory

Developed from traditional theory, the concept of human capital was introduced into migration theory by Larry A. Sjaastad in his text 'The Costs and Returns of Human Migration' (1962). In the human capital theory the migrant makes a cost benefit analysis to calculate the returns that may be gained on the cost of migration. Costs are understood as monetary and non-monetary. Non-monetary costs include psychic costs and the loss of earnings while moving or looking for a job. In addition to moving for a higher wage, a migrant may be moving to a place to gain training, experience or to change occupation, each of which could lead to higher earnings – the expected return on the cost of migration. In this way, the human capital approach views migration as an 'investment in the human agent' (Sjaastad, p. 87). The migrant, it is theorised, makes a comparison between different potential locations, and choses the destination that offers the greatest return on the cost of migration. The theory was built upon by Lee (1966) who added a 'push-pull' framework which conceptualised the migrant's decision to relocate as based on the individual's perception of negative factors in their place of origin and positive factors in the migratory destination, and on the individual overcoming any intervening obstacles e.g. distance or geographical or political boundaries. The human capital theory differs from traditional theory in that it offers an account of the ways in which individuals calculate for possible future earnings in a place. It also differs in the ways in which the population is categorised.

Unlike traditional theory, which classifies the workforce as a homogenous whole, human capital theory disaggregates the population into different groups, e.g. by age, employment status and education, as these groups have different rates of mobility. For example, age is a factor in assessing potential returns. For mature individuals who have a shorter working life ahead of them, a migration movement that will only offer a return over a long period

may be a less attractive proposition than it is for a young person. This brings the concept of time as a factor into the theory: individuals calculate the time over which returns may be realised. A number of other factors were also included. Individuals are understood to differ in their analysis of costs and benefits and in their attitudes to risk and uncertainty (Hart, 1975), calculations of expected wages for the unemployed seeking work in a potential destination were also introduced (Harris and Todaro, 1970). As with traditional theory, migration is linked with progress: 'a high rate of progress entails a population which is continually in a state of flux, responding quickly to new opportunities and reacting swiftly to diminishing opportunities.' (Lee, 1966 p. 54). Particularly responsive to opportunities, it is claimed, are the 'highly educated…professionals and managerial people' who move regularly for career advancement (Lee, 1966 p.53). This educated group have become the focus of the human capital theory of urban growth.

Urban growth, in the human capital theory is not caused, as in traditional theory, by the presence of firms offering employment and attracting in new workers. Instead it is suggested that highly educated and skilled knowledge workers are more likely to innovate and it is their presence in a city that triggers growth (Glaeser, 2005; Glaeser, 2003; Lucas, 1988). Glaeser claims that due to globalisation and technological developments, proximity to raw materials and associated transportation costs cease to be a factor in making one city have an innate advantage over another. Instead, the productive advantage that a city has is driven by its people. '[T]he future of our cities depends on the ability of particular urban areas to provide attractive places for increasingly rich workers' (Glaeser, Kolko and Saiz, 2001, p.28). Urban success, Glaeser claims, comes from being an attractive 'consumer' city, which depends on four factors: amenities, sun, schools and transportation.

Both the traditional and the human capital migration theories conceptualise migration 'as an equilibrating mechanism in a changing economy' (Sjaastad, 1962, p.80). These neoclassical theories have been critiqued for operating at a level of abstraction that bares little resemblance to real migration (King,

2012). One of the main criticisms is that they fail to explain why there is so little migration. If the pursuit of increased wages is our goal as individuals, and migration the solution, surely there would be mass migration from poorer to richer areas. At the international level, it has been questioned why it is that in counties that are structurally similar, one country may have higher levels of migration than another (Arango, 2000). Historical contexts, the connections between countries due to colonisation, and other political, personal, family and cultural factors are excluded (King, 2012). While there is an acknowledgement of political or other barriers to migration, these are converted into 'costs', disregarding the fact that political or legal barriers may prohibit migration entirely, making any form cost benefit assessment irrelevant (Arango, 2000). The theories carry the assumption that information is equally available to all and about all places equally, and offers no understanding of the processes by which individuals acquire information (Molho, 1986). As they are based on quantitative analysis of statistical trends, the models developed are based on the theorised behaviour of the large swathes of the population.

2.3   Florida's Theory of the Creative Class

'a question that lies at the heart of our age, and that would drive much of the research for this book:

How do we decide where to live and work? What really matters to us in making this kind of life decision? How has this changed over time – and why?' (Florida, 2002, p 217, *emphasis in the original*)

The creative class theory (Florida, 2002) shares similarities with Glaeser's human capital theory, but differs in three major respects. First, Florida claims that it is only a particular portion of knowledge workers who generate urban growth – those in occupations associated with creativity – and second, that these workers have significantly different consumption preferences to the rest of the population. Third, and of significance to this thesis, Florida contends that members of the creative class are highly

mobile, selecting locations based on the amenities and lifestyles on offer, and places where their identities as creative individuals can be expressed. If a city does not cater to their preferences, they can and will move elsewhere. Regional economic growth, Florida claims, 'is driven by the locational choices of creative people – the holders of creative capital – who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas' (Florida, 2002, p. 223). Despite the theory's many criticisms, which within academia came thick and fast as wil be discussed below, the theory has been heavily influential on policy makers internationally, including the UK.

In 2016, fourteen years after publication of the theory, Florida's powerful influence could still be heard in the speech of Matt Hancock, UK Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport:

> The lesson is clear: make an area interesting and you attract interesting people to work there ... Cultural rebirth, connectivity, and economic revival go hand in hand ... Economically, because where artistic design intersects with digital capability is the nexus at the heart of the future economy ... This nexus of art and technology is how Britain will pay her way in the 21st Century. (Hancock, 2016)

The reception of Florida's theory has been less enthusiastic in academia, with criticisms coming from the political left and right, and across the disciplines of Cultural Studies, Urban Studies and Economic Geography. Glaeser (2005), while applauding Florida for popularising urban policy debates, finds no differences between creative workers and the educated knowledge workers of human capital theory. Further criticisms relate to Florida's prioritising of the consumption preferences of one group in society (Peck, 2005); the lack of empirical evidence to back his claims that creativity causes growth (Malanga, 2004); valuing the presence of creative workers simply as a means of attracting high-tech firms rather than for the cultural value of the work they undertake (Pratt, 2008); and for setting cities in competition with one another (Peck, 2005). Contrary to Florida's theory,

city consumption has been identified as a result, not a cause, of economic growth (Storper and Scott, 2009; Peck, 2005). Storper and Scott (2009) argue that rather than basing urban policy on location preferences 'revealed' in statistical correlations, attention should be on 'real' preferences, and, they state 'we need to scrutinize the conditions under which distinctive bundles of opportunities and constraints are created, and that hence make it possible (or not) for individuals to engage in this or that form of action.' (p.165).

Storper and Scott maintain that traditional factors are still prevalent in location decisions. 'Such individuals typically choose to locate on the basis of some sort of structured match between their talents and the forms of economic specialization and labor demand to be found in the places where they eventually settle." (Storper and Scott 2009, p.162). The debate around creative worker migration has since revolved around this dichotomy: do creative workers locate for amenities or jobs? The empirical evidence on creative worker migration will be reviewed in detail in the sections below, but first, due to the importance of the creative class theory to the literature, and the significant, though short, history of the promotion of creative workers as instigators of economic growth in the UK, the theory, and the concept of the creative worker, will next receive a more thorough examination.

2.3.1   Defining the Creative Class

They changed our local palais into a bowling alley and

Fings ain't what they used to be

There's Teds with drainpipe trousers and Debs in coffee

houses and

Fings ain't what they used to be (chorus)

It used to be fun

Dad an' old Mum paddling down old

Southend

But now it ain't done

Never mind chum

Paris is now where we spend our outings

(Fings Ain't What They Used to Be, Lionel Bart, 1960)

The creative class theory divides the working population into three occupational classes: the working class, the service class and the creative class. The working class are described as working in production and transportation occupations, and are characterised as being de-skilled and working to order. The service class, which include cleaners, carers, administrators, social service workers and protective service occupations, are characterised as having low-wages and low-autonomy. Included in the creative class are a primary group named the 'super creative core' who work in science, engineering, architecture and design, education, the arts, music and entertainment. Alongside them are 'creative professionals' who work in associated law, finance, business and healthcare professions. The creative class are characterised as higher earners – earning nearly twice that of the other classes – and as sharing a common ethos, valuing 'creativity, individuality, difference and merit' (Florida, 2002, p.8). Designers belong to the super-creative core, as those involved in the 'highest order of creative work ... producing new forms or designs that are readily transferable and widely useful such as designing a product that can be widely made, sold and used' (Florida, 2002, p.69). Though comprising only thirty per cent of the working population in the US, Florida claimed the creative class as dominant over the other the service and working classes due to their level of affluence and their influence on social norms.

As a highly mobile group, the creative class was said to be 'fleeing older working class strongholds' instead gravitating to 'stimulating and creative environments' (Florida, 2002, p.11). Florida recommended that whilst it is important for a city to maintain a good business climate, the key to growth is

attracting the creative class though building a good 'people climate'. A place needed to be open and tolerant, must have a diverse population, be 'authentic' and have a distinct audio identity. Diversity, for the creative class is measured by the number of gay couples in a city, which Florida claimed to be an indicator of openness and tolerance. Race is categorised as a 'challenging' issue. The low representation of black people in tech and the creative industries is recognised, and Florida reports that areas with high levels of immigration do not rate highly in his creativity index. Further, Florida concedes that 'the Creative Economy does little to ameliorate the traditional divide between the white and non-white segments of the population. It may even make it worse' (Florida, 2002, p. 263). However the issue is then dropped, the question of racism is not addressed, and the creative class continue to be celebrated as open, meritocratic and seeking areas that are diverse (Florida, 2002, p.250).

Lifestyle preferences and creative experiences are claimed to be all-important in location decisions: 'They like indigenous street-level culture – a teeming blend of cafes, sidewalk musicians, and small galleries and bistros' (Florida, 2002, p.166). As the creative class work long hours and have a 'passionate quest for experience', third spaces and nightlife are considered important, as are cycle paths and other outdoor activities. For the creative class, all of an individual's experiences and relationships, both in and outside the workplace, are useful in developing and mobilising creative ideas, and ultimately the production of goods for the marketplace. Experiences are important as they stimulate creative faculties and so enhance creative capacities. Being 'spurred on by the creative ethos' the creative class 'blend work and lifestyle to construct our identities as creative people' (Florida, 2002, p.13).

In the past, Florida claimed, people identified themselves through the basic social categories of 'occupation, employer and family status (husband, wife, father, mother)' (Florida, 2002, p.13) however, times have changed and now the creative class identify themselves through a 'tangle of connections to

myriad creative activities. One person may be simultaneously a writer, researcher, consultant, cyclist, rock climber electronic/world music/acid jazz lover, amateur gourmet cook, wine enthusiast or micro-brewer' (Florida, 2002, p.13). The creative class are not 'dominated or dictated' by strong ties as is the case in social capital communities, in which one would 'hang out mostly with people you knew very well and who would shape your career, tastes and personal life according to their values' (Florida, 2002, p. 277). Weak ties have become more important as they allow for the mobilisation of resources and exposure to new ideas and information. 'In this new world, it is no longer the organisations we work for, churches, neighbourhoods or even family ties that define us. Instead, we do this ourselves, defining our identities along the varied dimensions of our creativity' (Florida, 2002, p.7). According to Florida, self-expression, individuality and openness to differences, the values of the creative class, have become the social norms of our times.

Unlike the traditional and human capital migration theories, Florida makes a concerted attempt to flesh out the identity of his creative class migrant. His descriptions of the creative class's lifestyles, values, beliefs, habits and appearances are vivid. For example, he describes how they often regard themselves as outsiders, may dress in an extreme fashion or hold odd personal habits, and seek to work in establishments where individuals of all backgrounds – ethnic, socio-economic status and sexual orientation, are welcome. But the problem with Florida's theory in this regard is that he attributes one set of values, beliefs and motivations to a huge gamut of people occupying a vast range of occupations in locations across the globe. As with traditional and human capital migration theories, cultural, political or geographical differences are disregarded. The migrant is disembedded from their own life course, their social, historical and geographical context, and the complexity of an individual's values, attitudes and motivations is obliterated. To understand the creative migrant holistically, their motivations, backgrounds and attitudes is important, and a central concern of this thesis.

The creative class theory offered urban policy makers a manifesto for urban development. Florida developed a range of indices to measure a city's openness to the creative class and used these to compile a creative cities index in which cities were ranked according to their scores. To add weight to his claims for changes in social values, Florida refers to Inglehart's World Values Survey, the largest international survey into cultural values. A generalised, persuasive argument based on quantitative data with the ability to predict outcomes was essential to this endeavour, as was the confident, surefooted writing style with which Florida illuminated the world around him. Florida was born in 1957, and was 45 years old when 'The Rise of the Creative Class' was published in 2002. He writes about his observations and interactions with the students he sees in Carnegie Mellon University with the avuncular air of a man who has only recently realised his own shifted position in the lifecycle, and is astonished to make the discovery that for the younger generation, as Max Bygraves sang in 1960, 'fings ain't what they used to be'.

In one passage of the book, Florida describes witnessing an informal recruitment process between a student and a software company, and remarks 'What a change from my own college days, when students would put on their dressiest clothes and carefully hide any counterculture symptoms, in order to show recruiters that they could fit in. Here the company was trying to fit in with the student' (Florida, 2002, p. 215). In this passage, Florida puts his own experience into a dislocated past, and as he does so he sets himself apart from the creative class, placing himself instead as a viewer from above, offering sympathetic but objective observations from his vantage point, much as a natural history presenter might. He bears no responsibility for what he is observing, he is simply reflecting back what he sees, how things are, and offering us the wisdom of his years of study to the subject. 'I am a student of economic growth. I deal in hard data and empirical research' (Florida, 2002, p. xvii). What happens in the course of the book is that Florida creates a seductive image of an elite class of

workers, which cities across the world have since competed to attract, while at the same time shaping his own career, which was to go onto stellar heights. Contrary to his claim for objectivity, Florida personified the creative class, mining his individual experience and ideas to create an original and perfectly marketable product.

Florida revisited his theory in 2014, in his book 'The Rise Creative Class Revisited', in which he reflects on the reactions to the creative class theory since 2002; on world developments since that time (911 and the 2008 economic crash); and he adds more data to support his claims. While he concedes that the impact of the rise of the creative class has not been wholly unproblematic, particularly around issues of equality, he holds to the principles of his theory and contends that as place enables the matching of people and economic opportunities, place has become the central organising unit of our economy and society (Florida, 2014).

Florida claims that his description and classification of the values of the creative class were based on his own interviews and focus groups – without specifying how many or who with – and that the changes in values he observes are reflected in 'statistical surveys conducted by others' (Florida, 2002, p.77). The identity and values that Florida presented for the creative worker, and for himself, were in no way new, but, as will be discussed in the following section, a re-assertion of a post-war, elitist, gendered conceptualisation of creativity, the individual, society and work. At its figurehead is the creative worker, and particularly, through the writings of philosopher and novelist Ayn Rand, the designer. Developed by positive psychologists, it is a conceptualisation that has become mainstream in management theory, and one that had a particular moment of popularity in the 'new economy' discourse at the turn of the millennium.

2.4 The Creative Worker: Identity and Values
The concept of the asocial, creative individual was developed in the US at the end of the Second World War, through the work of US psychologists such as J.P Guilford (1950), and most influentially by Maslow (see Brouillette, 2014

for a full evaluation). There is a direct theoretical connection between Maslow and Florida. Florida's (2002) theory was informed by Ronald Inglehart's World Values Survey (Inglehart, 1990), which is underpinned by, and served to globalise, Maslovian psychology (Brouillette, 2014, p.71). Maslow theorised that to enable creativity, individuals needed to separate from their social involvements and connect with their inner, authentic selves:

> ... *the* greatest cause of our alienation from our real selves is our neurotic involvements with other people, the historical hangovers from childhood, the irrational transferences, in which past and present are confused and in which the adult behaves like a child.'
> (Maslow, 1971, p.62 *emphasis in the original*)

In order to properly understand Florida's (2002) theory, its weaknesses and implications, it is necessary to understand Maslow's ideas about identity, creativity and social isolation. As with Ravenstein's (1889) concept of the progressive migrant, these ideas have led the normalisation of the concept that to be mobile and to move mentally and spatially away from family and childhood connections demonstrates independence and ambition, and enables creativity. Conversely, and again like Ravenstein's (1889) traditional migration theory, the theory implies that that to remain in a place demonstrates a lack of creativity and ambition, and that to live in a socially interdependent way is some how weak and of low social value. These assumptions are not based on evidence, but developed to aid the construction of the idealised American citizen.

After the Second World War, as the Cold War and the US arms race with the Soviet Union took hold, research into the psychology of creativity was funded by the US military, who needed creative scientists and engineers to design and develop nuclear weapons (Sawyer, 2017). Research into creativity was also aligned to the US government's articulation of an American identity as Christian capitalist 'idealists', in contrast to the

'materialist' atheists of the Communist Soviet Union (Whitfield, 1991, p.73). With fast developing technology, and facing the prospect of the computer replacing human labour, the role of creative thinking in the future of work also became a subject of research. Guilford (1950) speculated:

> There are several implications in these possibilities that bear upon the importance of creative thinking. In the first place, it would be necessary to develop an economic order in which sufficient employment and wage earning would still be available. This would require creative thinking of an unusual order and speed. In the second place, eventually about the only economic value of brains left would be in the creative thinking of which they are capable. (Guilford,1950, p.448)

It is in the context of the threat of both communism and technical change that Maslow developed his theory of human motivation (or hierarchy of needs as it is also known), which has at its peak, the creative individual. One other perceived threat to American society was also influential: the rise of the 'New Woman'.

In the first half of the twentieth century the changing role of women in American society had become a cultural concern. The link here with migration is strong: the increase of single women migrating to urban areas for employment, and changes in education rights for women since the 1870s, had led to the growth in the numbers of single economically independent women, and educated women. With this change came 'the solidification of female support networks and friendships' (Cullen and Gotell, 2002, p. 538). The 'New Woman' challenged heterosexual norms, advocated spinsterhood and transgressed gender-roles. It was against this challenge to social order, and with the aim of re-enforcing normative heterosexuality, that interwar studies into sexology were conducted (Cullen and Gotell, 2002; Cullen, 1997), including Maslow's (1942) own research into sexuality. Maslow's study, published the year before he published his

theory of human motivation, investigated the relationship between sex and self-esteem. He argued that men have a biological need to dominate over women, as it is through domination that their self-esteem needs are met. Male domination was also needed for a woman to enjoy sexual pleasure, he claimed. He thus concluded that the domination of men over women was natural and necessary. This theory of dominance/sub-dominance, and his belief that gender roles were biologically determined, underpin Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Cullen and Gotell, 2002; Cullen, 1997).

Maslow theorised that man is a perpetually wanting individual, motivated to achieve five hierarchically organised goals. At base he has the need for physiological satisfaction, this is followed by the need for safety. Once these needs are met, he seeks love and friendship, followed by self-esteem. The highest level, and the ultimate goal for humans, is self-actualisation, a stage at which man can fully realise his potential. 'We shall call people who are satisfied in these needs, basically satisfied people, and it is from these that we may expect the fullest (and healthiest) creativeness' (Maslow, 1943, p. 382). Self-actualisation needs, Maslow argued, are as biologically driven and natural as the need for food and safety. 'A musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write, if he is to be ultimately happy. What a man *can* be, he *must* be.' (Maslow, 1943, p. 382, emphasis in the original). The link between the self-actualised man and creativity became increasingly unified as Maslow developed his theory. In the 1960s, the theory was applied to the management of business organisations, and during this time his concept of the self-actualised individual, the creative person and the ideal worker began to merge.

Self-actualisation was later described by Maslow as the 'process of actualising one's own potentialities … working to do well at the thing one wants to do.' (Maslow, 1971, p.46). In the progression towards self-actualisation man must go through a number of steps. He must throw himself at a thing and become so absorbed that he is lost in what he is doing, thus becoming selfless. He must let go of other people's views and listen

instead to his inner voice: 'Most of us, most of the time … listen not to ourselves but to Mommy's introjected voice or Daddy's voice or to the voice of the Establishment, of the Elders, of authority, or of tradition' (Maslow, 1971, p.63). Maslow argued that the self-actualised make a movement, emotionally and intellectually, away from family and social ties, make a break from inherited values and expectations, into independence. Once isolated from the grip of social influences, he claimed, the inner authentic self can emerge, and man may enter self-actualisation, a stage which has two phases of creativity. First is the inspiration phase involving 'peak experiences'. These are the 'happiest moments of life … experiences of ecstasy, rupture, bliss', which, in Maslow's experience, come from 'profound aesthetic experiences', 'creative ecstasies', 'perfect sexual experiences' and, for women, 'natural childbirth' (Maslow, 1971, p.101). After this phase comes the working out phase, when the hard work is done and inspiration is realised into 'actual products' such as 'great novels', 'bridges' and 'new inventions' (Maslow, 1971, p.57). In this phase, the creative worker shows qualities of self-discipline and self-motivation – needing no others to oversee or motivate his work.

For the self-actualised, work ceases to be an imposition: to work is to feel whole. Again a sense of a movement away, a 'searching', a 'calling' are invoked: the self-actualised 'are working at something which fate has called them to somehow and which they work at and which they love, so that the work-joy dichotomy in them disappears. One devotes his life to the law, another to justice, another to beauty of truth. All, in one way or another devote their lives to the search for what I have called… the "being values"…the ultimate values which are intrinsic, which cannot be reduced to anything more ultimate.' (Maslow, 1971, P.42). The worker is selfless in his dedication to work, and the same time entirely self-interested. Maslow offered a characterisation of the creative worker as a man who can cope easily with perpetual change, who is attracted to novelty and mystery and as a 'prime mover, as the responsible one, as autonomous, the determiner of his own fate' (Maslow, 1965 p.193). Further to this, Maslow argued that a

successful society needed to produce this type of human being, and that the cultivation of the creative individual should be a Cold War priority (Cooke *et al.*, 2005) 'The society which can turn out such people will survive; the societies that *cannot* turn out such people will die' (Maslow, 1971, p.57).

For Maslow, necessity, it seems, was no longer the 'true creator', the mother of invention (Plato, 1941). Mothers, and women in general, were excluded from higher realm of self-actualisation on grounds of biology (Cullen and Gotell, 2002; Cullen, 1997). Building on his earlier sexuality study, Maslow located a divergence between men and women at the self-esteem level, with the sub-dominant woman finding self-actualisation in her natural role as mother, and through the self-actualisation of her husband and sons (Friedan, 1963). Through woman's submission, having fulfilled the male's self-esteem needs, the woman allows for the man to move up a stage in the hierarchy and become his natural, creative, actualised self (Cullen and Gotell, 2002). The only way in which a woman could be self-actualised in the masculine sense – to be a creative and autonomous worker – was if she was to act in an 'unnatural' male way. Women behaving in a way that was either equal or dominant to men would lead to the un-healthy state of male un-happiness and a crisis in marriage (Cullen and Gotell, 2002).

From the outset, Maslow openly states that his theory of motivation was not formulated on 'sound facts', due mainly to 'the very serious lack of data in this area' and was a 'suggested program or framework for future research', (Cullen and Gotell, 2002). His theory of the creative self-actualised individual is based on observations of two teachers whom he 'loved and adored' (Maslow, 1971, p.41). He wrote notes on them, thought about them, tried to understand them and why they were so different to everyone else he knew. Then he looked for, and studied other people he found that he thought shared similar characteristics. 'My generalisations grew out of *my* selections of certain kinds of people. Obviously, other judges are needed. So far, one man has selected perhaps two dozen people whom he liked or admired very much and thought were wonderful people and the tried to

figure them out' (Maslow, 1971, p.40 emphasis in the original). His mode of working was to 'speculate freely, to theorize, to play hunches, intuitions, and in general to try to extrapolate into the future' (Maslow, 1971, p.4). Maslow's teachers were psychologists and one suspects that their world, and world view were not so dissimilar to Maslow's own, and that what Maslow described and revelled in were characteristics that he shared. Perhaps the hierarchy of needs can be viewed more as a self-portrait, than a universally held schema. There is though a deep, and troubling political dimension to the hierarchy.

The concept of domination/sub-domination was expanded beyond gender roles. Maslow believed that a small elite of self-actualised males were biologically superior to the underclass of humans who languished in the lower stages of motivation. While it was possible to become self-actualised, his belief in innate superiors and inferiors meant that some people are less likely get there, and others not likely at all. The elite, he also believed, ought to have greater democratic rights, and he saw the potential for a self-actualising ruling class (Herman, 1995). The theory has come to be read as a projection of the hierarchical structure of society, and of societies, onto the individual (Herman, 1995; Buss, 1979). Within this hierarchical structure, some societies (the Soviet Union) were understood to be stuck in the lower materialist stage, whilst others (the US) were in the higher, socially advanced, self-actualisation stage (Cooke *et al.*, 2005). The parallels with the creative class theory are strong. Florida argued that the creative class is porous as, in theory, all people have creative potential and membership of the creative class can be gained through occupation choice. Similarly to Maslow, the tensions here are that in order to support the lifestyles of the creative class – to take care of their lower order needs including their mobility, security, health, appetites, children, waste, and their esteem needs – a larger underclass of service and manual workers are required. This tension is recognised by Florida, but presented as a regrettable side effect of the inevitable rise of the creative class (Florida, 2002, p.76).

In the context of the Cold War, Maslow's claims to the existence of an apriori 'authentic self', who can only be realised when free from social connections, can be understood as an articulation of a constructed ideal American subject. Under McCarthy it was deemed subversive to belong to an organisation, to refuse to inform on friends, to support civil rights campaigns, trade unions or peace movements (Cooke *et al.*, 2005). Those who sought stability and connection with others were, according to Maslow, 'sick' 'weak' and 'neurotic' (Maslow, 1971, p.63-64). The gendered aspects of the theory can also be considered as an assertion of woman's place in modern America. The nuclear family, as described by the leading sociologists of the time, was an autonomous economic unit, dislocated from traditional kinship ties. Essential to its functioning was that the woman maintained the home and fulfilled caring roles, allowing the man to enter the competitive world of work (Parsons and Bales, 1956). The nuclear family, freed spatially and economically from broader kin-ties, and with complimentary, though mutually exclusive gender roles, was presented as an evolutionary step for society, and was essential to the functioning of capitalist America.

The figure of the designer was elevated as the ultimate representation of the male asocial creative worker in Ayn Rand's novel, *The Fountainhead* (1943), in which Rand used an architect as protagonist. Echoing Maslow, she stated that 'The creator lives for his work. He needs no other men. His primary goal is within himself. The parasite lives second-hand. He needs others. Others become his prime motive' (Rand, 1943 p.712). Rand's division of humanity into two types, creators and parasites could also be neatly mapped onto a binary relationship between actualised and non-actualised individuals, capitalist and socialist societies, males and females, the successful and the unsuccessful. To be successful economically was for Rand the ultimate way in which a human could contribute to society:

> The virtue of *Productiveness* is the recognition of the fact that productive work is the process by which man's mind sustains his

life.... Productive work is the road of man's unlimited achievement and calls upon the highest attributes of his character: his creative ability, his ambitiousness, his assertiveness, his refusal to bear uncontested disasters, his dedication to the goal of reshaping the earth in the image of his values (Rand 1964, p.29, *emphasis in the original*).

As traced by Brouillette (2014), the characterisation of the asocial creative worker has endured in organisation psychology, for example through the works of Amabile (1996), and in the optimistic view of the future of work as portrayed in the popular press by Reeves (2001). This same identity was re-asserted by Florida in 2002. What Florida adds to Maslow's theory is the emphasis on mobility, with a spatial migration away from 'working class strongholds' towards 'stimulating and creative environments' (Florida, 2002, p.11) being the physical embodiment of this move to independence and actualisation. The concept is based on a belief in an 'authentic-self' which exists and can act outside of one's upbringing and social experiences. What is denied in the concept is the utter dependence of the self-actualised on other interdependent sets of people in society. The theoretical self-actualised individuals, in their isolation, contribute nothing to the social fabric of the world: taking, and not giving.

The characterisation stigmatises and belittles collective work and politics, and promotes competition, self-achievement and self-interest. It breaks the boundary between work and non-work, allowing no time in the day to put thoughts of work aside, and gives no value to caring for others, socialising, or time for any of life's other pleasures and difficulties. One's creativity and one's contacts with others are put solely to the service of the market. This type of individual has no consideration of the social impact of the goods and services created, or the impact on people, families and communities of working in this manner. The characterisation is just that, a theoretical description, and is no more innate or natural than a concept of a social creative person, who is empathetic and collaborative, supportive and

responsible for others, and who is concerned with the social and environmental impact of their work. When it comes to what it is to be creative, or what characterises a valuable member of society, as Maslow said, 'Obviously, other judges are needed' (Maslow, 1971, p. 40).

2.5   World Values Survey: Florida's Evidence for Value Change

Inglehart's World Values Survey [WVS], based on Maslow's ideas and used by Florida (2002) as evidence of a cultural shift in values in the US, is the widest reaching international survey of cultural values. Inglehart, like Maslow, is a positive psychologist and his theory of value change is based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The WVS 'generalises and globalises Maslovian psychology' (Brouillette, 2014, p.71). The survey offers the only large scale empirical evidence for a shift in society, also theorised in sociology as a movement from modernism to post-modernism, away from traditional and habitual modes of thinking and behaving towards more reflexive, individualised forms of behaviour (Majima and Savage, 2007).

Inglehart argued that as post-industrial societies reach a level of affluence there is a move away from traditional material concerns with economic and physical security towards more individualistic post-materialistic values relating to self expression, belonging and quality of life (Inglehart, 1990). He theorises that the values shift happens incrementally over time and through a process of generational change: young people make a values shift towards post-materialism, which then becomes stable in adulthood. This is followed by another values shift towards post-materialist values in the subsequent generation. As the pattern repeats, post-materialist values begin to dominate (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). The WVS is used to measure the aggregate values of a country. It has so far been conducted in six waves and is currently in its seventh. The first was in 1981-84, followed by subsequent waves in 1990-91, 1995-97, 1999-2001 and 2005-7 and 2010-14. The survey takes the form of a face-to-face interview with citizens age 18-85. It has been conducted in over 100 countries, and questions asked in all countries are identical (*World Values Survey*, 2018). Countries are placed on

a scale between materialism and post-materialism, enabling comparisons between them.

Whether the WVS offers evidence for a values shift in the UK is contested. Inglehart argued that the UK had shifted towards post-materialism in the period between 1970 and 1994, and placed the country in a position between the more materialist US and more post-materialist parts of Europe (Inglehart. 1997). In order to understand the complexity of individual values within the UK, Majima and Savage (2007) reanalysed the same data using multiple correspondence analysis, as opposed to Inglehart's factor analysis. Contrary to Inglehart's findings, they observed that the distribution of values has remained stable over time, and if a trend could be detected it was that the UK has become more materialist not less so, this movement being led by young people in the 1990s. Rather than values dividing into materialist/post-materialist values, Majima and Savage observed the division occurring along political lines with the difference occurring between conformist verses rebellious-conscientious values and authoritarian verses libertarian values. They underline that an individual's values can change according to changing social, political and economic contexts, and the need to understand an individual's attitudes within these specific contexts.

This review has so far focused on theories of migration and the creative worker. It demonstrates how Florida's (2002) creative class theory is located within neoclassical theories of migration, and is founded on Maslow's (1971; 1943) patriarchal and elitist conception of the asocial creative individual, who worked in mental isolation from family influences, and in pure pursuit of self-satisfaction and economic gain. Florida's major contribution to Maslow's theory is the addition of spatial mobility, whereby the creative worker is isolated in physical as well as mental space from family ties and the affects of socialisation. The weak empirical grounding for both theories has been highlighted. The next section reviews the empirical

evidence on creative work in the UK, creative worker migration, and internal migration in the UK.

2.6 The Creative Worker in the UK

In the UK, and slightly preceding the publication of Florida's theory, cultural work had been politically transformed by the Labour government through the creation of the 'creative industries' as an industry sector in 1998. This was part of New Labour's repositioning itself away from an old industrial world, into a new world of flexible modes of work, by workers who had control over their working patterns and conditions, and who were enabled by new digital technology (Oakley, 2011). The literature on creative work in the UK, and on the politicisation of creative work under New Labour, and the shift in terminology from the cultural to the creative industries is extensive (see for example Schlesinger, 2017; Hesmondhalgh *et al.*, 2015; Hewison, 2011; Garnham, 2006), and a full review is beyond the scope of this thesis. This sections reviews the major themes in the literature on creative work in the UK, of particular relevance to this study.

The creative industries are defined as 'those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' (Creative Industries Task Force, 1998). Creative firms were characterised as innovative, risk-taking small businesses, reliant on networks 'in a way that set the creative industries at the core of a new kind of economy' (Wenting, 2008, p.13). Moving between project-based freelance work was promoted as a new career model: 'resourceful and adaptable creative graduates are the trail-blazers for other disciplines in engaging with contract and freelancing work' (Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010 p. 3). The national image of creative Britain and the economic potential of these industries were enthusiastically promoted by New Labour, as were their possible social benefits in terms of urban renewal (Banks and O'Connor, 2017). Despite a lack of evidence to support Florida's claims, and the problems of imposing policy recommendations developed for one country directly onto another, the creative class theory became accepted

'uncritically' by British policy makers (Oakley, 2004). However, concurrent with Florida's theory, and with the promotion of the creative industries, a less positive image of creative work in UK emerged in academic literature.

Creative workers are found be working long hours, suffering from work insecurity and lacking in access to welfare benefits or unionised support (McRobbie, 2016; McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009; Ross, 2003; Gill, 2002; Pratt, 2000). Contrary to Florida's (2002) claims of a wealthy creative class, UK creative workers are often low paid (Faggian *et al.*, 2013; Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014; Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010). In a national report on the careers of UK creative workers up to six years after graduation in 2002-2004, Ball, Pollard and Stanley (2010) found that unpaid and voluntary work contributed to career progression, and low wages were a significant issue. One third of their survey respondents had an income of under £15,000, and two-thirds had an income of under £30,000. Among graduates of art and design degrees, part-time employment and unpaid work were common, and entry-level salaries were lower than those of other creative degrees (Faggian *et al.*, 2013). Low pay, and a reliance on family income during periods of unemployment or while in up-paid work, contribute to the lack of representation of workers from lower-income families (McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009). Linked to this, the creative industries, far from being meritocratic as Florida suggests, have been shown to be beset with gender, class and racial inequalities (see for example O'Brien *et al.*, 2016; Conor, Gill and Taylor, 2015; Leslie and Catungal, 2012).

Despite the perception, promulgated by Florida (2002), of the creative industries as open and meritocratic, 'the social profile of employment in the creative industries tends to relfect the profile of advantage in higher education (and indeed society at large) – where the 'talent' tends to be disproportionately middle-class and (especially in the top jobs) privately educated, white and male' (Banks, 2017, p. 74). Family cultural capital – knowledge of art and universities, is an advantage in the selection of

university (McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009; Hayton, Haste and Jones, 2015). Banks (2017) argues that the higher education system is complicit in reproducing inequalities in the creative industries. Based on the assumption that the concept of talent is socially constructed (Gaztambide-Fernández, Saifer, and Chandni, 2013), Banks describes a process whereby a display of cultural capital, possessed by a prospective candidate at interview or audition, is recognised as natural talent by assessors, and so gives an unfair advantage to those from priviledged backgrounds. Further, because of homophilic selection processes, HE arts education is more elitest than HE generally:

> To realise your innate talent as musician, actor, designer or artist, it helps very much to come from the kind of prosperous and well-connected back-ground that both values and can materially and intangibly support the realisation of your apparently natural advantages…Perhaps now the best guarantee of success in creative arts education (and in the creative economy beyond) is not the possession of a 'raw' talent, but the ownership of an inherited ease and the capacity to expend a dispositional currency available only to a privileged few' (Banks, 2017, pp. 85-86)

An analysis of class and the careers of designers and copywriters in the UK advertising industry was made by McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley (2009). Traditionally, the advertising industry had been dominated by privately educated, middle-class Oxbridge students, who were recruited to raise the profile and status of the industry in the 1950s. A resulting 'institutionalised snobbery' made it difficult for middle and working-class workers to enter the profession (Delaney, 2007). McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley (2009) used Bourdieu's concepts of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) and forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) to explore the role of class in creative workers' career trajectories. They identified three life stages that were important in career progression: getting started (childhood and education experiences), getting in (getting a job), and getting on (experiences of working life).

McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley (2009) found that working class creatives grew up in households with low economic capital and limited cultural capital. Their fathers were manual workers and mothers were either housewives or stay at home mothers. Many left school at sixteen to go to a local art college, and had little career guidance or encouragement into university. Entering a creative profession was an escape from the world they grew up in, and the drudgery of working class employment. Middle-class creatives grew up in suburban areas, which were felt to be respectable and boring. Their fathers were professionals, several of whom were architects and the creatives described a childhood fascination with their father's workplaces and practices. Their mothers were usually stay at home mothers who had high levels of education. The education of children was 'seen as a family project' (McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009, p.1022) and it was normal for the family to make detailed plans for their children's higher education and career paths. They had high cultural capital, and parents encouraged artistic and imaginative talent, but creative careers were frowned upon, and the creatives struggled with parents' expectations that they would become lawyers or doctors.

Wealthy middle-class creatives had a different experience, growing up in town houses or large country houses, and coming from old moneyed backgrounds. Typically they were privately educated and had Oxbridge degrees. Creative talents were nurtured and wider family and friends, who were interested in the arts, gave further cultural capital. Parents had a bohemian outlook, and did not have particular career trajectories in mind for their children. Access into the advertising profession was easiest for this group, who had the right cultural and social capital, as well as an easy supply of economic capital to the support periods of un-paid work or unemployment, characteristic of the industry.

Though also having high levels of cultural capital, without the same high level of social or economic capital, the less wealthy middle-class found access to work a bit harder. The working class workers found access to work hardest, lacking in the appropriate cultural and social capital, as well as

economic capital. These findings question Florida's (2002) claim for meritocracy in the creative class, and highlight the impacts of the British class system as a barrier to occupations labelled 'creative'. They also highlight the role of habitus – family of origin and early life (Bourdieu, 1977), and forms of economic, cultural and social capital in creative workers' trajectories. Across the creative industries in the UK, working class men, and women of all classes have lower average salaries than their male middle-class counterparts (O'Brien *et al.*, 2016).

Women are found to leave the creative industries with age, particularly after taking on caring responsibilities (Skillset, 2010). In the design industry, the workplace is found to be combative and macho, with women marginalised from creative roles (Reimer, 2016). Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2015) research into sex roles in the creative industries found a division between male and female labour, with women being assigned work that involves communication, caring and co-ordination. The shadow of Maslow can be felt in their finding that 'Associations of various modes of masculinity with creativity… serve to marginalize women from the more prestigious creative roles and even sectors in the cultural industries' (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2015, p.34). Sexual harassment has been found to be accepted as normalized behavior, exacerbated by the creative industries reliance on informal networks for securing work, high levels of competition and lack of regulation in hiring processes (Hennekam and Bennett, 2017).

Literature has focussed on gender inequalities in the creative industries (eg. Hennekam and Bennett, 2017; McRobbie, 2016; Reimer, 2016; Conor, Gill and Taylor, 2015; Morgan and; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015; Nelligan, 2014; Perrons, 2003; Gill, 2002). Less analysed is the low representation people from BAME backgrounds, though this has been a subject of debate in the popular press, particularly in relation to the media (see for example, Lenny Henry (Ellis-Petersen, 2017) on the lack of reprsentation in the TV and film industry). Institutional racism is found within creative and cultural industries in the form of dicriminatory hiring practices, homophily in

mentorship and promotion, marginalisation and stereotyping of BAME workers, and assumed superiority of whiteness (Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013; Edwards, 2013).

While inequalities exist across society, this issue is of particular significance for two reasons. Firstly, modes of working in the creative industries have been upheld as a blueprint for the future of work (O'Brien, 2015). Secondly, creative workers, and designers in particular, are designing and shaping the world in which we all live:

> The effects of racism and of the racialization of ethnicity permeate institutions of cultural production, and, because such production significantly shapes the knowledge, values and beliefs that are circulated in society, the continuing influence of racism in cultural production is likely to have effects on societies (Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013, P.183).

The implications of the lack of workforce diversity in design has recently received some attention in the popular press and social media. In terms of race, examples include viral video of the 'racist soap dispenser' (Smith, 2017), designed to only recognise pale skin tones; and a facial recognition system, used by the police force, that cannot recognise or distingish between people of colour (Perkins, 2019). In terms of gender, male bias in design including, for example, seat belts designed to protect the male and not female body, and transport systems designed to facilitate male rather than female patterns of mobility, feature in a best selling book (Criado Perez, 2019), and are perhaps best exmplified in the case of personal protective equipment in healthcare, which is designed for a male body, putting the lives of female healthcare staff (who comprise 75% of the UK National Health Service workforce) at risk (Oppenheim, 2020).

Two types of the creative worker now appear in the critical literature, one the privileged middle-class white male, well educated, and well connected,

who through a process of homophily, has made a smooth journey through higher education and into employment as a creative employee, or on his own as a cultural entrepreneur (Banks, 2017; O'Brien *et al.*, 2016; Koppman, 2016; McLeod, O'Donohoe and Twonley, 2009). The second type is the exhausted female, who has been told repeatedly that the emotional rewards of creative work, and her achievement of a middle-class lifestyle, out-way her long working hours and low pay. At university she experienced a highly individualised approach to mentoring, was encouraged to capitalise on her own personal experience to develop an individual creative identity, and was lectured on the challenge and excitement of being a creative entrepreneur. After graduation she was propelled into a culture of project-based work, where she faces financial difficulties, insecure work and gruelling hours, combined with caring responsibilities. Because of her education experiences and society's discourse on creative work, she perceives any failure as personal rather than structural (McRobbie, 2016). These findings on creative work are far from the idyllic image of creative work that Maslow (1971; 1943) and Florida (2002) describe, and at the same time are exactly to their template. Whether these modes of working and forms of experience are replicated in Bristol are questions for this study. Do designers migrate to Bristol because the city offers alternative modes of working? Does Bristol offer access to creative work to a more diverse demographic?

This section has explored the ways in which Florida's (2002) concept of the creative class as open and meritocratic is not reflected in the literature on work in the creative and cultural industries in the UK. Values within the creative industries appear to be upholding traditional patriarchal, class-based and racialised social structures. The next section examines the literature that has emerged on the mobility and location preferences of creative workers.

2.7   Creative Worker Migration: International Evidence

> Our fundamental social forms are shifting as well, driven by forces traceable to the creative ethos … Rather than live in one town for

decades, we now move about. Instead of communities defined by close associations and deep commitments to family friends and organisations, we seek places where we can make friends and acquaintances easily and live quasi-anonymous lives' (Florida, 2002, p.7)

Given the centrality of migration to creative class theory, it is surprising that only a relatively small number of empirical studies have been made into creative worker migration. Issues of class, identity and values have been largely sidestepped within this literature. Studies have been undertaken internationally and are commonly concerned with two interconnected questions: first, are creative workers more mobile than non-creative workers? And second, are creative workers attracted by 'hard' traditional theory factors or by 'soft' factors relating to amenities, lifestyle and milieu that Florida identifies? (for example see Vossen, Sternberg and Alfken (2019) and Stein *et al.* (2017)). The majority of the studies find in favour of traditional factors, with social factors also emerging as important.

Little evidence has emerged to support Florida's claim that creative workers are highly mobile (Faggian, Comunian, and Li, 2014; Heerden and Bontje, 2014; Borén and Young, 2013; Dai *et al.*, 2012). While in Germany, the creative class are found to be more migratory than the rest of the workforce (Vossen, Sternberg and Alfken, 2019), in eleven cities across Europe, half the creative workers surveyed by Martin-Brelot *et al.* (2010) lived in their city of birth. In Spain, Sánchez-Moral (2017) estimated this rate to be even higher: two thirds of creative workers were found to live in their region of origin. In Sweden, creative workers were only marginally more mobile than non-creative workers (Hansen and Niedomysl, 2009), and creative workers in the USA were found to be relatively immobile once they become part of a couple (Cooke, 2014). In the UK, Faggian, Comunian, and Li (2014) found that graduates of creative subjects are less mobile than students of non-creative subjects. Using data from the UK Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education Survey, the study analysed the migration movements of

arts and culture-based degree graduates, from place of residence pre-university until six months after graduation in 2006/2007. This is the most that is known about the national migration of creative graduates in the UK. While having clear limitations due to the nature of the data, it does offer relevant evidence for sequential migration patterns, and a useful set of categories for graduates based on their migration movements (see table. 2.1)

Table 2-1 Typology of Migrants (Faggian, Comunian, and Li, 2014)

Non-migrant	Study and work in their place of birth
Repeat migrants	Migrate to another place after graduation
Return migrants	Return to their place they lived before university (parental home)
University stayers	Stay in their place of study
Late migrants	Study in their home location and migrate after graduation

Graduates of arts and cultural-based subjects were found to be less mobile than students of other subjects, and most likely to be return migrants or university stayers. Faggian, Comunian, and Li (2014) acknowledge that due to the quantitative nature of the data analysed, their study is limited in that it cannot provide an insight into the reasons underlying these migration trends, but suggested explanations for these findings were that, in the case of return migrants, low starting salaries for arts and culture graduates, combined with high costs of living, force graduates who wish to pursue a creative career back into their parental home. In the case of university stayers it was surmised that networks and peer support were important for career success, and authors call for further research into this aspect: 'a follow-up study – of a more qualitative nature – focusing on how the networks developed in a specific locality are the main reason for staying rather than moving would be really interesting' (Faggian, Comunian, and Li, 2014, p.41). In contrast to graduates of arts subjects, engineers and

technology students were more likely to be late migrants or repeat migrants, pinpointing possible differences in migration trajectories between creative workers and engineers that may be significant to the findings in this research. Faggian, Comunian, and Li's (2014) study also identified the South West, alongside Scotland and Yorkshire, as a region where Higher Education Institutions [HEIs] have a high tendency to attract graduates from other places and retain them afterwards, though, again, no explanation for this phenomenon is offered.

Faggian, Comunian and Li's (2014) study is further limited in that the data cannot provide an understanding of the graduate's family backgrounds and the family influence on migration choices. A Level and Foundation level students are, after all, only on the cusp of adulthood when they make their university choice, and that choice is often influenced and guided by parents and school or Foundation level teachers. One can speculate that this decision maybe bounded by, among other things, parental income and expectations. For example, a London university and associated living costs may be considered prohibitively expensive, there maybe no one from the family network in London to offer advice or act as a possible example. London may not be a place where members of the student's family think of themselves as existing. When guided by teachers, this guidance is dependent on the teacher's knowledge of both the characteristics and capabilities of the student and the characteristics of the courses on offer. Graduates at the age of 21-22 still have a limited set of experience from which to draw in the decision-making process, and the majority of their experiences are still childhood ones. The influence of childhood and young adulthood experience is as yet unexplored in the creative worker migration literature.

As well has showing low levels of mobility, and also contrary to Florida's (2002) thesis, the majority of the literature on creative worker migration find that creative workers are attracted to a place by traditional 'hard' factors: job opportunities, housing costs, and factors relating to lifecycle stage (Vossen, Sternberg and Alfken, 2019; Brown, 2015; Lawton *et al*., 2013; Bennett, 2010; Hansen and Niedomysl, 2009; Houston *et al*., 2008).

Brown (2015) is typical in this; drawing from in-depth interviews with international creative workers in Birmingham, she found factors relating to lifecycle position, higher education, career opportunities, employment and cost of housing were significant. Additionally, she found other, non-economic factors played a role in decisions to remain in the city: job satisfaction and complex and entwined personal and professional networks.

In Stockholm, Borén and Young (2013) also found a mixed set of reasons for migrating that could not be reduced to a simplistic set of assumptions. For the artists in their study, choices were bounded by structural constraints, for example needing to be in Stockholm to access funding and exhibit work. Mobility was also connected to life-stage, and starting a family was found to reduce mobility: 'artists chose Stockholm because they had friends and relations there with whom they could build family lives for their children' (Boren and Young, 2013, p. 203). Hansen and Niedomysl (2009) found the differences between factors that attract creative and non-creative workers in Sweden to be marginal, and that most migration activity for creative workers happens after graduation. The primary reasons for migration were for employment opportunities followed by social reasons, then education and housing.

In Berlin, while creative and non-creative workers in general located in a neighbourhood for similar reasons, non-creative workers were more attracted by the open-minded atmosphere of an area, whereas creative workers were more attracted by proximity to friends and family, suggesting that creative workers have strong social attachments within their neighbourhoods (Heerden, 2014). Moving to live with a partner has also been found as a motivation for creative worker migration (Lawton et al., 2013; Grant and Buckwold, 2013; Borén and Young, 2013; Verdich, 2010) and wanting to be close to a partner's wider family has contributed to reasons for remaining in a city (Lawton, Murphy and Redmond, 2013). In Birmingham international creative workers, who were all childless at the time of interview, indicated that they would consider returning home when

they start a family (Brown, 2015). Migration decisions are often made by couples in a partnership or family, a factor that has been highlighted in some of the literature, though migration decisions have not been studied specifically from this perspective.

'Personal trajectory' has also emerged as a factor (Chow, 2017; Dai *et al.*, 2012; Chapain and Comunian, 2010; Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010). Personal trajectory is defined as 'the attachment of a person to geographical location resulting from his/her previous life course' (Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010, p.860). The elements relating to personal trajectory are listed as 'born here', 'family here', 'studied here' and 'proximity to friends'. Personal trajectory factors were found to the most high-ranking factors for residing in cities across Europe, in a study that surveyed creative workers in eleven cities across Europe (Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010). As the majority lived in the city they were born in, grew up in, or studied in, the authors argue that creative workers did not engage in a process of choosing to move to a city based on comparative advantages or disadvantages. They found some variation across Europe: family networks were especially important in Southern and Eastern Europe, whereas social networks play a stronger role in the North. These findings highlight the culture of residential stability in Europe: most professionals settle in places with strong family and social connections (Favell, 2008). With this in mind, Martin-Brelot *et al.* (2010) question the applicability of Florida's (2002) policies in countries with different cultural and political environments to North America, and in countries where cities have varying historic pathways in urban development. Martin-Brelot *et al.*'s (2010) study did not include the UK, however attachment to place is understood as an important dynamic in UK migration (Chapain and Comunian, 2010).

Attachment to place and the 'personal dimension' has been highlighted as a factor in the location of creative workers in Birmingham and Newcastle-Gateshead, in a study by Chapain and Comunian (2010). The authors found many interviewees were native to the city they worked in and had strong

attachments to place. Attachments were linked to their social networks and their sense of identity and community. In Newcastle-Gateshead, creative workers related to the character of the people in the city, its cultural assets and industrial past, as well as quality of life factors including access to nature and pace of life. The study also reported on a complex love-hate relationship with London, whereby individuals positioned themselves in opposition to London. This was present most notably in Newcastle-Gateshead, and to a lesser extent in Birmingham. Being located outside of London had the advantages of lower overheads and running costs. With fewer competitors in the city, a location away from London also enabled creative workers to be big fish in a smaller pond. These UK based findings strongly echo those on attachment to place and social networks across Europe (Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010). However, familism varies across the UK and is higher in the North of England compared with London (Fielding, 2012); the specific dynamic in Bristol is unknown.

The literature on attachment to place makes the link between place, mobility and identity (Savage, 2010; Easthope, 2009; Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2005; Easthope, 2004; Tuan, 2001), but contrasting with Florida's (2002) theory, identity is intimately linked to early life and social class. Using Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus, Easthope (2004) argues that 'habitus is intrinsically connected to the concept of 'rootedness': being at home in a particular place in an unselfconscious way' (Easthope, 2004, p.133). A sense of place is developed out of a feeling of comfort and belonging, and a sense that the elements of one's own identity are symbolised by certain qualities of a place (Easthope, 2004; Rose, 1995). In some cases people identify themselves as different to a particular place and the people in it (Easthope, 2004). Savage (2010; 2005), argues that personal attachment to place manifests itself in different ways according to class background. He makes a distinction between middle-class incomers to a place, and working class 'dwellers' who have remained living in one place throught their lives. Using the concept of 'elective belonging' he describes the way middle-class migrants use their knowledge of a range of locations to

discern between them, and actively select a place to live. They then tie their identities to their chosen location by telling stories that attach themselves to the place.

> Individuals attach their own biography to their 'chosen' residential location, so that they tell stories that indicate how their arrival and subsequent settlement is appropriate to their sense of themselves. People who come to live in an area with no prior ties to it, but who can link their residence to their biographical life history, are able to see themselves as belonging to the area. This kind of elective belonging is critically dependent on people's relational sense of place, their ability to relate their area of residence against other possible areas, so that the meaning of place is critically judged in terms of its relational meanings. (Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2005, p.29)

Savage (2010) argues that what matters most in a middle-class person's location choice is a sense that they live in a place appropriate to their social background. The middle-class are enthusiastic about the places they live in, but this enthusiasm is not related to the people or historical traditions of the place, and instead is more connected to the beauty of the physical landscape, the history of the buildings, and their own conscious decision to settle in and take ownership of a place. As such, place is a 'landscape construed as a destination on a personal map, a landmark on their personal journey' (Savage, 2010, p.118). Dwellers, on the other hand, are attached to a place as a site of memories, family history and personal connections. Some dwellers, Savage describes, are nostagic for a lost past, and a sense of a lost community, whereas others are content and happy with what they have. Unlike Florida's theory of identity and mobility, in the attachment to place literature, adherence to social class norms, and the influence of family and early socialisation are important in people's location outcomes.

This section has explored the literature on creative worker migration. Three important factors emerge. Firstly, contrary to Florida's (2002) assertion that

creative workers are highly mobile and disassociate themselves from strong-ties, being close to family and friends, and attachment to place are found to be important. Though highlighted, personal and social factors remain underexplored, particularly those relating to the family. Secondly, little is known about the long term sequential migration trajectories of UK creative workers, or their relationship to place. Third, migration patterns vary between, and within countries. To give context to designers' migration patterns into Bristol, the next and last section of this review considers internal migration dynamics specific to the UK.

2.8   UK Internal Migration Patterns

Mr Cameron could learn from Paul Phillips, head of Weston College in Weston-Super-Mare, the sort of town that turns poor white children into poor white adults. He's brave enough to say that family and community are often the biggest obstacles to poor white kids getting ahead. Some adults with no experience of higher education naturally struggle to explain its merits to their children – especially when it comes with a five-figure price tag. Others just can't bear the thought of their kids moving away from the place their family has called home for generations (Kirkup, 2016, no page number).

Viewed as a whole, the major focus of migration literature is international migration, with far fewer studies into internal migration. This may be due to policy needs and funding priorities: international migration has been considered more important to study. It is worth noting however, that the majority of migration is internal (King and Conti, 2013). Research into UK internal migration has mainly been undertaken at the national level, with a regional focus on London and its role as an 'escalator region' for social mobility (Fielding, 1992). The research is overwhelmingly quantitative, drawing on large data sets including the UK Census, British Household Panel Study, British Social Attitudes Survey and the Higher Education Statistics Agency. In general terms the literature considers migration moves of long

and short distances separately, and focuses on various characteristics of the migrants, mainly: age, gender, social economic group, education, tenure and ethnicity.

One of the major criticisms levied at Florida, and at neoclassical migration theories in general, is the assumption that migration patterns observed in one country may be replicated wholesale in another. Internal migration dynamics in UK indeed fall into a different pattern to that of the US. Unlike the US, which has relatively high rates of mobility (Drinkwater and Ingram, 2009; Hughes and McCormick, 1991), overall migration levels in the UK are low, and have remained steadily so over time (Fielding, 2012; Dennett and Rees, 2010; McCormick, 1997). Other factors, specific to the UK, impact on internal migration flows: economic cycles, social class, policy decisions, housing, and the dominance of London (Fielding, 2012). What follows is an overview of the issues that impact on internal migration in the UK, to provide a context for the migration of designers in this PhD study. It is by no means an exhaustive review.

UK internal migration has remained at a steady low level since the Second World War (Fielding, 2012), despite changes in technology (Winkler, 2017), household structure (Feijten and van Ham, 2010), tenure (Lennartz, Arundel and Ronald, 2015), and an increase in flexible working and working from home (Green and Shuttleworth, 2015). However, patterns of internal migration in the UK have changed since the oldest interviewees in this study were born in the 1950s. The main difference during this time has been in North to South migration. Census data in the period 1960-90 show movement from high unemployment areas in the north of England, into the South and East (Gordon and Molho, 1998). Migration from the north was not, as may be expected in the neoclassical model, the migration of the manual workers who suffered high rates of unemployment, but by middle-class workers fleeing de-industrialising regions (McCormick, 1997). After 1991 the trend for North to South migration ceases (Gordon and Molho, 1998), and between 2001- 2010, the North had low losses or gains, and low

population turnover (Fielding, 2012). The areas with the greatest gains are the South East and, significant to this PhD study, the South West (Fielding, 2012; Dennett and Rees, 2010). Reasons for this relate to housing and will be discussed in more detail below. A constant in UK migration dynamics is the central role of London, which will also be discussed in detail in the following sections. But first, drawing mainly on Fielding (2012), are national issues relating to the economy, policy and class, which impact on UK internal migration.

In his detailed account of UK internal migration, Fielding (2012) maps how short, medium, and long term economic cycles impact on migration. These cycles are highly relevant to this PhD study, which analyses migration trajectories that stretch from the post-war period until 2017, and so are impacted by short, medium and long-term cycles. In the short term, migration rates react to changes in the economy: slowing down in periods of economic recession, and increasing during phases of economic growth. In the medium term, slower changes are associated with economic restructuring. Fielding identifies four overlapping periods of change in the UK. First is from the end of the Second World War until the 1970s when rural agricultural workers, and workers from old and declining industries migrated to high-growth metropolitan city regions, where a Fordist mode of manufacturing produced standardised products for the mass market (e.g. cars and white goods). The second period is 1955 - 1990 when companies grew to become multi-locational, with, typically, head offices in London, research and development along the M4 and M11 corridors, and assembly and back office activities in old industrial regions such as South Wales or North East England. At this time professional, managerial and technical staff became more mobile, and manual worker migration declined. The third period is between 1975-2010 when there was a disconnection between the economic activities happening within regions, and also between regions. London and the South East, in its capacity as a global financial centre, becoming almost separate from the rest of the country.

The fourth period identified by Fielding (2012) is 1995 - 2012, and he highlights two changes: first the production of immaterial goods became more profitable than material goods. Second, the renewed importance of rent, and rent-seeking behaviour. He identifies London as a central magnet for those seeking to profit in both regards. Important to migration from London to the South West, was the rise of unearned income as a share of total income: income from rent, or increase in house value, enabled a move from London to the South West, often despite low economic activity in receiving areas. 'This extremely significant, but surprisingly unrecognized, change partially explains the net migration gains of the UK's high-amenity regions such as South West England' (Fielding, 2012, p.106). This finding highlights a possibility that for designers in this study, migrations to the city of Bristol may be enabled by an unearned income.

Long-term cyclical changes are what Fielding calls 'deep structural forces' (Fielding, 2012, p.106). These relate to: immigration and the trend for out migration in areas that have high levels of foreign-born residents; pressures to migrate because of poverty or inequalities of wealth distribution in the UK; and because of insecurity, for example the migration away from the north of Ireland by those seeking to escape the impacts of conflict. Fielding (2012) also highlights the role of public policy on migration, arguing that the post-war governments were interventionist in terms of internal migration. Slum clearances and the development of new towns drove migration of some working class people, while the rules on access to social housing, and the decline in social housing stock, inhibited the mobility of others. Over the long term, difficulties in getting land released for new house building has led to a chronic inadequate supply of housing, maintaining high house prices and limiting opportunities for migration. A further major structural force identified by Fielding is the role of London as an escalator region.

Fielding's (1992) theory of London as an escalator region for social mobility is based on UK census data gathered between 1971 and 1981, the time some interviewees in this PhD were leaving home for work or university. It

characterises London and the South East as a region where young workers migrate at the start of their working lives, ambitious to pursue career advancement. At the same time they are able to purchase property in an area of London where land prices were set to rise, so enabling advancement up the property ladder. Social mobility comes about through a dual acceleration up the career and housing ladders. In the middle to late stages of their careers, these workers migrate out of the region, cashing in their assets and buying a cheaper property in an area with lower living costs, stretching their income further. At this point they may embark on a new career or business venture. 'The product of the realization of these assets would be the establishment for the individual of a position of high social status and/or considerable economic security and influence in an environmentally-attractive non-escalator region' (Fielding, 1992, p.4). Fielding also discusses in more general terms the link between migration and class in the UK. He describes middle-class life histories as multi-locational:

> Embedded in the very notion of a middle-class person is the expectation that the relationship of that individual with the place or region of residence will be qualitatively different from that of a working class person (Fielding, 1992, p.14).

In a middle-class biography, moving to other regions for higher education and to progress careers is the norm. Many middle-class individuals also form households with middle-class partners from other regions, furthering their spatial knowledge and connections. Through migration, the middle class gather knowledge of non-local information, codes, rules and systems of thought and behaviour. As well as being shaped by the regions in which they are formed, the middle-class also play a part in shaping the regions in which they reside through the nature of their work and lifestyles (Fielding, 1992). In contrast, the working class biography is characterised by spatial stability and local knowledge. Routes into the middle-class are through education, promotion to managerial roles and self employment, all of which, Fielding

argues, require non-local knowledge, thus social mobility is inhibited for working class people who lack this form of cultural capital (Fielding, 1992).

Short and long distance moves are intimately connected with tenure, education and socio-economic group. Long distance moves are most commonly undertaken by those who are home owners (Clark and Huang, 2004), have high levels of education (Faggian, McCann and Sheppard, 2007) and belong to the middle classes (Fielding, 1995). Short distance moves on the other hand are more often made by people who rent homes (Friedman and Macmillan, 2017; Clark and Huang, 2004). The majority of migration in the UK however, is of short, not long distances (Nowok *et al.*, 2013; Boyle *et al.*, 2002). Long and short distance migration was given a gendered interpretation by Beshers (1967), who hypothesised that in a typical household, as long distance migrations are for employment, migration is driven by the decision making of the husband, the dominant earner. Short-distance migrations were instead hypothesised to be driven by the housing preferences of the wife. Since Beshers, findings of unequal gendered outcomes of migration have emerged. The literature finds that in households formed by heterosexual couples, long distance household migration is beneficial to the careers of men, and deleterious to that of women, even when the female is the dominant earner (Boyle *et al.*, 1999).

Reasons for this inequality, it is suggested, are due to the socialised sex roles within the family, and the associated expectation that women will follow men; that couples make a compromise for the greater economic good of the family unit, with women making greater compromises than men; and that women are more likely to be employed in female dominated occupations, which characteristically are lower paid, less secure, with fewer opportunities for promotion. As such female careers are less likely to benefit from migration (Perales and Vida, 2013; Boyle *et al.*, 1999; Bielby and Bielby, 1992). With these gender inequalities in mind, Halfacree (1995) questioned the neoclassical assumption that migration equates to career and financial betterment, arguing instead that migration should be viewed

as a negative force in this regard: that in western societies, household migration serves to maintain patriarchal structures (Halfacree, 1995). In the Netherlands, the advantages of migration were found to be more equal in 1996 than 1977, due, it is argued, to a change in the power balance within heterosexual couples (Smits, Mulder and Hooimeijer, 2003). In the UK however, such equalities have not been reported, to the contrary, household long distance migration continues to be more beneficial to men (Perales and Vida, 2013). If creative workers are highly mobile as Florida (2002) suggests, migration may be contributing factor to the gender imbalance in the creative industries.

This section has reviewed the literature on UK internal migration dynamics and highlights a number of factors that are particular to the UK: migration rates are low and have remained so over time; social class is a key driver of migration patterns; the link between migration and housing is strong; migration responds to short, medium and long term economic cycles; and that for heterosexual couples, migration benefits men more than women. It is only with this understanding of the UK internal migration dynamics that it is possible to analyse the migration trajectories of designers in this study.

2.9   Research Questions

To summarise, creative workers are theorised as highly mobile, and as disembedded, psychologically and spatially, from their families, friends and places of origin, and from traditional familial identities and expectations (Florida, 2002). Empirical evidence gathered internationally does not support this claim, showing low rates of migration and strong attachments to place. In the UK context both migration, and creative work are shown be more complex than Florida's (2002) theory suggests. Access into creative work is found to be based on privilege rather than meritocracy (eg. Banks, 2017; O'Brien *et al.*, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013) and family of origin and social class are found to be influential in occupation trajectories opportunities. Social class is also a major factor in UK internal migration

dynamics, as are housing costs and the unequal distribution of wealth (Fielding, 2012).

 The role of early life (from birth until university age) in the migration and occupation dynamics of UK creative workers is little explored, and research has yet to consider the three dynamics together. With the exception of Faggian, Comunian and Li. (2014), who studied the sequential migration patterns of arts and culture graduates from beginning university until six months after graduation in 2006/2007, creative worker migration is usually concerned with A to B migration. Migration patterns over the lifespan are so far missing from the literature. This PhD study addresses this gap. It takes a biographical approach (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993) to understand the complexity of reasons for migration and occupation choices in the context of the biographical trajectory, and within their historical, political and social contexts. The research asks two main questions:

1. What are designers' migration and occupation trajectories over their lifetime?

2. What is the connection between early life (from birth until university age) and subsequent migration and occupation outcomes?

The aim of this research is to offer an explanation of how designers migrate and maintain careers as designers over their lifespans, to elucidate the mechanisms that underlie migration and occupations outcomes, and to reflect on the ways in which these dynamics operate to include some and excluded others. The following section outlines the methods and methodology utilised in this research.

3 Methods and Methodology

This chapter outlines the method and methodology employed in this research. The PhD takes a biographical approach to migration, and is an analysis of in-depth interviews. The aim of the research is to understand designers' migrations within their social, political and economic contexts, and within context of the designers' own biographical trajectories. The research makes a retroductive analysis to understand common mechanisms that underlie migration. The first section of this chapter sets this PhD thesis within the differing theoretical and philosophical perspectives in the related literature, then details the critical realist perspective taken for this research. The second section describes the methodology used for gathering and analysing in-depth interviews, including ethical concerns and issues of quality, validity and reliability.

3.1 Research Method

The creative class theory (Florida, 2002), and the traditional (Ravenstein, 1889) and human capital (Sjaastad, 1962) migration theories to which it is often contrasted, come from a positivist position in economic geography. Indeed, economic geography and migration research have been dominated by positivism (Iosifides, 2011; Shepard, 2001). As realists, positivists understand the world to exist in a single, objective reality which can be studied through direct, neutral observations of empirical data. Research is concerned with the production of laws ('if a then b'), and the testing of laws through verification and confirmation, using a hypothetico-deductive model (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson, 1998). Positivist migration research studies the 'immediately observable and measurable, quantifying migration and presenting the resulting patterns of flows' (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson, 1998, p.62). The 'law' in traditional migration theory is that

individuals migrate for increased income (Ravenstein, 1889). In the human capital theory, the 'law' states that individuals make a cost/benefit analysis of migration, and move to a location that offers the greatest financial and psychic returns over time (Sjaastad, 1962). In the creative class theory, the 'law' is that creative workers migrate differently to the rest of the population, seeking cities where their identities as creative workers can be validated (Florida, 2002). These three theories are rooted in neoclassical economics and are based on the modelled behaviour of the individual economic actor. Positivist, neoclassical research typically analyses large quantitative datasets (e.g. census data) to research migration at a national or international level.

Neoclassical theories conceive migration as a response to a need or want, and studies are mainly concerned with singular A to B migrations at an aggregate level, abstracted from context (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993; Greenwood, 1975). The theories hold the notion that migration serves as an equilibrating mechanism in a dynamic economy (Sjaastad, 1962). Because of the methodological individualism inherent in neoclassical migration theories (Iosifides, 2011), historical contexts, political, structural and cultural factors that may impact migration are excluded, and the theories are criticised for operating at a level of abstraction which bare little resemblance to reality (King, 2012; Iosifides, 2011; Arango, 2000). The creative class theory is built upon the statistical analysis of quantitative survey data. In the explication of his theory, Florida (2002) refers to interviews and focus groups conducted for his research, but despite this, to regard his study as mixed methods research would be a mistake. Florida offers no details of the methodology used for his qualitative data collection or analysis. Rather, qualitative data serves not even to illustrate, but is commandeered to the lowly job of decoration, and appears as no more than anecdotal evidence to support his claims, and not as a genuine enquiry to gain deeper insight.

In taking positivist approach to research into creative worker migration, a researcher would focus on establishing primary causal factors for migration and testing the creative class theory against traditional theory: do creative workers move for jobs or amenities (for example see Lawton, Murphy and Redmond, 2013). Such research would lead to findings that leave other factors that may influence migration obscured from view, hindering attempts to understand the complexity of migration decisions, or the context in which decisions were made. Analysing only a to b migration would prevent the researcher from understanding a migration as part of a sequence of moves across an individual's life span, and would miss any migration patterns that emerge over time.

Research from an phenomological perspective would perspective present interviewees' varied reasons for a singular migration to a specific place (for example see Brown, 2015; Borén and Young, 2013; Verdich, 2010). Within phenomenology, interpretivism and constructionism share a rejection of positivism, but differ in ontological assumptions. Interpretivism conceives reality as existing in humans' shared interpretations and meanings. Social constructionism and post-structuralism, conceive reality as existing as language, semiosis and discourse (Iosifides, 2017).

For example, Verdich (2010) in her study into creative worker migration in Launceston, Australia, set out to understand, through in-depth interviews, factors that attracted creative individuals to locate in Launceston. The paper contains no reference to its theoretical underpinnings, but a few key points are indicative of an interpretivist viewpoint. The use of in-depth interview data was claimed to have 'produced a series of narratives used to evaluate how individuals perceive their migration experiences and the place in which they live' (p.133) and a discussion is set out around how individuals 'perceive' quality of life. Verdich makes a descriptive case study of creative workers who are found to hold different values and motivations for migration than those set out by Florida (2002). By taking this approach, findings privilege human agency over historical, structural and material

conditions and interviewees' interpretations of reality are presented uncritically. Multiple realities are explored, rather than alternative interpretations of the same reality. Further, this interpretivist approach provides no explanation of any underlying mechanisms for migration.

3.1.1   Critical Realist Meta-Theory

This PhD research draws its meta-theoretical assumptions from critical realism. A critical realist approach enables the researcher to analyse qualitative data in a way that goes beyond description, and to offer an explanation of designers' migration and occupation trajectories within their historical, social and political contexts. Using this approach, it is possible to analyse relationships and interactions that cause people to migrate over time and to unearth underlying issues, such as class, ethnicity or gender, that may underly migration patterns (Collinson, 2009). The researcher can make a critical interpretation of interviewee's meaning and presentation and relate them to wider social and historical contexts to which the interviewees may not themselves have made reference. The aim is not to create a rule that can predict future migrations, but to understand the patterns and connections that emerge within the migrations of the research participants' trajectories. This approach allows for a more complex and nuanced understanding of creative worker migration in the UK than would be possible if analysing only singular reasons for migration abstract of context, or if providing an uncritical description of interviewees migration movements'

Although critical realism is not a traditional approach in migration research, the case for critical realism in migration studies has been made by Iosifides (2011) and Bakewell (2010). Iosifides considers critical realism as an alternative to positivist and phenomenological approaches (Iosifides, 2017; 2011), and Bakewell (2010) argues for critical realism as a suitable approach for the analysis of structure and agency in migration decisions. Like positivism, critical realism holds a realist ontology: reality exists external to the human mind, but there are crucial differences with positivism in ontological and epistemological assumptions. Critical realism

makes the distinction between what exists (ontology) and how it can be known (epistemology), whereas positivism – and phenomenology – elide the two (Sayer, 2000). Ontology in critical realism has depth. Reality is not limited to the observable empirical level, but exists at three levels:

1. The empirical: experiences, concepts and signs
2. The actual: events that happen, perceived or not
3. The real: mechanisms that produce events

(Bhaskar, 1979)

The job of social science from a critical realist perspective is '*to investigate and identify relationships and non-relationships, respectively, between what we experience, what actually happens, and the underlying mechanisms that produce events in the world*' (Danermark *et al.*, 2002, p.21, emphasis in the original). Rather than seeking 'laws' operating in a stable, closed system, it looks for generative mechanisms operating in open systems (Iosifides, 2011). An open system is dynamic and formed of a number of generative mechanisms. Similar events may occur due to different mixes of mechanisms, and conversely different mixes may also result in a variety of outcomes. Open systems allow for: stability and irregularity in events; uncertainty of outcomes; complex causation; and the possibility of change to aspects within the system, which can lead to the transformation of the system (Morgan, 2016). This conception of an open system is radically different to the stable closed system concept used within positivism.

Epistemologically, empirical observations take the form appropriate to the topic of study and may be extensive (quantitative) or intensive (qualitative). Maintaining that knowledge of reality is always conceptually mediated, critical realism makes a distinction between the transient and the intransient. The intransient is reality as it exists separate to theory. The transient is our ways of understanding reality, which is always theory driven and likely to change over time. As the world is emergent and evolving, so research is always contextual and historically based. New

knowledge developed from research also has the potential to change social reality, and so is a part, not separate from the social world (Iosifides, 2011; Scott, 2005). As any study of reality is always undertaken from the social position of the researcher, reflexivity is needed to ensure that one's position is not unduly projected onto one's object of study, and to consider whether one's position has a positive or negative influence on research findings (Sayer, 2000). The researcher remains aware that the object of study is part of a larger reality that is unobservable, and so absolute knowledge of reality is not possible, meaning that research is always fallible:

> Critical realism is critical then because any attempts at describing and explaining the world are bound to be fallible, and also because those ways of ordering the world, its categorisations and the relationships between them, cannot be justified in any absolute sense, and are always open to critique and their replacement by a different set of categories and relationships (Scott, 2005, p. 635).

A critical realist meta-theory is not often found in migration research but can be found. For example, it is implicitly present in Collinson's (2009) rationale for political economy approach to migration analysis. Collinson argues that as 'the relationships and interactions that cause people to migrate (or not) are played out over time', migration moves need to be analysed within a historical perspective (Collinson, 2009, p.10). She further argues that attention must be paid to power structures and relations, the agency of the actor, and the interactions between the two. ''Migrants' or households' abilities to exercise power to pursue particular migration or other strategies can be understood in relation to the differential constraints and opportunities created by the power that groups exert *over* each other. These are shaped and mediated by a variety of social institutions such as gender, class or ethnic identity' (Collinson, 2009, p. 10). Migration research from this perspective aims to be:

- Contextually-specific

- Explanatory as well as descriptive in orientation

- Dynamic – both in terms of time (diachronic) and in terms of interactions between actors, institutions and structures (synchronic)

- Historically grounded

- Actor-oriented

- Concerned with agency as well as structure within social, economic and political processes

- Explicitly concerned with linking between micro, meso and macro levels

(Based on Collinson, 2009, p.14)

In the process of research design, data gathering and analysis, abductive and retroductive modes of inference are employed with the aim of generating new theoretical insights (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012; Iosifides, 2011). Abductive analysis 'specifically aims at generating novel theoretical insights that reframe empirical findings in contrast to existing theories' (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012, p.174). Unlike deductive analysis, which is concerned with theory driven hypotheses testing, or inductive analysis which attempts to derive theory from data (grounded theory), the abductive process analyses data using a range of theories, looking for surprises which can lead to the creation of new insights and theories. This requires the researcher to start from a position which is both theoretically informed and theoretically agnostic (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). Retroductive reasoning involves moving beyond description and analysis of phenomena to using counterfactual thinking to reconstruct the conditions that were necessary for these phenomena to exist, and then to argue towards transfactual conditions (Danermark *et al.*, 2002). Iosifides notes that critical realists make iterative use of induction, deduction and abduction to facilitate retroductive thinking (Iosifides, 2011, p.135). The use of abductive and retroductive methods enable the researcher to move beyond empirical description and to a mode of analysis that has explanatory potential.

Qualitative data is viewed and analysed differently by the critical realist. Unlike an interpretivist approach, which would present descriptive 'facts' emergent from interviewees' accounts (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012), the critical realist instead makes an interpretation of the interviewees' interpretation of events, and relates interview accounts to a wider social and historical context that may not have been referred to within the interview. Iosifides describes the tasks of the researcher in this regard:

> One task would be to interpret the meanings and presentations of immigrants in order to understand, through somehow empathising with them, their motives, intentions aspirations, social circumstances and events. Another task would be to place those meanings within the context of the whole biographical trajectory so as to be able to gain insights into the relations between meanings, representations, social circumstances and events. But the realist task would be more than that, notably to be able to explain causally certain outcomes that are world views, social relations and/or action changes which are directly or indirectly derived from biographies (Iosifides, 2011, p.52).

Holding a critical realist meta-theory, rather than taking a polarised (positivist) view of jobs or amenities as factors of attraction in migration decisions, the researcher is looking to understand how forces interact to produce outcomes within a particular historical context. Using in-depth interviews and taking a biographical approach, migration is situated within the everyday life of the migrants, enabling the large number of issues 'entangled in and expressed through the migration' to be explored (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993, p.339). Fielding (2012) argues for a 'triple biography approach, in which interviewees detail:

1. Education, training and work.
2. Personal relationships and family formation.
3. The places in which they have resided.

He claims that when put together, patterns and connections emerge. 'While broad economic and social forces matter enormously as the main drivers of internal migration in the UK, so also do the myriad particularities of individual migration decision' (Fielding, 2012, p.126). In Halfacree and Boyle's (1993) argument for the need for a biographical approach in migration studies, they highlight three key points. First migration is not a single, isolated action but part of a biographical trajectory, and so any migration should be understood within this context. Second, that reasons for migration are complex, not singular as neoclassical theories suggest. A biographical approach enables an understanding of the multiple reasons for migration. Third, the authors draw on Bourdieu's conception of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984; 1977), arguing that migration decisions relate to, and reproduce, social structures and cultural norms around migration. Habitus is one's taken for granted world, which has existed since birth, is constructed in one's mind and through one's interactions, and is at the same time reconstructed through one's actions (Bourdieu, 1977). Early home life is of upmost importance:

> ...the habitus acquired in the family underlies the structuring of school experiences (in particular the reception and assimilation of the specifically pedagogic message), and the habitus transformed by schooling, itself diversified, in turn underlies the structuring of all subsequent experiences (e.g. the reception and assimilation of the messages of the culture industry or work experiences), and so on, from restructuring to restructuring (Bourdieu, 1977, p.87).

To situate migration within the context of habitus enables an understanding of how the act of migration has meaning to the migrant, and the ways in which migration makes sense as a strategy of action. Taking this approach Ni Laoire (2000) states that this perspective allows for the contextualisation of migration 'within the institutional structures of everyday life' (Ni Laoire, 2000, p.235).

3.2 Research Methodology

This PhD research is an analysis of 63 in-depth interviews with designers and other figures in the design industry, who have lived or worked in the city of Bristol. 60 of the interviews were conducted by me in 2014-2016 for Bristol and Bath by Design (Parraman *et al.*, 2016), an AHRC funded report into the value and impact of design in the Bristol and Bath region. The original focus of the interviews for Bristol and Bath by Design was not migration or occupation dynamics, but to understand the ways in which design firms and individuals create value in the region. As I am an interviewer with a previous profession as a life-story interviewer, interviews were conducted from a biographical perspective, and with an understanding that the data collected may be useful to other research for different purposes in different contexts. During the course of the interviews, often as device to relax the interviewees in the first minutes of the interview, participants were asked where they came from, their migration trajectories into Bristol, and details about their education and occupation trajectories.

In response interviewees talked, often at length, about their experiences of design in their childhood home and school, their decision to study design, university choices, house purchases, and their relationships with family and friends. It is this rich data that this PhD thesis focuses upon. Although the theme of migration is lightly touched upon in the Bristol and Bath by Design report (Parraman *et al.*, 2016), this PhD thesis makes an analysis of the data from a significantly different perspective and theoretical framework. The aim of the thesis is not to map design in Bristol, or measure the value of design to the city as was the case in the Bristol and Bath by Design report (Parraman *et al.*, 2016) , but to understand the backgrounds, motivations and migration paths of the designers themselves.

Three further interviews were conducted solely for this PhD research in 2017-18. The interviewees were selected using purposive sampling – participants were selected based on their relevance to theory in an attempt

to find alternative explanations for emergent phenomena (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). One participant was selected to offer a female perspective on working in the design industry, another the perspective of a migrant from the north of England, and another due their extensive experience in Higher Education. Participants were sourced through the network previously established by the Bristol and Bath by Design research project.

A decision was made not to conduct further interviews due to changes in the political landscape after the election of Donald Trump in the US, and the Brexit vote and subsequent political impasse in the UK, which significantly changed the context of the interviews. In the 2014-16 period, Barak Obama was President of the United States. In the UK, the coalition government headed by David Cameron, was years into a programme of austerity in the wake of the international banking crisis of 2008/9, Teresa May had implemented a 'hostile environment' policy for immigrants, and Scotland voted to remain in the United Kingdom. At the local level, Bristol was under the direction of its first elected Mayor, George Ferguson. This was very significant for design in the city, as Ferguson himself was an architect and had spearheaded cultural developments in the city, notably the redevelopment of a former tobacco warehouse, the Tobacco Factory, into a theatre and bar. He was also successful in winning the bid to make Bristol the European Green Capital 2015. Interviews for the Bristol and Bath by Design project ended shortly before the election of a new Mayor, Marvin Rees, the first European mayor of black African heritage in 2016, before the 2016 Brexit referendum, before the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States in 2017, and before the #Me Too movement of the same year. These changes in context would significantly impact on designer's interviews, particularly on the themes of migration, gender and race.

Despite these issues, the three interviews conducted in 2017 – 2018 are included in the research as each interviewee provided data that offered significant insight on trends in the data already collected, providing a unique view and enabling an analysis that would not have been possible otherwise.

For example, the migrant who originated in the North offered a key insight on how a return migration to the north was not viable economically or in terms of maintaining job and social position, despite a desire to return to live near family. In a second example, a male interviewee with a long career in higher education gave data on career possibilities for those with caring responsibilities, offering an insight into the possible trajectories of mature female designers, who are not represented in the data. The three additional interviewees were key to the analysis and findings of this research.

Other than the three interviewees discussed above, participants were selected initially through consultation with the Bristol and Bath by Design research team, which was led by co-investigators at the University of the West of England, Bristol University, and Bath Spa University. The co-investigators were academics across the disciplines of art, design, engineering, business and economics, and belonged to an established network of designers in the city. Indeed, the AHRC and the Design Council had selected the research team because of their strong network connections in the city. Consultation was also made with the project's partners: the Local Enterprise Partnership, and other local industry bodies, who also made suggestions of individuals to approach for interview. A long list of potential interviewees was drawn up, and representatives of six key industries (listed below) were selected.

1. Engineering, Aerospace, Product and Package Design
2. Multidisciplinary Design Studios
3. Animation, Motion Graphics, Media, Publishing
4. Heritage, Architecture, Landscape Design
5. Fashion and Textiles Studios
6. Applied Designer-Maker

A number of other factors were also considered in the process of identifying candidates for interview. Some mature designers who had lived in Bristol throughout their careers were selected because of their senior position and

intimate knowledge of design in the city. Freelancers, who are hard to track in economic data, were also targeted. Not all those interviewed were designers, a small number of participants worked for industry bodies in support roles, and others as non-designers in a design firm. For example, one was an HR manager in a large architectural firm. These interviews have been included in this PhD sample as they provide contrasting examples of migration trajectories (Iosifides, 2011).

Once interviews were underway, a snowballing method (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981) was also partly employed to identify other potential designers for interview. Interviewees were asked to name five designers they considered important to interview, and names that occurred regularly were invited for interview. Because of these techniques, the sample contains individuals who were respected and considered important, knowledgeable and influential by the university, and the design industry network in Bristol. This PhD provides a view from within this network.

Participants were initially approached by email, giving details of the aims and objectives of the research, the handling and storage of data and participants' right to withdraw. Interviews were conducted in the participant's work place, or in offices within the University of the West of England. To ensure participants' full understanding of the research and interview process, hard copies of the information sheet were provided and discussed face to face before recordings were made. Interviews lasted between 1-1.5 hours and were recorded directly onto a UWE laptop. Once the interviews were complete, participants were offered time to reflect on the interview before signing a release form, which included a deadline for their withdrawal of consent. In accordance with UWE guidelines, interview audio files were stored on password protected storage facility hosted by the University of the West of England. Interviews were transcribed, anonymised and the recordings were destroyed. Each interview was labelled by participants' gender, occupation (designer or non-designer) and sector.

The interviews were semi-structured. Again, it is important to note that the interviews were not focused on migration and occupation dynamics. Questions were asked about place of birth and migration trajectories until the time of interview, higher education and occupation choices and experiences to give context to the interview, and as a method to relax the interviewee and gain rapport in the initial stages of the interview. As the researcher I took the role of an active listener who aimed to elicit a biographical account using the least possible questioning or intervention (Iosifides and Sporton, 2009). Questions were open and generative and care was taken not to ask leading questions (Iosifides, 2011; Iosifides and Sporton, 2009). For example, to understand the relationship between early family life and career outcomes, participants were not asked directly about the influence of parents or school, but instead were asked 'where did your interest in design come from?' and 'who encouraged you?' This allowed participants to identify family members, education or other experiences as influential. Once the range of influences were established, follow up questions were asked about parents' backgrounds and their attitudes to the interviewees' career and migration paths. In this way, key themes of the research: family background, gender and class, were not referred to directly by the interviewer until the interviewees made their own references, at which point follow up questions were asked.

In light of critical realism's stance on the positionality of the researcher (Sayer, 2000), it is, perhaps, worth stating (briefly) my own position. I am an insider to my research, having traversed similar education, migration and occupation trajectories as the participants in this study. The question is: does this position negatively influence my research findings. In answer I would say that I was careful not to discuss my own migration or occupation trajectories with interviewees. I presented myself as an academic researcher, rather than as a Bristolian or someone who had performed similar migration and occupation moves as they were describing. My position and experience does though provide a deeper understanding of these trajectories through my own experiences and through close

observation of my peers overtime. This I consider to be of benefit to the analysis and insights in this research.

3.2.1 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was originally given for Bristol and Bath by Design (Parraman *et al.*, 2016) to use data gathered for the project in a way in which identified participants in resultant publications. Ethical approval was later given by UWE for a re-analysis of the data for the purposes of this PhD, and for further interviews to be conducted. In both instances: the initial data gathering for Bristol and Bath by Design, and the three subsequent interviews undertaken solely for this PhD research, participants agreed to their data being used in an identifiable way. However, after a period of reflection during the initial stages of analysis, the decision was taken to anonymise all data. Maintaining anonymity entailed some compromises in the data analysis and presentation. In parts of the analysis presented, details such as exact locations were changed. It is important to note that this was only done when it was considered that information would: a) breach anonymity, and b) the change of information did not impact on the point that was being argued.

This step was necessary as it could be anticipated that participants may in retrospect feel uncomfortable at their identifiable migration and occupation trajectories being under close scrutiny and discussion. Bristol is a city in which, as became evident in the interviews, personal and professional lives over-lap and individuals who hold prominent positions in institutions and companies are well know to each other. This research takes a critical tone and reflects on the ways in which occupation and migration dynamics operate to include some and exclude others. It is important to be critical of social structures, but it is not the aim or intention of this research to identify or vilify individuals. As a further precautionary step, one chapter of the thesis was read by an interviewee whose migration and occupation paths were described. He agreed that his trajectory was correctly represented, and

was happy with the level of anonymity granted. Additionally, he was unable to identify other interviewees included in the chapter.

3.2.2   Analysis

To investigate migration and occupation trajectories over the lifespan and within their historical context, interview data were divided into three generational groups: Baby Boomers, Generation X and Millennials. The study makes use of the concept of generational habitus (Woodman and Wyn, 2015; Eyerman and Turner, 1998), which draws upon the work of Mannheim ([1923]1952) and Bourdieu (1984; 1977). Generations are defined by Mannheim (1952) as a location in history wherein members of a generation encounter the same structural and institutional conditions at similar points in the life course, conditions which are different to that of their parents. A sharing of social conditions during youth can lead to a similar world-view, but a single generation is not a homogeneous entity. Each generation is stratified into 'generational units', e.g. by class, gender and ethnicity, who experience and react to social conditions differently. The concept of generations was linked to Bourdieu's (1984; 1977) concept of habitus by Everyman and Turner (1998), who argued that 'generational cultures become embodied in people's dispositions and postures and these are both historically located and inter-generationally transmitted' (Hoolachan and McKee, 2019, p. 213). A 'generation' is distinct from a 'cohort'. A social generation share social conditions in youth, whereas a 'cohort' are those born in the same year and experience the same life event at the same moment (for example leaving university in the same year) (Hoolachan and McKee, 2019; Woodman and Wyn, 2015). While the dates demarking the beginning and ending of each generation are not fixed, this study classifies the generations by the following birth dates:

Baby Boomer generation – 1945-1965 (Willetts, 2010),

Generation X – 1966-1981 (Katz, 2017b)

Millennials – 1982-2000 (Howe and Strauss, 2000).

As age was not a factor when selecting participants for interview, there is not an even spread of designers across the generational groups (see table 3.1)

Table 3-1 Interviewees by Generational Groups

Generation	Number of Interviewees
Baby Boomer	13
Generation X	33
Millennials	15

Once divided into generational groups the interview transcripts went through three stages of coding. First, to understand the spatiality of migration trajectories and the rates of migration, I coded each transcript for location changes and dates. This enabled the construction of the spatial migration trajectory of each interviewee. A map showing the spatial migration of interviewees in each generation was drawn up using PowerPoint and used to analyse migration patterns. The coding also enabled the construction of tables of mobility rates, showing, for each interviewee, the number of migration moves made at different life stages. The categorisation for life stages was taken from the life-course literature which show low rates of mobility in childhood, higher rates in young adulthood associated with movement for higher education and then decreasing rates of mobility as individuals age and form families (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015). Mobility tables were constructed to show the number of moves in childhood, for higher education (where applicable, not all interviewees attended higher education) and post- higher education. Given Florida's (2002) contention that creative workers are highly mobile, these two forms of coding allowed for an analysis of the spatial dynamics of migration movements, and to compare designers rates of movement with the general population.

Second, to gain a deep familiarisation with the data, each transcript was carefully read through to form an holistic understanding of the ways in which migration made sense as a strategy of action to each interviewee

across their lifespan, and to reflect on the ways in which family of origin were involved in the individual's occupation and migration trajectories. A synopsis was made of each trajectory. This enabled the identification of extreme examples and contrasting trajectories. Extreme examples are useful as they can make the common issues incorporated in migration movements more graspable (Danermark *et al.*, 2002). Contrasting trajectories enable retroductive analysis of common conditions of migration (Iosifides, 2011). As Isoifides notes:

> a comparison between different cases of immigrants regarding their social mobility trajectory in a specific country and area, through detailed biographical interviews, may result in the identification of a series of necessary common factors and conditions facilitating upward or downward mobility irrespective of the exact operation in every case' (Iosifides, 2011, p.176)

Third, interview transcripts were coded using a coding structure derived inductively and from theory. This form of coding facilitated a form of analysis whereby theories could be tested and adapted. Theory derived coding also allowed for realities external to the interview to be considered. Bakewell (2010) comments on this form of coding:

> 'If research categories or coding are established solely by respondents, the analysis tends to revert to individualism, as any structural factors are understood only in relation to individuals rather than exposing emergent properties. Moreover, the development of theory must involve abstraction from the data to postulate causal mechanisms. Naively using the categories arising from respondents bypasses this abstraction, which is likely to leave underlying structural factors unidentified. (Bakewell, 2010, p.1705)

A coding structure was developed based on the themes set out in table 3.2 The structure was shown to a second researcher who gave additional advice

and agreed on the structure and the definition of terms. The interviews were coded and analysed using Excel and Microsoft Powerpoint.

Table 3-2 Coding Structure

Theme	Informative literature
Early life (from birth until university) and career and migration outcomes	Florida, 2002; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999; Flores and Gray, 1999; McRobbie, 2002; McRobbie, 2016; Koppman, 2016; Banks, 2017; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984
Education and career and migration outcomes	Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984; Comunian, Faggian, and Li, 2010; Faggian *et al.*, 2014; Faggian *et al.*, 2013; Banks, 2017; McRobbie, 2016
Class and migration and occupation outcomes	Fielding, 1995; Hughes and McCormick, 1994; O'Brien *et al.,* 2016; Banks, 2017
Gender and migration and occupation outcomes	Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Boyle *et al.*, 1999, Gill, 2002; McRobbie, 2002; McRobbie, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015; Hennekam and Bennett, 2017; Conor *et al.*, 2015
Career changes	Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999; Flores and Gray, 1999; McRobbie, 2002
Migration and tenure	Clark and Huang, 2004; Fielding, 2012, 1992
London as an escalator region	Fielding, 1992; Friedman and Macmillan, 2017

| Migration and economic cycles | Fielding, 2012 |

3.2.3 Quality, Validity and Reliability

This thesis aims to establish causal explanations for migration and occupation outcomes for designers within a specific historic and spatial context. The research is not aiming to offer generalisations applicable to other places in other historical contexts, or predict for the future, as would be the case in positivist neoclassical approaches. In assessing the validity and reliability of qualitative research, one needs to establish the credibility of knowledge claims. For critical realists, knowledge claims are understood to be fallible, but it is acknowledged that some are less fallible than others. Rather than making absolute knowledge claims, research aims to be 'relatively' or 'quite' certain about findings (Iosifides, 2011, p. 220). The validity and reliability of qualitative research can be judged on its adherence to a number of principles:

- Is the methodology transparent and open to scrutiny?
- Is the data used appropriate to the knowledge claims being made?
- Has the threat of researcher bias received consideration
- Have other approaches been appraised and do the research findings offer a more effective explanation of events than other approaches?
- Is the data significantly diverse to offer alternative or contradictory accounts which can be meaningfully compared
  (Isofides, 2011, pp. 219- 227)

In thinking about issues of credibility it is useful to reflect on these measures in relation to the qualitative data presented by Florida (2002). Florida offers no details of the methodology for his data collection and the knowledge claims offered are derived from quantitative data not from a critical analysis of qualitative data. Alternative approaches or theories are not given consideration and accounts come only from a limited range of respondents whose reported experiences fit neatly with Florida's theory.

This PhD thesis differs fundamentally from Florida's in that it approaches the data from a theoretically informed but agnostic position (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). The PhD thesis make an analysis based on data from in-depth interviews offers a detailed exploration of migration and occupation dynamics that would be impossible to derive from quantitative data. Other approaches to the topic thus far have been limited by the quantitative nature of the data, or through taking an interpretivist approach, which is limited by presenting only actors subjective views. The insights garnered from this qualitative study will effectively shed light on aspects of migration and occupation dynamics previously unexplored. Taking a biographical perspective and using data from in-depth interviews enables the 'broader and contextual conditions that made migratory options possible' (Iosifides, 2011) to be highlighted. The deliberate seeking out and inclusion of participants with contrasting trajectories further adds depth and credibility to the findings of this research. Researcher bias has been considered, and my position as an individual who has shared migration, education and professional experiences as the participants in this study has been made clear and reflected on as a positive influence on research findings.

This chapter has given detail to the method and methodology used in this study. Before delving into the designers' migration and occupation trajectories, the following chapter gives context to the city in which they all, at varying times, and for varying periods of time, lived and worked.

4   Bristol, Design and Demographics

This chapter gives context to the city into which the designers in this study, at different times, resided and found employment. The chapter draws on academic and grey literature, and also on the accounts of designers interviewed for this thesis, which combined, form an oral history of design in the city not elsewhere documented. The previous chapters have focused upon the theories and literature on creative work and creative worker migration. This chapter is concerned with the city of Bristol itself. The oldest designers in this study had lived in the city since the late 1950s; the aim of the chapter is to provide some background context to the development of the city from the post-war period until the time of interview in 20014/17.

There is much, at first glance, to suggest that Bristol is an exemplary case of Florida's (2002) creative class theory in action. In the 2000s the creative and cultural industries in Bristol expanded, and there is evidence to suggest that creative workers are in-migrants to the city. Since the 1990s and 2000s, fitting neatly with Florida's (2002) theory, Bristol has gained an international reputation for its 'Bristol sound' (Pride, 1995), and it regularly features in the media as one of the best cities to live in because of its theatres, nightclubs, cycle paths, independent shops and restaurants (O'Malley, 2019; uSwitch, 2015; Booth, 2014; Goss, 2014). Bristol is promoted as open and diverse, with 45 religions, 180 countries of birth, and 91 languages spoken in the city (O'Malley, 2019). The creative and high tech industries are important in these positive portrayals of the city: for example, Aardman's Wallace and Gromit have become unofficial city mascots, and the city has been dubbed 'Silicon Gorge' after being named the UK's fastest growing international region for tech, outside of London (McKinsey and Company, 2014). The small size of the city is seen as a benefit to the creative and high-tech networks. One blogger enthuses:

Bristol's long-standing culture of innovation and collaboration makes for fertile soils for businesses looking to tap into a wealth of diverse talent and expertise. Despite being a city, Bristol's creative industries are a close-knit community, working and networking across a range of collaborative spaces and disciplines. All this gives the startup scene more of a village feel, making it far easier to establish good connections and make a splash (Palmer Brown, 2019).

These celebrated features of the city suggest that creative workers are indeed flocking to live there for the very reasons Florida (2002) suggests. The image of the city is a little more complicated though, as it is also celebrated as having a more radical edge, fighting against the forces of neoliberalism and capitalism, forces which Florida himself is seen to represent (Peck, 2005). This was witnessed in the city's 2011 'Tesco Riots', in which protestors fought the opening of a Tesco store in a high street renowned for its independent shops (Bowcott, 2011). Bristol was the European Green Capital 2015, and has been named the vegan capital of the world (Wynarczyk, 2019). The cities 'creatives' are part of this radical image, as reported in The Guardian newspaper:

In Bristol, there is a shop, Stokes Croft China, that sells fine bone china emblazoned with quotes from Tony Benn, images of the late, local music legend DJ Derek and a photograph of the Queen surrounded by the words: "I eat swans." Affiliated to radical community group the People's Republic of Stokes Croft, this ceramics enterprise – in its improbable mix of craft, creativity and protest – sums up Bristol ... Bristol's refusal to kowtow to the homogenising forces of modern capitalism is a visible, city-wide phenomenon manifested in endless community groups and co-ops. There is a widespread solidarity in the arts, food and music that promotes quality and individual expression, not profit (Naylor, 2016).

The positive image of Bristol portrayed in the media omits other more troubling aspects of the city, and the focus on the city's lively cultural life as a beacon attracting young creative types, denies the importance of its historical development. Bristol is not simply a neutral space recently colonised by incoming creative and tech entrepreneurs, and is not without social tensions.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section focuses on demographic and industrial changes to the city, particularly since the Second World War, and outlines the ways in which design has long been part of Bristol's industrial development. The four sectors of historical relevance are: printing and packaging for cigarette and chocolate processing industries; film/animation/TV; aerospace; and high-tech. The majority of the designers interviewed for this research participated in an arts education; the second section describes changes in art school education since the Second World War, nationally and in the city, and the perception of Bristol Polytechnic (from 1992 the University of the West of England [UWE]) as a traditional institution. This is followed by a section on Bristol's cultural strategy at the turn of the millennium, and the development of the cultural and creative industries from that time. The final section reflects on other aspects of the city that rarely feature in the many celebratory accounts of Bristol as a vibrant and creative city: high costs of housing, low levels of educational attainment, youth unemployment and racial inequalities.

4.1   Bristol's Industrial Landscape

Bristol is one of the UK's eight core cities, it is the sixth largest city in England, and is the regional capital of the west of England (Tallon, 2007). Its population is estimated to be 463,400, including 54,000 students who attend the city's two universities (Bristol City Council, 2019). It is impossible to give any kind of context to the city without starting with its central place in history: Bristol's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. The city's

wealth was built on this trade, and the impacts of the slave trade have been continuously evident in the city's social, educational, political, economic and industrial development since the eighteenth century. Design plays a part in this story. Ships designed and built in Bristol took products including brassware, clothing and fancy goods, made in Bristol and designed to appeal to traders, to West Africa. The goods were exchanged for slaves, who were transported (in the same ships) to America and the Caribbean. Slaves were then exchanged for sugar, tobacco and other luxury goods, which were shipped back into Bristol (Dresser, 2019; Tallon, 2007). These slave-produced goods were processed and packaged in the city. Design is again important at this stage, as it is through the effective design of packaging and advertising that goods were differentiated in the market place.

The long term success of companies such as Will's Tobacco and Fry's Chocolate, drove the printing and packaging industry in the city in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the twentieth century, Bristol firms made use of new technologies and new modes of working to produce cigarette and chocolate packaging and advertising materials. In 1965, 20,000 people were employed in the print trade in Bristol, making it the third largest employer in the city after tobacco and aerospace, a sector that had developed in the city since the First World War (Biszweski, 2018). The city had experienced an economic boom after The Second World War, lasting until the 1960s. Growth during this time was based around the tobacco, food, and printing and packaging industries and aerospace. Growth was also due to an increase in service sector jobs in education, health and local government, and aided by the city's location close to the M4 and M5 motorways, and the opening of the Severn Bridge in 1966 (Sunley, 2017; Tallon, 2007; Bassett, 1993; Boddy and Lovering, 1986). During the 1970s came a decline in traditional manufacturing, the printing and packaging industry dying out almost completely (Biszweski, 2018; Bassett, 1993), and the tobacco and docks industries losing around 48,000 jobs (Bassett, 1996). Due to high levels of spending on defence during the Cold War, the

aerospace sector survived this down turn, keeping the city buoyant during the 1979-81 recession (Bassett, 1993).

A TV/film/animation sector developed around the BBC, which first located in Bristol in 1934. The BBC Natural History Unit was formed in the city in 1957, growing to become the largest wildlife film production unit in the world (Bassett, Griffiths, and Smith, 2002). In the 1970s came two other major companies: HTV were active from 1970, successfully producing children's TV series for national and international markets; and Aardman Animations moved to Bristol in 1976 to make a children's programme for the BBC, before growing to become a world famous children's animation company. In the 1990s procurement rules at the BBC changed, meaning that twenty-five per cent of all outputs were to be contracted to the independent sector. This led to redundancies at the BBC and the proliferation of small production and post-production companies, many of which were set-up by former BBC employees (Bassett, Griffiths, and Smith, 2002). In 2017, the sector was estimated to employ 3,700 people, 1,000 of which worked within the BBC, 1,200 as employees in independent companies and 1,500 as freelance workers (Spicer and Presence, 2017).

On a larger scale, aerospace has long been a major part of Bristol's industrial make-up. Since the early 1900s, the area of Filton in Bristol became home to the design and manufacture of aircraft and other vehicles. In 1965 the Concorde prototype was manufactured in Filton, and took its maiden flight in 1969. In the late 1970s, the date of one of the eldest of the designers interviewed for this research arrived in the city, the aerospace cluster had benefitted from the government funding, research and specialised knowledge that had developed around Concorde. At the forefront of technology, and located close to the Ministry of Defence, the cluster produced silicon chips for defence engineering and designed mini-submarines for undersea exploration. Design had also begun on the Airbus 300, and on other mainstream military programmes (Engineering Designer, Baby Boomer). At its peak during the Second Word War the sector employed

52,000 (Kelly and Richardson, 1996), but employment was down to 21,000 in 1982 (Boddy and Lovering, 1986). In 2019, aerospace and advanced engineering were reported to employ 29,000 people in Bristol (Bristol City Council, 2019).

From the 1970s, the city's high tech sector, based predominantly within the aerospace industry, grew in Bristol after Fairchild Semiconductor located its design office in the city in 1972, followed by the micro-electronics company Inmos in 1978 (Sunley, 2017; Boddy and Lovering, 1986). Fairchild located in Bristol for reasons connected to the founder's personal life:

> Well, Fairchild were here because the guy who set up Fairchild Bristol came from Bristol originally, and there was a certain romantic interest with a woman called Sally and he, when he was asked to set up in the UK, he said to himself "Sally's in Bristol, I'm going to set up in Bristol." (Former Inmos employee, M Shed Bristol, 2014)

The micro-electronics company Inmos was set up with government funding from the National Enterprise Board [NEB] in 1978. The NEB invested 50 million pounds into the start-up company as part of a programme of investment into new industries, in an attempt to maintain UK employment particularly in those areas affected by deindustrialisation (Pemberton, 2016). The decision to base Inmos in Bristol was politically controversial and described as a 'political tug of war' by one interviewee. Some MPs argued for the company to be based in an area suffering industrial decline such as Wales or the North East. Those within the high-tech industry argued that neither location would be attractive to the small number of potential employees with the specialised skills needed for research and development. Despite political pressure, Imnos chose Bristol as the location for its research and development headquarters after a review of surveys on attractive places to live in the UK. Its manufacturing plant was located nearby in Newport, where there was a pre-existing workforce of specialist operatives that could be trained in micro-electronic manufacturing.

In 1985 the cluster was further consolidated when Hewlett Packard located its European research lab in the city. A decision, according to one interviewee, that was made partly due to local council incentives, but also motivated by a personal connection to the city at the top of the company:

> It was always being talked about. It was a little bit of competition, because they looked all over Europe to say, "Where are we going to put our European research labs?" I think within the UK, there was probably competition from Cambridge, of course, maybe the Oxford area. But I think they liked Bristol, partly because I think the Head of Research at the time had some links back to Cornwall, so there was just that little, "Hmm." You'd be surprised how many times the personal links of the people at the top, we ended up, later on, they opened up a Pisa centre in Italy. It just happened that the Head of Research at the time had an Italian parentage. It's like, "Hmm. You can see a little hint here."
> (*High-tech designer, Baby Boomer*)

During the 1980s Bristol became one of the fastest growing regions in the UK. Former employees of the three high-tech firms established many small spin-of companies, and Bristol gained a reputation as a high-tech city (University of Bristol Innovation Centre, 2019; Boddy, 2003). Despite this reputation, growth in employment was in fact due to the growth in business and financial services following the relocation of offices from London to Bristol, and growth in other service sector jobs (Boddy, 2003; Bassett, 1993). With these industrial changes came a shift in the social demographics of the city, and Bristol became increasingly a 'middle-class, professional and white collar city' (Bassett, 1993, p.543). Though there was an influx of middle-class workers, the population of Bristol maintained a steady decline from the mid 1950s until 1990s (Bristol City Council, 2018). The surrounding suburbs and rural fringes in North Somerset and South Gloucestershire however experienced population growth as the population

shifted away from city centre into the 'edge city' developments in these surrounding areas (Sunley, 2017; Tallon, 2007). In the second half of the twentieth century, Bristol, like all UK cities, changed as a result of de-industrialisation. Put in the most simplistic terms, between the 1960s and 1990s Bristol underwent a process of industrial re-structuring where by manufacturing jobs and working class residents were replaced by service sector jobs and middle-class service sector workers.

4.2   The Art School

Alongside aerospace, high-tech and film/TV/animation, another key player in Bristol's design landscape is the city's art college. In 1969 the city centre art school, the Royal West of England Academy, became part of Bristol Polytechnic (later UWE), moving to a new and far larger campus to the southwest of the city. This move was part of a nationwide rationalisation of provincial art colleges and the art school awards system. The implementation of academic entry requirements and the addition of an academic element to the curriculum in the 1960s, led to an increasing alignment of art school education with mainstream higher education. Art schools, including Bristol Polytechnic, began offering degrees courses from 1974 (Beck and Cornford, 2012). The establishment of a new larger campus led to the influx of a greater number of art students and new job opportunities for staff. The first interviewee to move to the city for education did so in 1976. As such, he was one of only the third year of students to undertake an arts degree in the UK.

While undergoing changes in governance, art schools also experienced dramatic changes in curricula. Houghton (2016), in his overview of the art school curriculum, describes how, in the post-war period, two contrasting approaches were incorporated into the curriculum: formalism – a preoccupation with colour, form and shape; and self-expression– improvisation and free association, and a belief that objects produced were linked to the life story of the producer. These approaches were taught

alongside traditional practical skills and the principles of proportion, symmetry, perspective, and foreshortening, taught primarily through drawing. The 1970s saw a further and more radical change, informed by critical theory. The conceptual approach focused on the ideas underpinning an artwork, rather than the material qualities of the artwork itself. These four often contradictory concepts ran alongside each other jostling for a place in each institution's curriculum. In the 1970s, individual institutions, and individual courses within each institution, sat somewhere on a continuum between a traditional skills based approach, and a more conceptually based approach. It was not until later that a fifth element was incorporated: a focus on the professionalization of the artist, and a shift towards an instrumental approach in which the student's future contribution to the economy became paramount (Houghton, 2016).

Designers perceived Bristol as a traditional skills-based institution. The degree courses on offer included Graphic Design, a course from which a number of the interviewees graduated. Interviewees offered differing views on the quality of the teaching, but all identified it as traditional:

> We were blessed by these amazing people that you didn't know how amazing they were until you left. The ethos was that the practical skills the vocational skills the craft skills, they were going to by hook or by crook, they were rammed into us. (Graphic Designer, Baby Boomer)

> Because the course was really dull. It was really ordinary. Coming from Winchester, where all they did was make you think about stuff in a really weird way, they tested you at every turn, Bristol was the direct opposite, where you were just learning hand skills. You were learning how to silk screen, you were learning how to use a camera, you were learning how to do typography – old-school typography. You know, hot type. And it was all very boring. (Animation designer, Baby Boomer)

The course changed in the mid 2000s to become more conceptually based. This change occurred because of changes in the teaching staff, who shifted the course content in line with their own interests:

> It's not a traditional course, we don't do branding projects or identity projects. It's far more based around the subject matter. That subject matter, because we deal with real world issues, tends to be social, political, cultural, environmental as a basis. (Course Tutor, Generation X)

There were very few design companies offering job opportunities to graphic design graduates in city in the 1970s and 80s. Nor were there many studio spaces in which to work; in the mid-80s two interviewees moved into the only studio in the city set up by designers. Interviewees commented on the desultory fate of many of the Graphic Design students who remained in Bristol after graduation at this time: designing adverts for the Yellow Pages.

> … there were independent designers but there were no design businesses nor there were agencies. There were, in terms of graphic design, independent people. I was not aware of any consultancies of anyone more than one. (Graphic Designer, Baby Boomer)

From the 1990s, Bristol's festival events sector grew significantly. The city had long serviced nearby Glastonbury festival, which was first held in 1970, and Bristol has been home to the International Balloon Fiesta since 1979. Specialist knowledge of stage production and site management developed significantly after the 1994 Criminal Justice Bill ended free festivals and raves, and the sector became professionalised. De-politicised and made mainstream, the number of outdoor festivals doubled in the UK between 2005 and 2014 (Anderton, 2019). In 2016 the festival events sector in Bristol designed and produced events for festivals across the UK and internationally, and was considered to be unique in Europe:

Now if we want to do something we know all of the people we would need and we can put them into action really quickly and we can do some really great things. I don't think we could find that anywhere else in the country or in Europe actually. It's really special.
(Festival designer, Millennial).

4.3 Cultural Strategy

Up until the 1970s there had been only a minimal level of interest in culture and the arts among Bristol politicians and business elites. This changed in the 1980s. Bassett (1993) identified three reasons for this change. First, a funding crisis in the city's arts institutions led to organisations reaching out to local business for support, which at the same time raised the issue of funding for the arts onto the local political agenda. Second, the influx of middle-class service sector workers caused an increase in demand for cultural consumption. Third was political change: there was a shift away from the Left as New Labour ideas took hold in the local council. Influenced by the Greater London Council cultural policy, councillors developed an arts policy aimed at fostering community development and increasing access to the arts. This policy changed its focus in the 1990s when Bristol suffered two economic shocks. Business and finance services were impacted by recession, and the end of the Cold War brought cuts in government spending on defence. This led to a decrease in employment in the city of 4% in the service sector and 23% in defence engineering (Bassett, 1996). In response, a series of initiatives ensued aimed at developing the city's economy, key amongst which was the Bristol Cultural Partnership, created by the City Council, local business and the Arts Council.

A 1992 report into the cultural industries claimed there were 2,600 full-time jobs in the cultural industries in Bristol, not including BBC or HTV. The city was found to be strong in theatre, contemporary fine art, photography, the audio- visual industries, and museums (Bassett, 1993 p. 1783). The cultural

strategy aimed to: generate jobs through the development of small firms in the sector; supplement the tourism strategy and encourage overnight stays; and use the cultural industries in place marketing to develop Bristol into a European cultural city. This new strategy, with its entrepreneurial focus, was in tension with earlier aims at community cohesion and self-expression. Writing in 1993, Bassett cautioned against the exaggeration of the impacts of this strategy, and pre-empted many of the more recent criticisms of work in the cultural and creative industries concerning low pay and precarity (eg. McRobbie, 2016):

> 'First, it is important not to exaggerate the economic impacts of these strategies. For example, the Bristol figure of 2600 directly generated jobs is not insignificant, but even substantial future growth in this sector is unlikely to offset the impacts of one or two major closures elsewhere in the local economy (in the defence sector, for example, where two companies employ almost 10,000 people). There is also the question of job quality (Griffiths, 1993). Many of the jobs in the sector are likely to be low-paid service jobs. Although claims have been made that some sectors, such as the video sector, are models of post-Fordist production demanding high skills (Shapiro *et al.*, 1992), the Bristol survey suggests that such sectors are dominated by small firms that have high failure rates and are very dependant on the programming decisions of the major television companies. (Bassett, 1993, p. 1785).

Though cultural strategies were slow to get off the ground in the 1990s, entertainment and cultural facilities were developed around the harbour side with the aid of National Lottery funds (Sunley, 2017). A number of shared office and studio spaces opened across the city after the millennium. Paintworks opened in 2004 as a studio, exhibition space and housing for 'creative tenants' (Paintworks, 2019); Hamilton House opened in 2009, and became home to a number of festival events companies, as well as artists, designers and community organisations; Bristol Games Hub opened in 2013

as a non-profit organisation providing space for games designers and academics to 'come together under one roof to create and study games' (Bristol Games Hub, 2019). The Bristol Games Hub is a sister studio to The Pervasive Media Studio, which was set up as a joint venture between Hewlett Packard and media centre The Watershed in 2008 to explore 'new genres of digital media' (Leicester and Sharpe, 2010, p.50). In 2011, The Pervasive Media Studio became part of a partnership between the Watershed and the University of Bristol, and the University of the West of England. The city's universities, alongside the City Council, are also partners in other design workspaces in the city. The Bottle Yard Studios, opened in 2010, is a film and TV studio funded by the city council. The Engine Shed opened in 2013 as a workspace for high-tech, creative and low carbon businesses, and is a collaboration between the two universities and the city council (Parraman *et al.*, 2016). In close proximity to The Engine Shed is Bristol Temple Quarter Enterprise Zone, which built a set of creative and digital studios in 2012.

Since the Millennium there have been varying estimates of the number of people employed in design and the cultural and creative industries in Bristol. In 2000, 8,500 jobs were estimated in cultural production and the media sector (including the BBC). This figure was compared to the 28,000 jobs in the financial services (Boddy *et al.*, 2004, p. 58). Other figures reported are: 15,900 jobs in the creative industries across the Bristol and Bath region (Bristol Media, 2014); 31,200 employed in design in Bristol (Design Council, 2015); 11,500 in the creative industries in Bristol (Sunley, 2017). For context, at the time of writing, the Office for National Statistics list the top 4 employee jobs by industry in Bristol as: 40,000 in human health and social work activities, 36,000 working in wholesale and retail, 29,000 in professional, scientific and technical activities (which no doubt contain designers), and 25,000 administrative and support services (which probably contain designers). This compares to just 6,000 listed as working in the arts, entertainment and recreation (Office for National Statistics, 2019). Figures differ partly because of lack of data on the small companies

and freelance workers that are characteristic of the creative industries (Parraman *et al.*, 2016), and because of differences in which industries are included when using terms such as 'creative', 'cultural' and 'design'. The Bristol and Bath by Design project (Parraman *et al.*, 2016) included engineering in its remit. This is unusual in studies into creative work, which generally adhere to the industrial categories included in the UK Creative Industries (Creative Industries Task Force, 1998). Internet data mining by the Bristol and Bath by Design team found 3,300 design businesses and freelance workers active in Bristol in 2016, though this was not an exhaustive search (Parraman *et al.*, 2016). The sectors highlighted as significant for design in Bristol and Bath in 2016 were: Engineering, multi disciplinary design studios and agencies, designer maker studios, animation/TV/film, fashion and textiles, and architecture. However defined, clearly the cultural and creative industries in the city have grown since the introduction of the cultural strategy.

4.4   A City of Wealth and Deprivation

Bristol is regularly hailed as one of the top places to live in the UK. In 2014 Bristol was named the best city to live in the UK by the Sunday Times (Goss, 2014). In the same year The Metro newspaper detailed the reasons for this as: an independent spirit, home of Aardman's Wallace and Gromit, the UK's first Cycling City, the street art, the festivals, Clifton Suspension Bridge, its green spaces, food and music culture, theatres and art galleries (Booth, 2014). But missing from this glowing account are the less glamorous aspects of the city. Bristol is a city of extremes of wealth and deprivation (Bristol City Council, 2015; Quartet Community Foundation, 2014). It has a long running drugs problem and was recently named the European Cocaine capital (Barnes, 2019). The city has suffered a housing crisis, with a lack of affordable social housing and new-build housing for families (Sunley, 2017). In 2015, Bristol had the highest rent rises in the UK (Collinson, 2016), and in 2017 house prices were the highest of any core city in the UK relative to

median earnings (West of England Combined Authority, 2017). Alongside a housing crisis, the city has strong social divisions.

The quality of state school education in Bristol has been poor, with levels of attainment below the national average. The proportion of private schools in the city is high: 'It would seem that those parents who can afford to, send their children to private schools' (Boddy *et al.*, 2004, p.63). This failure in education forms a barrier between local people and good jobs, as local firms rely on the in-migration of workers who arrive in the city with experience, higher levels of education and better skills (Boddy *et al.*, 2004). Jobs in the city have been impacted by government austerity measures. Because of the reduction of public sector jobs, between 2008 – 2013 full time employment fell faster than the national average, unemployment doubled from 4.2% to 9%, with a rise in youth unemployment rate in particular (Kennett *et al.*, 2015). Unlike many other UK cities, between 2002 and 2012, Bristol experienced an unprecedented population boom, driven primarily by natural births. It has become a 'young' city with more people aged 0-15 than age 65 and over (Bristol City Council, 2018). Although a 'young' city it is perhaps not the best city to be young in, unless the child of affluent parents.

Bristol, a former slave port, which has a twenty-two per cent BAME population, was found to be the worst UK city for racial inequalities (Runnymede Trust, 2017). Out of 348 districts in the UK, Bristol was ranked seventh worst on the Runnymede Trust Index of Multiple Inequality, and fifty-fifth worst for employment inequality. The report identified the work place culture in Bristol as holding systemic institutional, social and cultural racism, with staff unaware of their unconscious biases and the impact of white privilege (Runnymede Trust, 2017). Racial tensions resulted in rioting in the city in the 1980s and again in 2011. Despite the middle-classification of the city, prosperity has failed to 'trickle down' (Tallon, 2007), and the city has deep-rooted divisions in terms of poverty and exclusion. The social aspects of the city rarely receive attention in the media, but nevertheless are evidence that Bristol is not, after all, such a radical city.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter traced Bristol's industrial development since the eighteenth century, and its shift to become a predominantly middle-class city after the closing down of the docks and manufacturing from the 1970s, and in relocation of the financial services in the 1990s. While Bristol could be regarded as exemplary of a city that has benefitted by the in-migration of Florida's (2002) creative class around the Millennium, this chapter has argued that the success of the creative and engineering industries in the city are a result its deeper history: the wealth generated from trading in people, tobacco and chocolate in the eighteenth century, the related printing and packaging design industry in the nineteenth century, and of high levels of government funding for aerospace, high-tech, film/TV/animation sectors in the twentieth century, as well as funding the city's two universities. Central government funding was instrumental in providing a unique and strong basis from which the engineering, cultural and creative industries have grown. The chapter contributes to the literature in arguing that it is the unique evolution of the city, and not the provision of attractive amenities in the early 2000s, as argued by Florida (2002), that has led to the success of engineering and the creative industries in Bristol. This contribution questions the appropriateness of generalised policy recommendations for urban development, made irrespective of the specific context.

The acute social divisions in the city have also been discussed, specifically racism and the poor prospects for the city's working class youth. Bristol has built an effective reputation as a high tech and creative centre, which is a credit to the success of those involved in place marketing. This image does not reflect the employment structure of the city, but rather the concentration of these industries in the city in comparison with other places. The cultural and creative industries have grown, but despite Bristol's prosperous creative reputation, it remains a socially divided and unequal city. It is possible that the city's focus on middle-class employment, values

and consumption preferences, and away from education, housing, and employment for all, has added to social divisions in the city.

Bristol, with its contemporary image as a creative city, and its complex history in relation to class, race and design, provides a fascinating case study for the exploration of creative worker migration in the UK. The following three chapters make a detailed analysis of the trajectories of Baby Boomer, Generation X and Millennial designers. First is the Baby Boomer generation. What drew designers into their professions, and to the city, decades before the invention of the creative industries in 1998?

5   The Baby Boomers

> Have you spoken to many old people? I suppose they all become execs. But what when there's a small company with only a couple of you, what happens then?

Graphic Designer, Generation X

There is a lack of certainty as to whether individuals of the Baby Boomer generation are included by Florida (2002) as members of the Creative Class. Baby Boomers were born between 1945-1965 (Willetts, 2010) and began to graduate from 1966. The oldest designer in the sample was born in 1951, six years before Florida's own birth in 1957, and other interviewees are Florida's close contemporaries. At times Florida articulates a generational distance between himself and the creative class, while at others he presents himself as their embodiment. His arguments for a shift in social values is based on Inglehart's World Values Survey (Inglehart, 1990), which began reporting in 1981, a time when many in this generation of interviewees had already graduated from university.

According to Inglehart's values theory, values shift across the generations, moving from materialist to post-materialist values (Inglehart, 1990). Based on this logic, the interviewees in this group can be expected to hold more material values – values concerned with economic and physical security – than those in the later generations. They would also have stronger kinship ties, be less mobile and be less individualistic. Using Florida's (2002) theory though, it could also be argued that as designers are in creative occupations they are the leaders of the change in social values, and so their values would be more post-materialistic than others in their generation. Designers, who Florida described as 'bohemians', were said to lead libertine, hedonistic

lifestyles, seeking enjoyment and self-actualisation, and rejecting the traditional Protestant work ethic (Florida 2002b, p 192). Unfortunately direct references to mature creative workers are absent in Florida's account, and so clarification on this generation's values (bohemian, bourgeois, materialist or post materialist) cannot be found.

Little is known about the sequential migration trajectories of UK designers in this generation, or the motivations behind their career choices and paths. Interest in the lives and mobility of creative workers did not become the focus of academic attention until the beginning of the Millennium, and much empirical research focuses on the migration of graduates in the early 2000s (for example Faggian, Comunian, and Li, 2014; Faggian, Comunian, Jewell, and Kelly, 2013; Comunian, Faggian, and Li, 2010). According to the lifecycle literature, individuals are at their most mobile in early adulthood (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015); for the Baby Boomers this period was during the 1970s and 1980s. The pattern of UK internal migration during this time had two major characteristics. First was movement by the middle-class away from areas of high unemployment in the North of England into the South and East (McCormick, 1997; Gordon and Molho, 1998). Second was the role of London and the South East as an escalator region (Fielding, 1992). Social class was also an underlying factor in UK internal migration patterns (Fielding, 2012; 1992). The middle-class life trajectory was typically multi-locational, with an expectation of migration for higher education and career opportunities. Contrastingly, the working class life trajectory was typically one of non-migration (Fielding, 2012; 1992). The life trajectories of UK Baby Boomers were impacted by political and social developments as the country sought to re-build after the Second World War Two.

Baby Boomers in the UK benefitted from changes to the education system and other post-war reforms to the health service and housing. Access to an arts and design education and vocational training widened after the Second World War. The 1944 Butler Act extended secondary school education to girls and the working class, and regional art schools provided school leavers

with an alternative further education opportunity to a university degree (Banks and Oakley, 2016; Beck and Cornford, 2012). While teaching students practical vocational skills, art schools also exposed students to cultural ideas and debates causing a 'collision of tradecraft and high art experienced by an unprecedented socially diverse student body' (Beck and Cornford, 2012, p.61). Baby Boomers also benefitted from the establishment of the National Health Service, a generous social security system, access to newly built and affordable social housing, the normalisation of home ownership among the middle-class , and in the 1980s increased levels of home ownership among the working class (Hoolachan and McKee, 2019; Crawford and McKee, 2018). Though missing from the Creative Class theory, mature creative workers, whose lives were impacted by these national reforms, were active and influential in the city of Bristol in 2014-18.

Designers in this generation were of particular importance for the Bristol and Bath by Design research team and their wider network. They were highlighted as essential for interview because of their standing as business owners and senior academics, and because of their depth of knowledge of both design and the development of the city since the mid 1970s. The Baby Boomer designers occupied the most senior roles in their organisations. They also gave the longest interviews and made the most frequent reference to their childhoods, often at a considerable level of detail. Reasons for this may be connected to the life-stage. Having a greater distance from their childhood enabled them to place themselves and their life events within a historical context, and distance from youth has given time for a coherent biographical narrative to be constructed. All those interviewed were successful in their careers, and they inevitably tell a story of success, which may have been given a romanticised interpretation. It may also be that memories of childhood and relationships with parents were romanticised over time. However, contained within the designers' narratives are their normalised assumptions about occupation, careers and migration. It is these assumptions that the research is focussed upon.

The migration trajectories span up to 65 years, and so give a picture of sequential migration over a significant time frame. To gain a rich understanding of the complexity of factors involved in the migration and occupation trajectories, this chapter engages in a detailed analysis of the designers' accounts. This is necessary to show the designers' lives holistically, and bring to the fore the ways in which events and experiences in childhood impact on occupation and migration movements across the lifespan (McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009; Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). Each trajectory discussed highlights a particular dynamic, but also demonstrates how the factors that impact on decision-making operate alongside each other and are often entwined. The chapter is divided as follows: The first section details the characteristics of the interviewees by sector, employment type, gender and ethnicity. The second section gives an overview of the designers' migration trajectories and rates of migration. Following from this the trajectories of seven designers are analysed in detail. They were selected as typical, contrasting and extreme examples (Iosifides, 2011; Danermark, *et al.*, 2002) of different patterns of migration: non migrant, university stayers, repeat migrants, yo-yo migrants and grand yo-yo migrants. This section is followed by a discussion and concluding remarks.

5.1   Data

Thirteen Baby Boomers were interviewed (see table 5.1). Of these, nine were designers, and four non-designers who worked for an industry body or in non-design roles within design firms. Only three interviewees were born in Bristol, the majority arrived into the city in the mid 1970s to early 80s, and had lived in or near Bristol for nearly forty years. Only three attended a higher education institution in the city. This finding differs from other studies in the UK and Europe, which find the majority of creative workers live in their place of birth or higher education (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014; Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010; Chapain and Comunian, 2010). The sectors to which the interviewees belonged largely reflect the design landscape of

the city in the 1970s – early 80s. Four interviewees worked in senior roles in the city's two universities, having previously worked in the engineering, high tech and graphic design industries. Six were business owners in the graphic design, product design, and film/TV/animation sectors.

All the nine designers interviewed in this generation group were male, the four non-design roles were occupied by women. One woman was a business owner, the others worked in administration and support roles. This finding reflects the gender imbalance in design in the UK (Reimer, 2016), particularly in senior design roles, which is attributed to women leaving the profession after the formation of a family, and the marginalisation of women from masculinised creative roles (Reimer, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015). Based on visual observation, all the Baby Boomer interviewees were white. While the number of interviewees in this section is small, only thirteen, these findings on gender and ethnicity are particularly important given the status afforded to the interviewees. Not one senior BAME male designer, or senior female designer of any ethnicity, was recognised as significant by this network. These findings reflect those of a number of studies into diversity in the creative industries (e.g. McRobbie, 2016; Conor, Gill, and Taylor, 2015; Leslie and Catungal, 2012). Bristol, despite its image as an alternative city (Naylor, 2016), appears to be upholding the status quo in terms of gender and ethnic inequalities in the creative industries.

Table 5-1 Characteristics of Baby Boomer Interviewees

Sector	Occupation	Gender	Employment type	Born in Bristol	HE in Bristol	Date Arrived in Bristol	No. Moves in Childhood	No. Moves HE	No. Moves Post HE	Migration
Graphic Design	Designer/ Business Owner	Male	Business owner	No	Yes	1976	0	1	0	University Stayer
Graphic Design	Designer/ Business Owner	Male	Business owner	No	Yes	mid 1990s	Not reported	1	Not reported	Not reported
Graphic Design	University / Designer	Male	Employed	No	No	1984	0	2	3	Repeat Migrant
TV/Film / Animation	Business Owner/ Designer	Male	Business Owner	No	Yes	1979	5	1	0	University Stayer
High Tech	University / Designer	Male	Employed	No	No	1978	0	1	7	Repeat Migrant/ Yo-yo Migrant
High Tech	Designer/ University	Male	Employed	No	No	1995	0	1	2	Repeat Migrant
Crafts	Potter/ University	Male	Self-employed / Employed	No	No	1982	0	1	7	Repeat Migrant/ Yo-yo Migrant
Engineering	Designer/ University	Male	Employed	No	No	1978	1	2	3	Repeat Migrant/ Yo-yo Migrant
Product Design	Designer	Male	Employed	Yes	No	Remained From Birth	0	0	0	Non-Migrant
Product Design	Business Owner	Female	Self - Employed	Yes	No	Returned mid 1990s	0	1	2	Repeat Migrant
Industry Body	Skills Advisor/ Producer	Female	Employed	Yes	No	Remained From Birth	0	0	0	Non-Migrant
Industry Body	Advisor	Female	Employed	No	No	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported
TV/Film /Animation	Head of Production	Female	Employed	No	No	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Not reprted

5.2 Migration Trajectories Over the Lifespan

Migration paths are mainly within England, with few migrations to international locations. The majority of movement was contained within the bottom third of the country; Scotland and Northern Ireland did not get a mention in these migration accounts. Overall, three distinct patterns of cross-country movement emerged: migrations from the north of England to Bristol via Cambridge; from Southampton to Bristol; and from Southampton

to Bristol via London. Not all the interviewees migrated; two lived and worked in the city throughout their lives.

Three designers migrated from the North. Of these, two were science-based designers who attended Cambridge University, graduating with post-graduate degrees. The third was a potter who moved from Manchester to Southampton as a child. His father was an engineer who moved with his family to Southampton. These movements reflect the trend for north-south migration by the middle-class in the UK (Fielding, 2012; McCormick, 1997). The four migrants who moved from Southampton to Bristol followed two identical routes. Two left Southampton for Bristol to study Graphic Design at Bristol Polytechnic (now University of the West of England). They then settled in, or close to Bristol, until the time of interview. Two others took a slightly different tack, both moving from Southampton to Farnham School of Art, then to London to attend the Royal College of Art [RCA] for postgraduate study. Both then moved to Bristol and settled in or near the city.

Table 5.1. shows migration movements across three main life stages identified in the lifecycle literature: childhood, higher education [HE] and post-HE (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015). Overall, levels of mobility are low and migration patterns fall in line with those reported for the general population (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015; Dennett and Rees, 2010). Generally there are low levels of mobility in childhood, one or two movements for HE, followed by a long period of stability post-graduation. Where there were higher levels of mobility in adulthood, migration was in a yo-yo pattern: migrations were made away from but then returning to Bristol or the surrounding region. The majority of moves post HE were residential moves of short distances (under 50km) to Bath or the surrounding countryside, and made by designers who continued to work in Bristol.

Designers migration paths were initially categorised according to the typology of migration patterns constructed by Faggian, Comunian, and Li

(2014) to describe the sequential migration of graduates in the six months post graduation. This was a useful starting point, but the categories only describe the patterns of those attending university, and so are not appropriate for the trajectories of non-graduates. The categories also proved limited in their ability to accurately describe migration patterns over a long time-frame. To remedy this, the typology was modified to include migrants and non-migrants who did not attended university, and those who migrated in a yo-yo pattern (see table 5.2).

Table 5-2 Baby Boomer Migration Patterns

Type	Description	Number of interviewees
Non-Migrants	Always lived in their place of birth	1
University stayers	Stay in their place of study	2
Repeat migrants	Make more than one migration move away from their place of origin	6
Return migrants	Return to their place of origin after university	0
Late migrants	Study in their home location and migrate after graduation	0
Yo-yo migrants	Make a sequence of movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region	4

This section has provided an overview of the migration trajectories of Baby Boomer designers over the course of sixty years and over. There is little contained within this evidence to suggest that Baby Boomers experienced the high mobility claimed for Florida's (2002) creative class. Across their lifespans, Baby Boomer designers migrated in a lifecycle pattern that is typical of the general population in the UK. This is perhaps unsurprising as the changes Florida noted were in the values and behaviours of Generation X creative workers. The following sections contain a deeper analysis of individual trajectories. The focus of the analysis is the connection between early life experiences (from birth until university age) and occupation and migration outcomes. The analysis aims to set the migrations into their historical, social, economic and political contexts. The chapter argues that economic factors and family, alongside social class and associated expectations of work and migration, underpin and guide migration and occupation outcomes.

5.2.1 The Non-Migrant

This section analyses the trajectory of model maker and company director Paul, the only non-migrant designer in this generation group. He was also one of a small number of interviewees in this study who did not enter higher education. Creative worker migration in the UK has mainly been analysed using data on the migration destinations of graduates (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014). This section provides an insight into the career and migration trajectory of a type of designer who so far has been out of view in the literature.

Paul was born in a working class area close to Bristol, and remained living in or near the city until the time of interview. His interest in design and making stemmed from his childhood experiences in school, and being shown how to make things by his father, in his father's shed. This was a form of learning he considered the norm for those around him at the time:

> Growing up as a kid, I was always making things, always taking things to pieces. Sometimes getting them back together again. You know, then as kids, you know, you learnt to do woodwork and metalwork and stuff, either in school or in your, you know, your garage or shed at home. And your dad showed you how to use various tools, which I think is something which we tend not to do so much these days, and you learned the basic skills of how materials worked and fitted together and what you could and couldn't do. What was achievable. So that gives you a practical basis for it. And I need – and I suppose I was always of a slightly artistic bent, you know, I enjoyed drawing and making things in all forms. So when the chance came along to, basically, be an apprentice for a firm making beautiful things, you know, I jumped at it. Struggled at first, gradually gaining experience, and stayed there for thirteen years.

Being creative, having an 'artistic bent', was not associated with an art college education, or, as Florida (2002) conceived of it, being an

independent individual who moves from job to job. Rather, for Paul, being creative was connected to skills learnt slowly over time and through a process of intergenerational exchange. After leaving school, migration for work or education was not an option for consideration. Paul found an apprenticeship with a local model making company:

> I fell into this by accident a very long time ago. 1978, I was a very junior, out of work, you know, wanted to do something creative. Answered a small ad and then spent the next thirteen years making models for maritime and sometimes aerospace industries and gradually picking up skills. That was down in Weston, because that's my, my roots is Weston. Local born and bred. Never lived anywhere outside about a fifty-mile radius of here. But, you know, fell into it by chance, loved it...

Over time, Paul noticed changes in Bristol, particularly the development of the film/animation/tv sector, and saw new opportunities for model making:

> Essentially, I could see potential which wasn't being fulfilled. That company had a very narrow remit. It did very few of the possible things and I wanted to do more. Putting it bluntly, I fell out with the current owner and said, 'you know, I want to do all these other things. I want to expand this and take on all this other kind of work

Dissatisfied with his job, Paul sought alternative work with similar firms 'within reasonable reach at the time.' He joined a firm that made architectural and product design models, which over time grew to cater for clients in all of the creative industry sectors, and in engineering. Throughout his career, moving away from Bristol was not necessary or desirable:

> I wouldn't – I can't imagine doing anything else anywhere else than, than, you know, it sounds like a promotion for the South West, but I

just love it, for the fact that everywhere you look there are new and interesting things going on.

Social class and associated expectations of migration, and a strong attachment to place underpinned Paul's trajectory (Savage, 2010; Fielding, 1995). Paul came from a working class background and the themes in his interview were of rootedness to Bristol, practical skills developed over time, and local opportunity. Paul's career trajectory was enabled by the development, through central government funds, of the aerospace, film/tv/animation and high tech industries in the city. Migration, for education or as a strategy to fulfil creative ambition, was not a matter of consideration, and migration was not anticipated or necessary to a sense of success in his life story. At no point was Paul engaged in a process of choosing to live in the city based on a set of comparative advantages or disadvantages with another city (Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010). Paul learnt about design and making from his father, but this form of cultural capital facilitated entrance into a design apprenticeship, not an arts education. His creative work was a continuation from skills learnt through his family of origin, and not, as Florida (2002) argued, a break away to a new set of values or lifestyle. Paul's trajectory highlights that being creative and undertaking creative work is not exclusive to those who attend higher education, and that when local opportunities exist, local, accessible training can be as beneficial in the careers of those who do not wish to, or are not able to migrate.

5.2.2 University Stayers

It is argued that universities act as conduits, bringing talented students into a city or region (Faggian and McCann, 2006). Millennial creative graduates are commonly university stayers, and it is suggested that the networks developed while at university may be important to career success, and a reason for remaining in the place of study (Faggian, Comunian, and Li, 2014). Little is known about graduates' reasons for staying close to their university over the long term. The two university stayers in this generation

graduated from Bristol Polytechnic in the late 1970s, not long after art colleges first began offering degree level courses in the UK. They were also in the first generation of students to graduate from the new Bristol Polytechnic arts campus. Course sizes were smaller in the 1970s, with year groups of only six or seven students on some courses (Graphic Designer, Baby Boomer). As such, the designers graduated into a city not already highly populated by an established network of arts graduates. The two university stayers had strikingly similar trajectories: both moved from Southampton to Bristol to study on the same course (though not in the same year group); both described feeling disengaged at school and developing an interest in design through family members; and both set up businesses in Bristol after graduation. This section focuses on the trajectory of graphic designer John, whose account shows that though networks formed as an undergraduate were important when initially deciding to stay in the city, it was the values learnt in childhood that guided his location decisions, and his reasons for running a business in Bristol for over forty years.

John's migration trajectory is a simple one. After moving from Southampton to Bristol in 1976, he set up a business in the city where he remained working for the duration of his career, but moved to live in nearby Somerset in the 1980s, commuting to Bristol for work. Three main themes, derived directly from his family of origin, recur in his description of his career: design, business and politics. John came from a middle-class family, and described struggling as a child at boarding school, considering himself a 'total academic failure' and 'unable to function in a school environment'. Fortunately his family supported and engaged him. Moral support came from his father, who, despite his own academic difficulties at school, had gone on to become a highly successful designer and businessman. John was also influenced by his uncle, a Conservative MP and cabinet member. In contrast to the difficulties John experienced in school, he described his 1950s childhood home-life as engaging, forward thinking and vibrant:

I was very lucky, because my father was in business, he was a designer, he was a very clever man. Also a man who was totally interested in new things, new products. Whenever the plastic chairs came over here [from the US], there were plastic chairs everywhere in my room. There was a new this and we had to have it. When you look at it now, it was totally tasteless. It was fantastic you know. He was always engaged in conversation, he loved arguments about politics and all that sort of stuff. We were really lucky as children in that sense. It was vibrant.

Though supported by his parents, John's perception of his academic failure, and his associated feelings of guilt and fear about his schooling had a significant and on-going impact on his career. He linked his business success to his risk taking and entrepreneurism, which he says were motivated by his experiences of boarding school and driven by fear and guilt:

I think guilt because I was just so lazy when I was at school. Because I was dis-engaged. I think you've always got to be better, haven't you? That's what it's about at the end of the day. My parents always said to me you've got to make sure that you leave the world in a better place than you found it.

The value John attributes to his parents to 'leave the world in a better place than you found it', is one of the key messages of the Boy Scouts movement (Baden Powell, 1941). The scouting promise committed boys to do their duty to God and country, and scouting laws obliged them to be useful and help others (Baden-Powell, 1980). Scouting values adhered to the masculinised world of action, the military, the empire and commerce (MacDonald, 1993). These values are evident in John's discussion on the value of design, his commitment to use design to deliver value to society, and in his identity as a man of action:

I believe that design is not just about wanting to be a designer because it's cool. We're here to deliver things to people, to society. We've got to be grown up about these things, and so when I talk about these things some people must think I'm just weird. But I'm proud that as a designer, I can do those things and I know that we can do more.

I'm all about action. I like talking you can tell but I've always been, my whole working life has been about trying to deliver results. My view is I am pretty practical. There's so much talking I can do, but at the end of the day I've got to prove the value of something, so I've got to deliver results. I've got to deliver jobs saved, exports, new businesses created. I need numbers at the end of the day to validate all of that talk.

Edwardian scouting values, with their deep roots in Puritanism and the Protestant Work Ethic (Weber, 1905), were strongly present in John's childhood and motivated him throughout his adult life. Also influential were John's parents' associated attitudes around progress and civic duty, which stemmed from the post-war period of national rebuilding. His parents' Conservative political affiliation and attitudes weave themselves throughout John's discussion on his occupation and location decisions:

I personally want design to do more. I actually want it to be more important and more vital to the country. That's why I am really so interested in the return of design investment project. You see, the way I was brought up was that my Father never voted Labour in his life.

When we came out of the Second World War no one had anything. We didn't have a National Health Service, we had a vision and there was going to be a complete redistribution of wealth. Everybody largely bought into that. Conservatives bought into it, Labour bought

into it, Liberals bought into it. They knew we had gone through this cataclysmic like event and that society had to change […] and I'm lucky enough to have had parents who were sensible enough and wise enough to sort of talk to me about those things.

Having failed to get the grades required for the academic degree he had his sights on, John decided to study Art Foundation. This was not the path he anticipated while at boarding school, but it enabled him to move away from home and get a degree level qualification, as was expected in a middle-class biography (Fielding, 1992). On his Graphic Design course at Bristol Polytechnic he encountered and appreciated a different set of values, values which also had their roots in Protestant Christianity. Three of the tutors on the course were Quakers, and all had endured the Second World War as soldiers, prisoners of war and as conscientious objectors. One tutor, Peter Reddick, was the driving force behind an arts co-operative in the city and had a committed sense of social responsibility (Tute, 2010). It is these social Quaker values, alongside John's scouting duty to others, that John refers to when he comments on the 'integrity' of his design education and on his not wanting to sell a worthless product or service:

> For me I don't want to sell someone something that is worthless. What's the point? There's got to be some integrity in it … I think design education is actually, I hope it still is, but certainly was in my day, there was an integrity about it. It is about making people's lives better. I'm a great believer in design delivering economic growth, cultural growth and social growth. That is what we should be doing. I believe absolutely passionately in that

The impression John offers of Bristol on his arrival 1976, is of its natural, business and political climates, which he depicts as cold, wet, sad, traditional, idiotic and dysfunctional, with a Left-wing council that held negative attitudes to business. Despite this, he felt Bristol was also a place with a spirit of independence.

It was quite a sort of traditional place. They used to say that Bristol was the death of ambition. There was something about it; there was just something about it. Even with all these idiotic politicians who just didn't really seem to do anything, there was something there. There was something about an independence of spirit I think.

Reference to a spirit of independence – in relation to the city and to John's own character – arises again in John's description of his decision remain in Bristol and not move to London after graduation. Repeatedly John described Bristol as a place that attracts interesting and intelligent people who think about and do things differently, and people (like himself) who started businesses with very little but had passion and vision to make something happen. His attachment to place is not connected with attributes of the city of Bristol, or the characteristics of its people, with whom he positions himself in opposition (Easthope, 2004; Rose, 1995), but an identification with other in-migrants to the city. He also positions himself in opposition to graduates in his year group who moved to London:

When I left college, everybody, all my contemporaries or a lot of them, went to London. I always had this really sniffy opinion about London that I just thought, I just, you know everyone used to go 'London's wonderful'. I was, you know everybody liked David Bowie back in the 70's and I went Oh I don't like David Bowie because everybody else likes him. I'm going to listen to bloody Black Sabbath or something. I always used to take this opposite view. I think it was a bit like that about London to be honest with you. I just thought no, I'm going to build a company in Bristol. We're going to be world leading.

One of our first clients was a theatre company that got me an arts council grants and so forth. We used to do posters for them. Really interesting people, they were living on a shoe-string but doing it,

passionate about it. They were here in Bristol. It just seemed to attract those sorts of people. That sort of thought slightly differently.

This identification with other in-migrant creative workers in the city has elements in common with Florida's (2002) creative class theory, though it does not relate to other aspects Florida describes: an attraction to the city because of the city's amenities, music scene, or population groups based on their sexuality or ethnicity. A sense of independence, an aversion to a crowd mentality, and a drive to work close to, though not necessarily with, other creative workers also bears a strong resemblance to the masculine creative individual characterised by Maslow (1971) and Rand (1943), and fits well with John's conservative politics. Contrastingly though, and highlighting the impacts of both economic recession and middle class expectations of success (Fielding, 2012; 1992), at another point in the interview John presents his decision to stay in Bristol in the context of scarce job opportunities, and his own low self-confidence:

> Basically then I was leaving (Bristol Polytechnic) in 1979 in the May or June and we'd just gone through the winter of discontent when the country was broken. Everybody was on strike ... So trying to get a job actually seemed quite difficult. More than quite difficult, almost impossible. I totally lacked confidence back then that anybody would want to employ me. I thought, I was sitting in the studio one night up at Bower Ashton and a guy I was on the course with said well what are you going to do when you finish? I said "Oh, I don't know I suppose I'll go and try to get a job. But really I'd like to set up my own business" And he said "I'd quite like to set up my own business so let's set it up together". So I said "Yeah, alright. Why not?" Because we've got nothing, we might as well carry on with nothing for a time.

John's disengagement in school, lack of academic qualifications, and low level of confidence in his employability, suggests that setting up a business was the only option he felt was available to him, if he were to maintain

intergenerational job position with his father (Gordon, 2015). This, he explained, was connected to the fear of failure he experienced at school, and his strong desire to live according to his parents' values. In the quotation above John also presents his trajectory as a 'rags to riches' story, an American Dream trope, which denies his starting point from a high level of inherited economic and cultural capital.

Despite the difficult economic conditions of the 1970s and early 80s, John saw potential for business. Bristol was a place of opportunity. Commenting on the state of the UK at the time, John discussed his difficulties with some of Margaret Thatcher's policies, but his admiration for the changes she made in to the country:

> ... she [Margaret Thatcher] changed things that rebuilt a country and we, my God did we need to rebuild. It doesn't mean to say she didn't take it too far. It doesn't mean to say that things weren't wrong, but there was something fundamental that she engineered. I think that in the early 80s I remember going to talk to someone, I was in Africa; I had a client out there. They said what do you think of Britain? Cause everyone saw it as just this broken place. I said it's a land of opportunity. Absolutely a land of opportunity and it's really exciting.

John built up a graphic design business, gaining work through former tutors and friends of friends in the city. Networks were clearly important in John's decision to stay in Bristol and his ability to build a business. John also described how the arrival to the city of high-tech company Inmos, his first major client, was instrumental to the early success of his business, and to the development of the high tech cluster in Bristol. He locates himself as central to this success:

> I was building this brand, this global brand. They had 2500 people worldwide building a factory in Colorado, a factory in South Wales. They had the design offices in Bristol. Bristol is a centre of technology

which is, the stats now are pretty impressive. I think it's about £7.5 billion local economy is to do with IT and so forth. HP weren't here, Toshiba weren't here. They all came... Inmos was absolutely central to the development of Bristol as this modern ideas-driven city.

During the 1990s, John's business developed from a graphic design service into direct mail firm, working mainly for the newly established financial services industry in the city, growing to become one of the largest direct marketing companies in the country: the fruit of John's passion to use design to deliver social and cultural value. Using design to promote for example, community cohesion, self-expression, or to solve social, healthcare, or environmental issues were not aspects of John's vision. Throughout his career, John involved himself in the Bristol business community and in local politics, advocating for the value of design. Ultimately John's career was recognised with an official honour.

A dissatisfaction with the political climate in Bristol in the 1980s, which he describes as 'pathetic' and 'anti-business', motivated him to move to live in the countryside in nearby Somerset. A key motivation for this move was an attachment to the countryside – he was about to start a family and wanted his children to have the rural childhood he had himself enjoyed:

> I just got absolutely sick to death of the politics in Bristol. I just thought they were pathetic. I thought politicians were pathetic. I just hated this, "were not going to do this you're a bunch of capitalists", it just turned its back on business. So I thought well I'm going to carry on working here because that's where the business is and that's where all my staff are, but actually I don't want to bring my children up here. So we were thinking of having our family so we moved out into the countryside. And I actually come from the countryside anyway; I would never want to live in the city. I grew up by a river that's down the south coast and that's quite a laugh you know?

John's perception of Bristol in 2016 was a positive one, calling it the 'California of the UK' – a reference to the high tech legacy of Inmos – a legacy which he, through his branding design, had helped to achieve. He describes Bristol as 'the most plainly intelligent place to live in the world.' When asked why people liked to live there, the picture is radically changed from Bristol of the 1970s. Bristol is now 'comfortable', 'nice', 'wealthy' and 'middle-class ' and he refers to the West Country as 'God's own country':

> Why? Maybe life is too comfortable down here. Maybe it's because it's actually nice. Maybe it's because it's that we're all fairly wealthy and we've got the time and we're middle-class . We go for walks in the afternoon on a Monday. I don't know you know? I have no idea.

Here we see another example of the complex way in which John ties his identity to the city over time. As the city developed from its dreary state in the 1970s into a vibrant city, so he developed a business from nothing to become a success. As he developed in confidence, so too did the city. As a result of his business and political involvement, and that of others like him, the city changed to become more middle-class, becoming shaped in his image (Bassett, 1993; Fielding, 1992; Rand, 1943). John also takes another relational position (Easthope, 2004), differentiating himself from working class residents and the left wing politicians in the city.

This detailed exploration of John's career and occupation trajectories over the long term highlights a complexity of factors which impact on his movements and decision making: early family life (habitus) and identity (Easthope, 2009); class (Savage, 2010; Fielding, 1992) and forms of capital (McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009; Bourdieu, 1986); university networks (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014); national short and medium term economic changes and political decisions (Fielding, 2012). These factors impact on John's trajectory at different stages, but the strongest guiding force was early family life and his desire to recreate similar conditions for own his children.

Clearly there is a tight interconnection between John's father's values and career, and his own. John came from a successful middle-class family and his overall trajectory is one of social stability and recreation. To remain living in his place of birth, with poor qualifications that would have limited his employment opportunities, would have risked failure in a middle-class life trajectory. Throughout his adulthood working in Bristol, John maintained intergenerational job position with his father and uncle (Gordon, 2015), becoming successful in design, business and politics, thus recreating the trajectories of the men who had supported and inspired him in childhood. His move to the country enabled a recreation, for the benefit of his children, of his own childhood home life, and enabled him to live in a place in which he felt comfortable – that felt more like home (Easthope, 2004). Contrary to Florida's (2002) theory, though spatially distant, family of origin remained influential in the decisions John made throughout his life.

His narrative of independence – in relation to the of the city, and in his own life – obscure his own dependence on family financial and cultural capital, and the city's own historical development through central government support for its TV/animation/film, tech and engineering industries, and its two universities. The political and economic climate of the 1970 and 80s also impacted John's migration and occupation decisions. His fear of unemployment contributed to his reticence to move to London, and his decision to start a business (Fielding, 2012). Though John's trajectory does not conform to Florida's vision of the mobile creative worker who operates apart from his family of origin, his underlying values are similar the traditional gendered and hierarchical values of Florida (2002) and Maslow (1971). John's driving motivation to use design for social good has the middle class impetus of the scouting movement: he is equipped with a confidence that he is the right person to identify and deliver what is socially useful, which is at the same time financially beneficial to him personally. With traditional values rooted in masculinity, this account provides insight

into how traditional classed and gendered social structures in the creative industries are maintained in Bristol.

5.2.3 The Repeat Migrants

Five designers were classed as 'repeat' migrants: those who make more than one migration move away from their place of origin. Two opposing trajectories are selected for discussion in this section. The first is Peter, a high tech designer from a Northern, middle-class family. His is a typical example of a middle-class trajectory where migration is made in pursuit of social stability. The second is graphic designer Daniel, who was chosen as an opposing example: Daniel came from a Southern, working class family, and his trajectory is one of social mobility. Peter arrived in Bristol in 1978, Ian in 1984. At the time of interview, both were university Professors.

Peter grew up in the North of England. His parents were teachers and encouraged his interest in design and engineering:

> From a very early stage, I was fascinated by machines - anything that moved! My parents - especially my father - noticed this and encouraged it.
>
> I think my father was himself interested in mechanical things - his father (who died before I was born) had been employed in shipbuilding... I remember frequently walking around [the] docks with my father and watching the cranes and other machinery. So of course I had construction 'toys' like Meccano. And we visited places like the Science Museum whenever the opportunity arose.

Peter left his parental home to study at Cambridge University. Through his education at Cambridge, and subsequent research at Warwick University, he became one of a small number of people in the UK with skills in computer design in the 1970s. Coming out of university in his mid-twenties, he considered his choices were to move to the US, or to remain in the UK and engage upon a completely different career path. An opportunity to work for

the high-tech company Inmos came to him through his university network, giving his decision to locate in Bristol a high degree of approval from those within his professional life. The move, which was understood as the chance to work at the cutting edge of microelectronics, an industry considered at the time to be otherwise conventional and 'in a poor state' in the UK, enabled him to maintain his status within his field.

Another form of approval for his decision to move to Bristol came from his family. When asked how he felt about the move, he offered his first perception of the city, formed while a child. It was a positive impression as Bristol was a place to stop off on childhood family holidays to the South West. His second impression of the city dates from wartime, several years before his birth in 1951, and was a made through the eyes of his father:

> My father had also been in Bristol at some point during the Second World War I think, when he was part of military intelligence, I can't remember exactly what he was doing in Bristol, but it was a port, I guess they had to have intelligence people there, so I think he found it quite an attractive place. So I knew something about the city, and so when I came down here, having been invited down to talk to the company, I had a quick look around and thought it was quite an interesting place to be.

Within his family, Bristol was understood as an attractive place where bright young men worked together gathering intelligence. Twice in his account of his professional life in Bristol he describes bringing young men together to work at the forefront of knowledge: first in Inmos, and again in his ambition for the establishment of a university-led creative high-tech incubation space in the city:

> I'm all about changing the world. My new degree programme's all about design and enterprise and stuff… I have an ambition to try and create this, to put these two degree programmes in a place which has got a mixture of sort of early stage incubation. You need some of this

sort of environment where people can come together and explore ideas that might lead to start-up companies, ventures and so on. That's something that I'm really trying to arm people to do when they're young, rather than leaving it too late. Sort of that golden period, when you're 22, 23, 24, 25. Before you've got family and kids (Laughter). You could take risks and explore.

When asked what it was about the world that needed to be changed, Peter's response was the need for faster communications. Political, social or environmental concerns were not raised. Peter's aim was to reproduce the working environment both he and his father enjoyed while young: a space for students in their 'golden period' of youth. He described an incubation space as somewhere people are 'happy to think of as their home. Because they're probably going to spend quite a lot of time there.' Innovation, in his eyes, is for the young, for those with no social or caring commitments, who work in an environment where long working hours are the norm. This is essentially the young, masculinised world of Florida (2002) and Maslow (1971). The vision creates an environment that will uphold traditional patriarchal structures and maintain the gendered status quo in the high tech sector (Hicks, 2018). Peter's family background and professional experiences, alongside the influence of the culture of work in the US high tech sector, actively shape the work environment of high tech workers in the future. That this is a male dominated space is clear. When asked about the gender balance in Inmos, Peter referred to his 1980s telephone directory and scrolled through the names of females:

Interviewer

What about in the office here then, in the design team, what was the gender ratio?

Peter

It will have been fairly heavily male (Laughter). From my experience

Ah, here we are. Right, I've found the office telephone directory from 1980 (Laughter).

Okay. So Glenda, she was a PA.

Interviewer

Judy was HR and Susan the librarian. And apart from that, they're all men, so there's about 30 names there. Oh no, other side there, maybe 60 names. Linda?

Peter

I'm not quite sure who she was.

Despite being headhunted for jobs in London, Peter chose to remain in Bristol where he enjoys a high quality of life, one he considers equivalent to that of the 'immensely rich' in London. In this respect the amenities of the city (Florida, 2002) were important:

Well, it's [Bristol] big enough to have most of what you want. I've got a seven minute walk to the office, from where I live. I tell my friends in London that my commute is seven minutes on foot. You can't do that in lots of places, and have all the sort of amenities of a big city. I mean you can do it in London, but you've got to be an immensely rich person.

Peter's trajectory, like graphic designer John's, is one of maintenance and reproduction. Again, social class of origin underlies this trajectory. Through his migration to the South of the UK, away from the de-industrialising North of the 1970s (Fielding, 2012; McCormick, 1997). Peter was able to maintain his family's middle-class social position. In his move to Bristol, Peter

maintained his professional reputation. In his attachment to place (Savage, 2010; Easthope, 2004), Bristol was a place that existed in his family's biographical landscape, and to move to the city was to take a geographical position previously held by his father, and one that was valued as the equivalent to that of a wealthy person in central London. Although a repeat migrant, Peter remained in Bristol for over forty years, suggesting the higher mobility found among science graduates compared to graduates of art and design courses (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014), may be a feature of life for Millennials, or that high mobility is short lived, and individuals settle in a place once families are established, regardless of profession. A further point worthy of note, is that Inmos was only based in two locations, Bristol and Newport, meaning there was no opportunity for an intra-company move to another location (Fielding, 2012). This type of movement is a likely explanation for the repeat migration of engineers, who typically work in large, multi-locational companies.

The political decision to locate Inmos in Bristol was a major factor influencing Peter's migration and occupation trajectories. This decision is specific to the city and to the industrial strategy of the government at the time. The political and economic climate, and the historical development of the city were essential elements in the creation of Peter's job, and thus his migration. The location in the city of a Russell Group University also meant that he could transition into an academic position in a high status institution. Unlike John, who's father was also an entrepreneur, Peter's father was a teacher, and Peter had previously flourished in an academic setting, so an educational institution may have felt a more natural move than entrepreneurialism. Had the Inmos research and development head quarters been located in Newport for example, this opportunity would not have been present and a migration away from the city after the collapse of Inmos would have been more likely.

The second repeat migrant, graphic designer Daniel, had a different narrative. Daniel talked about his education and migration in the context of

his 'good, solid working class' family origin and his social mobility – the only interviewee in this generation to address the issue of class directly. Unlike the other migrants, his parents were not involved in art and design: his father was a carpenter and his mother a secretary. Also unlike many other designers from middle-class families, Daniel remarked on performing well at school, passing the Eleven Plus exam and attending his local grammar school. It was at school that he was introduced to, and showed an aptitude for art and design.

> I went to the local grammar school and I was just better at art than anything else. I made my first print, a linocut when I was 13. So I was always a print maker really. Then I went to Southampton, which was a great decision really because at the time Southampton was practical and old fashioned and traditional.

After his Art Foundation at Southampton, Daniel chose to study at Farnham on a degree course he felt was a good match with his identity, interests and 'good solid' background:

> London College of Printing was more commercial and I didn't really, they didn't like me and I didn't like them. Bournemouth was a pure photography course and they didn't think I was a photographer. Falmouth was more of a traditional painting course, it wasn't really about printmaking. Farnham's printmaking course was a new course, and it was just a good solid course. A great place to go.

From Farnham, Daniel moved to London for post-graduate study at the Royal College of Art [RCA]. After his graduation in the early 1980s, Daniel remained living in London where he made a good living, labelling himself as a 'Yuppie' – a reflection of his social mobility. He worked as a commercial printmaker and as a visiting tutor in art colleges across the south of England. Teaching work came through his RCA network. His traditional art school training meant that had the skills to teach on a range of courses and this

flexibility made him attractive to employers. In 1984 he decided to leave London for Bristol, motivated by a desire to step onto the property ladder. House prices were rising rapidly in London and had become out reach. A move to Bristol enabled home ownership, and he could continue in his employment from the city. This he understood as a one-way migration:

> I couldn't afford to [move back to London]. As soon as you moved out, you have no equity. I was what, 30, with no equity to move back so once I'd bought the house in Bristol I couldn't move back into London. And I've been offered jobs in London since, I was offered a senior post in [London HE institution], but couldn't move back because I couldn't afford to live in London anymore. Not even on that salary, or not in the same way.

Once moved to Bristol, initially Daniel continued to make a good income from printmaking, while teaching part-time. He married and started a family. When his wife became ill he was forced to take on caring responsibilities for his daughter and continue working. Needing work that was reliable and had a regular working pattern, Daniel decided to give up his commercial work to enter teaching full-time. Coming from a working class family without a high level of economic capital to fall back upon meant he was less willing to continue with a risk laden business, and needed to ensure long term benefits, such as holiday pay, sick pay and a pension. With a child to care for he needed work that offered regular working hours around which he could organise childcare.

Unlike all the other migrants discussed so far, Daniel's trajectory is one of a high level of social mobility. His education and migration led him to a new lifestyle in Bristol, one that was a break away from his working-class origins. When starting a family, finding a place that resembled his own early family life was not a motivation; instead he made life anew. Despite his social mobility, a lack of financial capital meant Daniel could not remain in risky self-employment but found security and a career ladder through his

employment in a university. Education and migration were contributing aspects in his social mobility, but this was only realised through the availability of a secure job.

Daniel offered an overview of changes he had witnessed in the social demographics of art schools, comparing his experiences in the 1970s with the situation in 2015:

> Me and my mate … we came from good solid working class backgrounds. [My mate] had come from Preston and his dad was a dustman. Just a good solid working class lad who could throw [pots] … Bath and Farnham were sort of a mix of finishing school and people with not great qualifications.

Because of the withdrawal of funding for higher education, and the introduction of academic entry requirements and fees, he felt his trajectory was no longer available to a young person from a similar working class background in 2016:

> I think that the art school ethos is less diverse than it was. Partly because you don't get a grant. I mean I would never, I wouldn't be able to borrow fifty grand to go, from the background I came from. It was fine […] But I couldn't do it now, and I wouldn't even dream of doing it now.

Daniel discussed his experiences as a peripatetic lecturer and gave further observations on the relationship between the ethos of the art school and the spatial distribution of art students. Daniel mapped arts institutions of the 1970s by their traditional/conceptual ethos. He considered independent art schools of Falmouth, Ravensbourne, Brighton and Farnham as 'quite traditional, safe' institutions that would attract more traditional, conservative students. They were also located in nice, safe, places to live. In

contrast were more 'boundary pushing' courses such as Goldsmiths and Harrow in London:

> The only one that I taught at that pushed the boundaries was Harrow. Harrow was an anomaly. Harrow is in a bit of a god-forsaken hole. You'd have to want to go there for the course because there were much nicer places to go to in London, do you know what I mean? So in a sense Harrow survived on that. It was more cutting edge. Which you could say the same about Goldsmiths in South East London. Whereas if you went to the Central St Martins, they were cosier places, or Chelsea.

Reflecting the unequal distribution of wealth in the UK (Fielding, 2012; Dorling and Thomas, 2007), an additional spatial element Daniel identifies is movement between the North and South. Some students did migrate from the North to the South, but there were far fewer migrations in the opposite direction because 'posh' people did not move to the north:

> I think that's something else that distinguishes the south from the north – you didn't get posh people moving to the north, I mean they did, but not in the same quantities that you would get coming to Bath or Farnham … Because there wasn't the necessity for cheapness. At the time you got your grant, you got your money, so there wasn't an incentive to go north because it's cheaper.

This evidence suggests that a form of cultural matching between the ethos of the institution or course and the interests and background of the individual student played an important role in migration and occupation outcomes of designers who studied art-based degrees in this period. It also highlights the ways in which perceptions of the UK north/south divide impacts on migration routes of wealthy arts students.

Daniel's trajectory is of social mobility and while it highlights the impact of changes to the education system, and the expansion of entry to the arts school (Banks and Oakley, 2016; Beck and Cornford, 2012), Daniel's social mobility was ultimately enabled by his employment at university, which provided a secure working environment and a career ladder. There are of course, a finite number of secure academic positions in a city. Whether many other working class people of this generation left an arts education and remained working in the design industry over the long term is unknown and a subject for further research. Daniel's account also highlights designers' dependence on others to care for children, and what happens to a career trajectory when this support is no longer available. Women leave the design industry with age, and the problems of returning to work after becoming a parent are understood as a major reason (Skillset, 2010). No female Baby Boomer designers were interviewed, and interviewees could not name a single female designer of this generation who was active in the city. Further research is needed to understand the trajectories of female design graduates, but Daniel's account suggests teaching as a possible career avenue. Housing, and migration to access the housing ladder also emerges as an important factor, though one that is discussed to a far lesser extent by the middle-class designers. Possibly this is because home ownership was expected as the norm and so not worthy of comment.

This section has explored the trajectories of two repeat migrants and has found that though they show a similar pattern of migration, the underlying trajectories are from two different social positions: one is a trajectory of social recreation and the other of social mobility. The next section examines a new pattern of migration that has emerged from this data on long-term trajectories.

5.2.4   Yo-yo Migration

The sequential trajectories of three repeat migrants show a yo-yo pattern of migration in which individuals (and often their households) make a repeated sequence of movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region. Yo-yo migration is different from 'return' migration

as defined in this study and by Faggian, Comunian and Li, (2014), as it is not describing return of students to their home of origin after graduation, but is instead a repeated sequence of movements away from and then returning to a fixed location. In the internal and international migration literature 'return' migration is understood as any return to a place previously inhabited, and has mainly been theorised either as a migrant's failure to thrive economically in a new location, and a return to a place where social networks can be used to find employment, or as an economically successful migrant returning to develop a home location (Niedomysl and Amcoff, 2010). However the literature also suggests that return migrations are made for social rather than economic reasons – to be near one's family, relatives and friends (see for example Morrison and Clark, 2011; Niedomysl and Amcoff, 2010; Dienel *et al.*, 2006) This section explores the motivations behind yo-yo migrations, and designers' long term connection with an anchor place or region.

One interviewee, an engineer, made yo-yo movements between Bristol and Cambridge, and Bristol and London before eventually settling in Bristol (see figure 1). He originally moved to Bristol from the North of the UK for an apprenticeship with British Aerospace, who then sponsored him throughout higher education at Cambridge University. After graduation he returned to work in Bristol for his sponsoring company. He moved to London for a while, but returned again to work in Bristol. Faggian, McCann and Sheppard (2007) found that graduates who receive industrial sponsorship for higher education often move from their university location for employment with the sponsoring company. As sponsorships are arranged prior to university, this move tends to be a return to their region of origin. In this case, the sponsoring company was in a third location, neither home nor the university area, but the engineer's migration path was to a large part determined from an early age, and movements were made in relation to the sponsoring company.

Figure 1 Engineer's Yo-Yo Migration Path
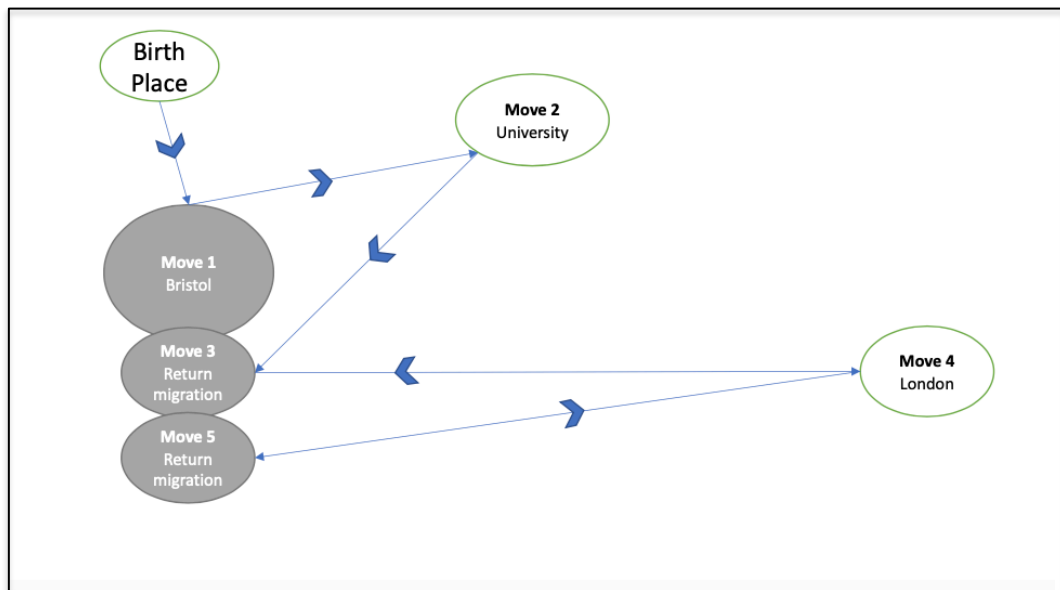
Malcolm, a high tech designer was the most mobile of all the interviewees in the Baby Boomer generation. His trajectory was selected for detailed discussion to demonstrate the pull of place in a middle-class migration trajectory. On the surface, Malcolm's occupation and high rate of migration, combined with his high level of income, give him the appearance of an exemplary Creative Class member. Closer analysis reveals a different picture, one in which family of origin plays a magnetic role. From the time he left home for university in the 1970s until his interview in 2015, Malcolm made three yo-yo movements between his parent's home location 50km north of Bristol, and jobs in London and in Europe (see Figure 2). His account demonstrates, again, the interconnection between parents and later occupation and migration outcomes.

Figure 2 Malcolm's Yo-Yo Migration Path
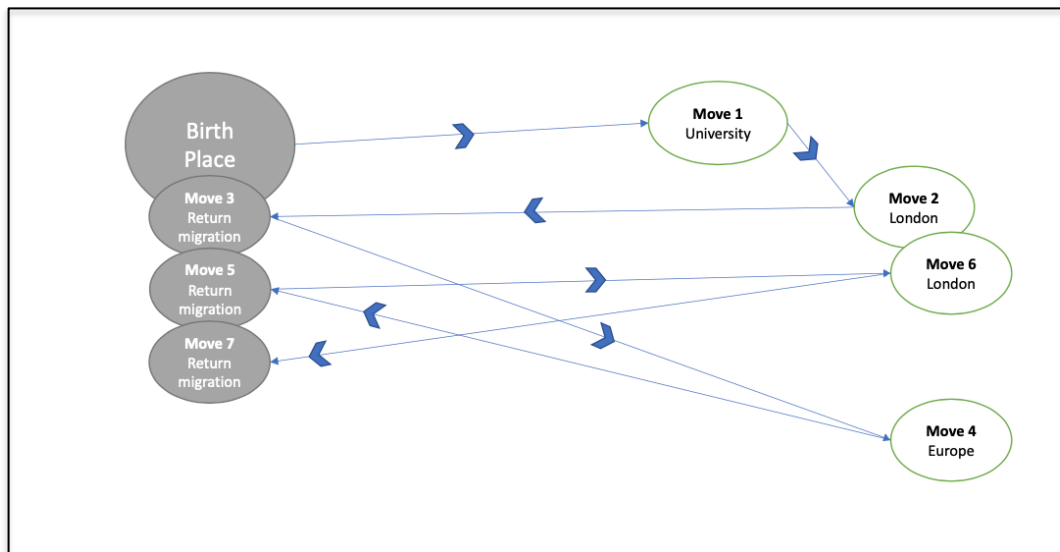
Malcolm, whose father was an engineer, followed in his father's footsteps and studied engineering at university. His career as a high-tech designer began with a job in lighting design. This job combined his two main interests in life – drama and technology – interests inherited directly from his parents, and in which he gained experience throughout his involvement in amateur dramatics at school and in university:

> Lighting design, it was theatre design, set design, all those kind of theatrical things, because my parents were very amateur dramatic types. I did a little bit of acting, and I couldn't stand the stress of being in front of people. My father was an engineer, I had an engineering bent, so it really touched that lovely mid-point between doing something very creative, and the whole performance thing of getting the buzz out of working up to a performance ... My first job was in theatre lighting technically, but it was informed by what I did. I did a lot of amateur lighting, through university, through youth theatre in Gloucestershire, through to when I was in South and West London.

After graduating from university in the mid 1970s, Malcolm moved to London for his first job in lighting design. He loved the job, but left after two

years as pay was low and he felt exploited. At this point he and his girlfriend travelled the world for two years 'living on a shoestring'. Completing his first yo-yo migration, the couple then returned to live in his parents' house while he looked for a job and they got married. He found employment close to his parents' home, and the couple bought their first property. Unhappy at work and with a bug for travelling, Malcolm found a well-paid job in Europe, where they relocated. There the couple started a family. Prompted by the arrival of his daughter, and despite enjoying his work and earning a high salary, the family returned to the UK to live close to his parents, thus making a second yo-yo migration:

> The people were fine, very, very friendly people, and I loved living on the Continent, but there was just a sense of, "It's time to go home." Because having a child, your first child, away from the support systems like your family, close family, made it that much harder. And so just that relief of getting back home.

Though living in the West Country, Malcolm commuted to work in London, and after a time he and his family relocated to the South East near London. There they felt uncomfortable with the values and attitudes of the parents they met at their children's school, and after five years they completed a third yo-yo migration and returned again to live near his parents.

> I think we always felt- we didn't feel happy in the Home Counties. It was very stressed, it was very buzzy. People weren't that friendly, because it was all... Everybody talked about what car they had, if they were blokes, and if they were women, it was what their kids were doing. And you know, "We're doing ballet, and then horse-riding, and then all this," and it was just not our kind of bag ...So we did have a feeling we wanted to get back somewhere, and I certainly knew the Cotswolds well; down to about Bristol, Bath, but really a bit higher up, Stroud, Cheltenham, Gloucester.

Once re-located in the West, Malcolm looked for work and found employment in Bristol with high tech company Hewlett Packard, and later within companies set up in the city by former employees of Inmos. Throughout his life, Malcolm had a high degree of choice in his location decisions; finding work that was well paid and rewarding did not present as a problem.

Malcolm's location decisions over the long term were driven not by employment opportunities, but by the magnetic pull of his parents who provided a home in times of unemployment, and later a support network for his family. Being located close to his home of origin satisfied a desire to live among like-minded people and enabled his children to grow up in the same environment that he himself had enjoyed as a child. Work opportunities were important but most prominent was the desire to live where he felt 'at home' (Easthope, 2004). As Morrison and Clark (2011) argue, in areas where jobs are relatively plentiful over a range of locations, employment is expected and necessary, but is a less prominent driver of migration. Analysing Malcolm's sequential trajectory over a long time frame, rather than in singular a to b migrations, enabled a yo-yo pattern to emerge and revealed that high mobility does not always mean a movement progressively away from place of origin. Although the middle-class biography is characteristically multi-locational (Savage, 2010; Fielding, 1992), for some, place, and the familial and social connections contained within a specific place, continue to be important.

5.2.5 The Grand Yo-yo

The strength of family connections, spatially and occupationally are also demonstrated in the account of the potter, Ian. Ian's migration and occupation trajectory takes the form of a yo-yo pattern away from and returning to an anchor location, but in this case the sequential movements take place across three generations. Ian's grandfather lived in Somerset, where he ran a tannery. Ian's father left Somerset for the North of the UK, where he worked as an engineer, and where Ian was born. As a young child, Ian moved with his family to Southampton, where he went to school and

studied Art Foundation. Ian then moved to Farnham for his degree in Ceramics, then to London to study at the Royal College of Art, before moving to Bristol, and then finally settling in Somerset where he set up a pottery close to his grandfather's birthplace.

Like many of the designers in this study, Ian described how his interest in design originated in his family. Ian's maternal uncle and aunt had been involved in the arts, and as a child he found a fascination in their world. Ian was also influenced by his frequent visits to his paternal grandfather's tannery in Somerset:

> So it was a tanner's yard, producing things. Lots of skins were sold as rugs and slippers, hats and gloves and that kind of thing. And that was quite fascinating, as a child. I mean, fantastic as a child, to go into a place – environment like that and, and there was all these, you know, people working, doing different parts of making. I think that was also, kind of instrumental in my thinking process.

The Post-War democratisation of arts education were a part of Ian's education experience and Ian described the mixed social milieu in Southampton Art College:

> And it was a really interesting place to be. And I, I talk about it now, because Southampton Art College was an art college, it was a, you know, complete, it was a unit on its own, so it had the foundation course. And then it had part-time courses and evening class courses, all running under the same establishment. I think that was really interesting, with hindsight. Because you saw different people doing different things. And, the other thing about that place that I now think is really interesting, is it had people coming in doing day release courses. So that was all these kinds of groups of different people … and all came under the art college. So I think that was a really interesting institution.

His exposure to traditional skills and making in a rural, small-scale workshop had a direct impact on Ian's spatial movements across his life as he moved between HE institutions that matched his interests. When applying for art foundation, Ian chose to study on a traditional skills-based course in Southampton, instead of the conceptual course in Winchester. At Southampton, Ian's tutors gave advice on which HE institution to move to next. They recommended another traditional skills-based art school, this time in Farnham:

> Well, you know, you listen to people and the people said, 'well, you know, there's a couple of courses that are good. Harrow, Farnham, Bath's good, Bristol's good. You probably need to go to Farnham.

After finishing his degree, Ian moved to London for post-graduate study at the Royal College of Art. When he graduated in the early 1980s, the UK was in recession and Ian found few job opportunities in London. Through his university network, he was offered teaching work in art colleges in Bath and Cardiff, both of which offered traditional skills-based courses, to which Ian's expertise were suited. Ian moved to Bristol as the city provided a convenient base to live between the two cities.

Ian lived in South Bristol, an area that traditionally housed the working class employees of the tobacco and packaging industries that had closed down in the 1970s. Ian's description of Bristol is of the small mindedness, poverty and sense of hopelessness of his unemployed working class neighbours:

> It was parochial. And it was South Bristol people that really didn't want anybody coming in. So it was actually a bit unfriendly … and it was quite a working class environment. It was OK. There were some nice people. But it wasn't brilliantly straightforward at that time. You could tell that there were a lot of people unemployed without – there

didn't seem to be much – it was a bit hopeless actually, there, at the time.

Though Ian experienced some unfriendliness, locating in South Bristol enabled him and his partner to step onto the property ladder and renovate a rundown Victorian property. He gained extra teaching work at Bristol Polytechnic (now the University of the West of England) and continued to work as a potter. At this time he experienced a personal disquiet in his choice of ceramic materials and working methods, linked to his origins and the origins of the clay he was using:

> Everything I did, when I started dealing with porcelain or stoneware, took me to a land from which I didn't come. To the Orient. And, whenever you dealt, seemed to deal with porcelain, or with stoneware, you couldn't escape its routes. Not mine. Its routes. And so I thought, 'well look, I'm just going to go and do something which is much more associated with my own culture. So, very simple. Limitation. Red clay. Slip and glaze. Let's deal with that. See what will grow out of that. So that's what I did. And I started doing that in Bristol and then I showed it for the first time in a show associated with the Royal College at Liberty's in London.

Having made changes in his working practice, Ian left Bristol to set up a pottery in Somerset, in close proximity to his grandfather's old tannery. At this time, and in this place, the potter settled and started a family. The motivation for this move was multifaceted: it was a place connected to his family roots; his house in Bristol had increased significantly in value, enabling him to step up a rung on the housing ladder; with a residential base in Somerset, Ian could continue to commute to Bath, Cardiff and Bristol for teaching work; friends from London had recently moved nearby, which was an added attraction.

Once Ian's pottery was established, he used a Crafts Council grant to pay a local school-leaver to train in his pottery. He did this partly because he enjoyed the process of training an apprentice, but also because it seemed 'like a social thing to do. You know, for society. If you can generate more you should.' As his family grew, Ian and his wife decided that as she was the dominant earner, he would undertake the greater share of childcare. With his time stretched between childcare, teaching and his pottery, Ian felt unable to generate the work needed to take on another employee. His 'leftish kind of politics' were expressed in his concern that in employment there should be an 'umbrella to look after [employees] in circumstances that were out of their control'.

An analysis of Ian's sequential migration pattern over the long term, and in relation to his grandparents' home, shows that though his trajectory is multi-locational, he had a lasting attachment to a specific place. Ian's account also shows a deep intergenerational connection between his profession and that of his grandfather, an attachment that influenced the direction of his professional work in remarkably powerful way. Unlike middle-class residents who link their biography to a chosen place through stories about how their arrival in a place is appropriate to their social status (Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2005), Ian's trajectory shows a strong desire for a rooted sense of belonging.

Ian's account also offers further evidence of the role of art school tutors in migration outcomes, through their matching of individual students with art and design courses according to their respective characters and ethos. An interest in tradition ways of making underpinned Ian migration movements for HE and his later teaching posts. Other factors were also simultaneously important in Ian's migration and occupation path: the symbolic role of a prestigious London education as a signifier of quality to employers; the economic and political climate of the 1970s and 1980s; Ian's own left wing politics; access to central government funding through the Crafts Council; and migration to climb onto and up housing ladder.

5.3 Discussion

This in-depth analysis of Baby Boomer designers' trajectories reveals deep, lasting and entwined connections with designer's family and place of origin. This strong connection with family is contrary to the theory of the self-actualised creative individual, who can act in an 'authentic' way, freed of the influence of upbringing and social experiences described by Maslow (1971) and Florida (2002). For most, a career in design was a continuation from, not a break with, their family of origin. The culture, or habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), of the family of origin appears to assert a more powerful influence on occupation outcomes than education – secondary or tertiary. Designers gained cultural capital from their parents, which informed and enabled their education and career choices. These findings offer evidence in support of literature arguing that in the creative industries, the intergenerational inheritance of cultural capital is a determining factor in educational success and occupation outcomes (Banks, 2017; O'Brien et al., 2016; Koppman, 2016; McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009). The level of detail on childhood and education offered by the interviewees in this generation is striking, as were the frequent connections made between early family life and their education and career outcomes.

When asked where their interest in design stemmed from, the majority of the designers, regardless of sector or class, stated that their interest in design was fostered in the childhood family home; their talents recognised and encouraged by a family member and at school. This family member was often the father, who in many cases was also a designer by occupation. There was a strong bond with parents over design and cultural interests generally, and a sense of inevitability in the designer's occupational pathway. Of the five interviewees who undertook arts-based degrees, three described how they struggled to perform well in academic subjects at school. For them, there was a feeling that no other occupation was possible, and in these cases family encouragement in art and design was particularly important. Contrastingly, the science and technology designers reported

performing well at school, and on the high expectations of parents and teachers that they would pursue careers in engineering and technology.

Differences in migration patterns were less connected to sector of occupation and more to social class. The literature finds that Millennial engineering graduates are more mobile than art and design graduates in the first six months after graduation (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014). This study finds that Baby Boomer designers in engineering and high-tech professions were more mobile than arts-based designers, but their period of mobility was short lived, and all designers settled in one place for a period of significant time once children were at school. Although barely referenced by interviewees, the greatest differences in migration trajectory were between those from middle-class and working-class backgrounds. Class was key to the designers' expectations of migration over the life-course (Fielding, 1992). All migrant designers (with the exception of one who came from a working-class background) were the sons of middle-class designers, engineers, businessmen and teachers.

For middle-class designers, a migration away from home for education and work, and the establishment of a new family in a location away from the family of origin, was not a rupture, but an anticipated, normal movement into adulthood. Migration enabled movement into an occupation of similar status to that of the father, served to maintain the family's social position, and recreate the conditions of their own childhood in that of their children. This was particularly the case for the designers who moved from the de-industrialising North East, which offered far fewer opportunities in engineering and computer design than the South. The new family home, though it may be spatially removed from the family of origin, had a connection to habitus (Easthope, 2004), as a place that felt like, or has some connection to, home and early life. This may be a particular place, such as Somerset as a place to run an artisan business, or Bristol as a place where young men pool intelligence, or a type of place, such as a river in the country by which to bring up children. These familial associations with place in some

cases were more connected to what could be *done* in a place (e.g. play by a river, set up a business) than the social relationships it would be possible to maintain. For others though, social relationships in a particular place were important.

An analysis of long term sequential, rather than a-to-b migration, enabled a pattern of yo-yo migration to emerge: a repeated set of movements away from but then returning to an anchor place or region. This contributes to the literature by giving a new insight into middle class migration. A high level of mobility does not always mean a movement progressively away from place of origin. Although the middle class biography is characteristically multi-locational (Savage, 2010; Fielding, 1992), for some, place and the family and social connections contained within a specific place continue to be important and magnetic, particularly after the establishment of a new family. This type of return migration was not connected to economic failure or success (Niedomysl and Amcoff, 2010), but more closely to a desire to feel at home (Easthope, 2004, 2009) and the reproduction of family life. For the migrant designer from a working-class background, the dynamic was different. There was an acceptance of a different lifestyle in adulthood to that of his parents, and no desire to recreate the conditions of his early family life in that of his children. The non-migrant designer originated from a working-class area near Bristol, and entered a design occupation through an apprenticeship. Migration away from his place of origin was not considered a necessary path into employment or adulthood (Fielding, 1992). Migration was not looked for, and not missed.

Designers in this generation were found to be holding and acting on values about design, art and culture which date back at least to the post-war period of their parent's youth. The roots of these values could be traced further back to the Edwardian scouting movement, and ultimately to the Puritans and the Protestant work ethic. Florida (2002) claims a universality of values for the creative class, those of individuality and self-expression, but amongst this sample of designers values were divided. Divisions were evident in the

values they placed on in their work, be it the economic value, or the social value of the activity and the products of their labour. Two designers were primary carers for their children, and discussed the issues and compromises that arise for a person in that role. They were the only interviewees in this generation to remark on the impact of children on their careers.

Design, and creativity more broadly has been gendered masculine by designers (Reimer, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015) and in ideas about creativity (Maslow, 1943; 1971; Rand, 1943). The gendering of design as masculine was evident through-out the interviews, and embodied by the designers themselves, who were all male. Female Baby Boomers did study in art schools, but certainly none of the interviewees could name one woman of this generation in Bristol who maintained a professional career as a designer. It seems less likely there were many women studying alongside the men in science and technology, and from these designers' accounts none were working within the industry. This chapter demonstrates how the gendering of design has an intergenerational root: for the majority, the occupation of designer was passed down the male line. Fathers, uncles and grandfathers were all named as influential figures either as professional designers themselves or as the people who introduced ideas, design and making skills in childhood. Design for this generation was an entirely masculine world: very few women were mentioned other than in the role of mother, wife, secretary or librarian. Traditional patriarchal, middle class, white values dominated. A number of other factors impacted in designers' migration and occupation trajectories: the role HE, London, property and employment type.

For those designers who studied an arts-based degree, a process of cultural matching between students and institutions had significant impact on occupation and migration outcomes. Tutors on Art Foundation courses directed individual students to the HE institutions they felt aligned to the student's interests. For example those who were drawn, because of their family background, to learning traditional skills, were advised to apply to

courses with a more traditional curriculum. In the 1970s, those courses were based in Southampton, Farnham, Bristol, Bath, Falmouth and Brighton. The arts based migrants, particularly those who became tutors, moved around in a pattern that could labelled a 'traditional' migration path between institutions. Reference is made to other students attending more 'ground breaking' or 'conceptual' courses in, for example, Winchester and London. This may in part explain why arts based designers migrated between Southampton and Bristol. It is unclear whether a similar process of cultural matching was enacted for those in science and technology occupations. There is an important difference between the two groups in this regard. Those studying arts-based degrees undertook a one year Foundation course led by tutors who, because of the peripatetic nature of arts teaching, often had a broad view of the ethos of arts institutions nationally. This intermediary is not present for science and technology students. Instead, those taking engineering and science degrees were guided by parents and secondary school teachers.

Although a number of the interviewees had lived in London and the South East, the maximum time spent there was 7-10 years. For none of the interviewees did London act as an escalator region: none arrived in Bristol having spent the majority of their careers in London, and having just realised their assets (Fielding, 1992). For those who were educated at the Royal College of Art, London served as a signal of quality to future employees, and provided a network of contacts through which to access teaching work in universities outside the capital. London was also continuously important as a client base and place to exhibit work, long after the designers moved away. What designers could not do in London was access the property ladder, an aspect of middle-class life as important as job position (Fielding, 1992). Bristol provided this opportunity in an area where prices were low but set to rise.

Property prices also kept designers from migrating back to London, even when offered a high status job. A return move was not thought possible

because the equivalent type of housing and location would not be accessible, meaning a lowering of living standards and social status, which was felt to be unacceptable. A further dynamic that emerged in relation to London was that some designers identified them selves in opposition to London (Easthope, 2009). Despite the job opportunities in the capital, these interviewees perceived a mis-match between their character and of that of London. This positioning against London is similar to that reported among creative workers in Birmingham and Newcastle-Gateshead (Chapain and Comunian, 2010). Being a big fish in a small pond may be have contributed to designers' reasons for staying.

At the time of interview, six of the nine designers in this generation worked within the city's universities, three as professors. Seven spent the majority of their working lives within the city's large institutions: education, aerospace and the city council, all of which offer secure work, a career ladder, benefits and a pension. This is a relevant finding as the creative industries are characterised as being formed of small companies and freelance workers (Wenting, 2008). There are a number of possible reasons why so few Baby Boomer designers interviewed worked within small companies. There may have been a bias in the study towards those connected to the university; it may be a reflection of the time in which they migrated into Bristol – there were fewer design companies in the region and so employment in a university was more likely; or it may be sign that not many of those working in independent businesses have been successful in the city over the long term. These findings may also indicate a change in the needs of individuals as they age. After a period working in the high-risk independent sector, and as the needs of a new family come to the fore, it may be that individuals move to more secure forms of employment, inside or outside the design industry. Finally, it may be that a decision was made not to migrate away from the city, and academia provided secure and high status employment.

5.4   Conclusion

Mature people are present in Florida's (2002) creative class theory only as the fathers and grandfathers of the young creative class; relics from the old world they live in the towns they grew up in, worked all their lives in factories with their class mates, and go to church on Sundays. In Bristol however, mature designers are active and influential in the creative and cultural sectors, working in senior positions as business owners and in universities. Baby boomer designers have played an important role in forming and leading Bristol design firms over the past forty-five years. They set the ethos within a firm, and have been responsible for hiring and training employees. They have also been responsible for the design output of their firms, and the strategic decisions within their firms, including location decisions. In universities as senior academics, Baby Boomer designers have developed design courses, selected and educated students, and designed and led research projects, shaping the academic knowledge of design.

This chapter has made an in-depth investigation into the migration routes and career paths of Baby Boomer designers who have lived in Bristol. It contributes to the literature by offering a detailed view of migration over the course of sixty years, extending considerably the understanding of sequential migration of creative workers, and of the complexity of factors that underlie migration and occupation outcomes. The first section detailed the designers' characteristics in terms of ethnicity and gender, finding that all interviewees were white and male supporting the argument that the creative industries are mono-cultural (O'Brien *et al.*, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013). It then examined the frequency and range of migration movements across the interviewee's lifespans. Across the lifespan, designers migrated in a lifecycle pattern typical of the UK population. They also moved from the North to the South of the UK, and across the South of the UK, in a pattern also typical for the UK population (Fielding, 2012). This finding is in contrast to Florida's (2002) claim that creative workers migrate in a different pattern to other workers.

The section built upon the work of Faggian, Comunian and Li (2014), to define a new set of categories for describing migration trajectories over the lifespan, which included the migration and non-migration of those who did not attend university, and those with longer and more complex migration histories. In contrast to other studies on creative worker migration in Europe and the UK, which finds creative workers often live in their city of birth or education (Sánchez-Moral, 2017; Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014; Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010; Chapain and Comunian, 2010) the majority of designers in this generation were not born or university educated in Bristol. More commonly, designers migrated to Bristol after making one or two moves post-university, then settled for a number of decades.

To understand migration patterns more deeply, the second section explored in detail the designers' accounts of their migration and occupation choices. Through a biographical approach, which included designers' reflections on childhood and family history, their education, career paths, and migration movements, the complexity of factors that impact on migration and occupation outcomes came to light. This section contributes to the literature in a number of ways. First it demonstrated the close interconnection between family of origin and migration and occupation outcomes, showing the importance of social class and associated expectations of migration in creative worker migration, and the strong intergenerational link between family occupations. Second, a form of cultural matching was revealed to be influential in migration pathways to university; there was a link between the background and interests of the designer, and the history and ethos of the degree course. Third, housing careers were as important as occupational careers in migration outcomes. This was particularly important in relation to London, where designers struggled to access or climb the housing ladder. Issues relating to migration, class, housing, and the history of arts education institutions are particular to the UK (Fielding, 2012), and cast doubt on the appropriateness of Florida's (2002) generalisations on creative worker migration, which were based upon his observations in the US, where dynamics differ.

This chapter makes a further contribution to the literature in the identification of a yo-yo pattern of migration; this is new insight into middle-class migration. A connected contribution to the literature is the finding that when work opportunities are relatively plentiful over a range of locations, many designers made migration decision based on family, and a sense of feeling at 'home'. A limitation of these findings is that the migration and occupation trajectories are understood only from the point of view of the designer, who was making migration and occupation decisions as part of a couple and then family. Designer's migrations may have been influenced by other factors such as their partner's work, being close to their partners' parents, or their partner's own sense of home.

This chapter finds that mostly middle-class , white, male designers moved to Bristol, and as Basset (1993) and Fielding (1992) describe, through their consumption preferences, work and lifestyles, played a part in shaping the city. But their influence goes even deeper. Through their professions, these designers shape the objects and services that make up the fabric of our world, and they shape workspaces and working culture in Bristol design companies, the education programmes in the universities, and the political and business climate of the city. They also select the employees and students who work and study there. Despite Bristol's claim to be an alternative, rebellious and diverse city (Henry, 2018; Naylor, 2016), the eldest in the city's design network are found to maintain traditional patriarchal social structures. However, Florida's (2002) theory was based on his observations of creative workers in Generation X. The next chapter explores the migration and occupation patterns of Generation X designers, and following Florida (2002), it is in these trajectories that one might expect to see significant change.

6   Generation X

> ... where I live now, I live in a home zone in a cul-de-sac and I know
> everyone. That makes a huge difference to me.
> *(Architect, Generation X, Female)*

While there may be some doubts as to whether the designers in the Baby Boomer generation belong to Florida's Creative Class, designers in Generation X certainly qualify; Florida's theory was in part derived from his observations of Generation X students on his university campus. Members of Generation X were born between 1966-81 (Katz, 2017). Those who went to university straight from school or an Art Foundation course graduated between 1987-2002, the majority experiencing higher education before the promotion of the Creative Industries by New Labour in the late 1990s.

Generation X is something of the poor cousin in academic literature and the popular press. Focus instead falls on the Baby Boomers and Millennials, who are often written about together in terms of the differences and tensions between them (see for example Hoolachan and McKee, 2019; Woodman and Wyn, 2015; Willetts, 2010; Howker and Malik, 2010; Howe and Strauss, 2000). Sandwiched between the two, members of Generation X are characterised as lost, cynical, gloomy and depressive. As children they were the neglected 'latch-key kids' of working mothers, and were the first generation to experience the divorce of parents. They attended failing schools and witnessed the demise of industry and secure employment; from these experiences they developed a nihilistic approach to life. As young adults, access to free higher education ended, and in later adulthood they were the first generation not to exceed their parents in markers of wealth and success (Wilson, 2019; Katz, 2017; Dannefer and Feldman, 2017).

Generation X are also claimed to be entrepreneurial, self directed, and productive. Though having low expectations of life, Generation X-ers turned out to be late developers and high achievers (Dannefer and Feldman, 2017). Growing up in the era of de-industrialisation and neo-liberal politics they experienced large scale changes in work place structures and career dynamics (Flores and Gray, 1999; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). In the late 1990s the Generation X 'creative worker' took centre stage as a positive exemplar of a new type of worker, and the concept of creativity became vital to New Labour's 're-positioning of itself as the party of the aspirational middle-class ' (Oakley, 2006, p. 217).

Generation X creative workers were labelled 'cultural entrepreneurs' (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). As the first generation to grow up with computers, they worked in new media including film, TV, games, publishing and advertising. Being parented by the children of the 1960s, and themselves teenagers under Thatcher's government, they were said to value independence and to be suspicious of 'strings attached' grant funding. These independents, it was claimed, did not want to work for large organisations, seeing them as potentially unstable and as curtailing self-expression. Earnings were low, and aspirations were not to build a large company, but to make their fortunes by creating a big hit:

> They are anti-establishment, anti-traditionalist and in respects highly individualistic: they prize freedom, autonomy and choice. These values predispose them to pursue self-employment and entrepreneurship in a spirit of self-exploration and self-fulfilment. (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999, p.15)

Whereas traditional careers were often prepared for in childhood and adopted in early maturity, generation X workers were reported to be moving from project to project and between industries, seeking opportunities to express their creative ideas. Workers made no lifelong commitment to a singular profession or professional groups:

In this ideal, they may spend seven years of their adult lives as engineers, then go to business school and become consultants for another seven years, then buy into a winery and turn their full-time attention to that, and so forth. (Flores and Gray, 1999, p.22)

This chapter analyses the migration and occupation trajectories of Generation X designers and is organised as follows: The first section details the characteristics of the interviewees by sector, employment type, gender and ethnicity. The second section gives an overview of designers' migration trajectories and rates of migration. Following from this, designers' trajectories are analysed in detail. Individual accounts were selected as typical, opposite and extreme examples of different patterns of migration (Iosifides, 2011; Danermark, *et al.*, 2002). London arises repeatedly in the accounts of Generation X designers, the fourth section focuses on role of London in designers' trajectories. The fifth section focuses on tied migration (Bielby and Bielby, 1992), a phenomenon that is evident in the migration trajectories of designers in this generation. This is followed by a discussion and concluding remarks.

6.1 Data

Thirty-three interviews were conducted with designers from Generation X. Interviewees worked in engineering, and in the sectors that had been growing in Bristol from the 1970s onwards: film/tv/animation, model making and high-tech. They also worked in sectors that were newer to the city: marketing and advertising, events and urban design. A small number of interviewees arrived in the city in the late 1980s and 1990s, but the majority arrived in the decade between 2000-2010. Three interviewees were born in Bristol, and six attended higher education [HE] in the city. These findings are different to other studies which find the majority of creative workers residing in their native city or place of education (Faggian,

Comunian and Li, 2014; Chapain and Comunian, 2010; Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010).

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show the characteristics of the interviewees, divided by gender. Of the thirty-three interviewees, ten were female. Although this is only a slightly higher percentage than in the Baby Boomer generation (of which three out of thirteen were female) there is a difference as eight of the females interviewed were designers by occupation, and only two worked in non-design roles. This compares to Baby Boomer generation, which included three females working in industry support and management roles, and zero female designers. The higher representation of women designers is not however indicative of a more balanced gender split in the design industry in the city. The research team was aware of lack of representation of women in the creative industries (Skillset, 2010) and recognised the low number of women being put forward for interview. Two female engineers and one female architect were sought out specifically to understand the design industry from a female perspective.

As with the previous generation, and based on visual observation, all interviewees in this sample group, across all sectors, were white. The research team were aware of the lack of diversity amongst the designers put forward for interview, but did not encounter any BAME designers to approach for an alternative view. This is not to say there were no BAME designers active in the city, but that none were recognised as important by the network, or easily identifiable by the research team. This finding mirrors the lack of diversity in the UK creative industries, as recognised in the literature (Banks, 2017; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013; Oakley, 2006). Designers from BAME backgrounds are conspicuous only by their absence in this study, and further research is needed to understand the racial dynamics of the sector in the city from BAME perspectives. This PhD research explores the pathways into Bristol and into the occupation of designer, what is clear from these findings so far is that these paths are racially exclusive.

Twenty-two, (two thirds) of the interviewees, were employed within organisations. Of these, thirteen worked within large institutions in the city: the city's universities, the council and in large companies. Two others were employed by industry-bodies, and seven were employed by small/medium sized design companies. The remaining twelve interviewees were self-employed, running businesses of one or two people. The Creative industries are characterised as consisting of small independent companies and the self-employed (Reimer, 2016). The high number of interviewees employed by large institutions may be due to a bias in the selection process towards interviewees connected to the university, and because of the inclusion of engineering as a sector, in which large firms are more typical.

Table 6-1 Characteristics of Female Generation X Interviewees

Sector	Occupation	Employment type	Born in Bristol	HE in Bristol	Date Arrived in Bristol	No. Moves in Childhood	No. Moves HE	No. Moves Post HE	Migration type
Conservation	Designer	Employed	Yes	No	Returned 1997	0	1	1	Return Migrant
Engineering	Engineer	Employed	No	No	2008	0	1	2	Repeat Migrant
Engineering	Structural Engineer	Self Employed	No	No	2010	0	2	3	Repeat Migrant/Tied Migrant
Publishing	Book Design	Self Employed	No	No	2010	0	0	1	Late Migrant/ Tied Migrant
Animation	Animator	Employed	No	No	2006	0	2	2	Repeat Migrant/ Tied Migrant
Animation/ University	Animator/ Tutor	Employed	No	Yes	2000	0	2	0	University Stayer
Architecture/ University	Architect/ Student/ Tutor	Employed	No	No	1998	1	1	2	Repeat Migrant
Industry Support	Design Advisor (non-designer)	Self Employed	No	No	2008	0	1	2	Repeat Migrant
Industry Support	Design Advisor (non-designer)	Employed	Yes	No	Returned 2001	0	1	1	Return Migrant
TV/ Animation/ Film	Producer (non-designer)	Employed	Yes	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported	Not reported

Table 6-2 Characteristics of Male Generation X Interviewees

Sector	Occupation	Employment Type	Born in Bristol	HE in Bristol	Date Arrived in Bristol	No. Moves in Childhood	No. Moves HE	No. Moves Post HE	Migration Type
Publishing/ University	Graphic Designer/ Lecturer	Employed	No	Yes	1992	5	1	1	Yo-yo Migrant
Printing and Publishing	Graphic Designer	Self-Employed	No	Yes	1998	0	4	2	Yo-yo Migrant
Marketing/ Advertising	Graphic Designer	Self-Employed	No	Yes	1986	0	1	0	University Stayer
Marketing/ Advertising	Graphic Designer	Employed	No	No	1999	3	1	1	Repeat Migrant
Marketing/ Advertising	Graphic Designer	Self-Employed	No	No	2002	1	1	1	Repeat Migrant
Marketing/ Advertising	Graphic Designer	Self-Employed	No	No	2003	0	1	2	Repeat Migrant
Marketing/ Advertising	Graphic Designer	Self-Employed	No	No	2006	0	1	1	Repeat Migrant
TV/ Animation/ Film	Graphic Designer	Employed	No	Yes	1989	0	1	2	Yo-yo Migrant
Illustration	Illustrator	Self-Employed	No	No	2002	3	2	1	Yo-yo Migrant
High Tech	Manager	Employed	Yes	No	Returned 1989	1	1	1	Return Migrant

Table 6-2 Characteristics of Male Generation X Interviewees (cont)

Sector	Occupation	Employment type	Born in Bristol	HE in Bristol	Date Arrived in Bristol	No. Moves in Childhood	No. Moves HE	No. Moves Post HE	Migration Type
High Tech	Designer	Self-Employed	No	No	2007	0	1	3	Yo-yo Migrant
High Tech	Designer/ Business owner	Self-Employed	Yes	No	Non-migrant	0	0	0	Non-Migrant
City Council	Urban Design	Employed	No	No	1996	0	1	2	Repeat Migrant
City Council	Urban Design	Employed	No	No	2013	1	1	5	Repeat Migrant
Engineering	Manager/ Engineer	Employed	Yes	No	Returned 1988	0	1	1	Return Migrant
Engineering	Engineer	Employed	No	No	2003	0	1	2	Repeat Migrant
Engineering	Engineer	Employed	Yes	No	Returned 1995	0	2	3	Yo-yo Migrant
Events	Designer/ Co-ordinator	Self-Employed	No	No	2006	2	0	7	Repeat Migrant
University	Lecturer	Employed	No	No	2005	2	2	1	Repeat Migrant
Urban Design	Designer	Self-Employed	No	No	2005	0	1	3	Yo-yo Migrant
Product Design	Designer/ Business Owner	Self-Employed	No	No	2002	0	1	6	Yo-yo Migrant
Model Making	Model Maker	Employed	No	No	1998	0	0	1	Late Migrant
Animation	Digital designer	Employed	Yes	No	–	0	2	2	Yo-yo migrant

Whereas the interviewees in the Baby Boomer Generation originated mainly in the south of the UK, the Generation X sample contain a greater number of interviewees who originated in the North, Ireland and Wales. Also unlike the previous generation, those who were born in the North were arts, not science-based designers. Science-based designers in this generation originated mainly in the Midlands. For those who moved from the North to the South, the direction of travel was one way: none returned later to the North, and none make the reverse journey e.g. moving from Bristol to the

North for higher education then returning to Bristol. There were a few migrations from international locations, though much of this movement was in childhood and due to European students moving to the UK for HE. The universities attended were in Bristol, Cardiff, London, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Loughborough and the south coast universities of Falmouth, Brighton and Plymouth. There were some differences between arts-based and science-based designers. Most significant for arts-based designers in Generation X is the migration to and from London, mainly for employment and post-graduate education. Science based designers had fewer connections with London, the Midlands and South Wales being more important for HE and work opportunities.

As can be seen in tables 6.1 and 6.2, Designers typically made between three and five migration moves across their lifespan, following a similar pattern to the previous generation. The majority of interviewees were settled during their own childhoods, then make one or two moves for HE, followed by one or two moves post-HE. This was typical for both arts-based and science/engineering-based designers. Only four interviewees make three or more moves post-HE, and all of those with children settle in one place after a new family has been established.

These low levels of mobility are reflected in the creative worker migration literature (Faggian, Comunian, and Li, 2014; Heerden, 2014; Dai *et al.*, 2012; Borén and Young, 2013). The findings also fit with the lifecycle literature, which report highest levels of mobility around the time of HE, which then tails off as new families are established (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015; Dennett and Rees, 2010). Some interviewees were more migratory: one moved to and from the Middle East as a child, two migrated internationally for work experiences, one took an around the world trip for leisure purposes, and another led an itinerant lifestyle, busking across Europe. These trajectories will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

This section has given an overview of designers' migration trajectories over five decades. Other than a difference in north - south migration, this evidence does not demonstrate a significant change with the previous generation in terms of migration rates, and there is little evidence of the high rate of migration claimed by Florida (2002). The following section explores the Generation X designers' migration and occupation trajectories in detail. It focuses on the connection between early life and migration and occupation outcomes and aims to understand them within their historic political, economic and social contexts.

6.2   Migration and Occupation Trajectories

Interviews with designers in Generation X were generally shorter in duration than interviews with designers in the Baby Boomer generation. The Baby Boomers held very senior roles, were often company owners, had fewer time constraints, private offices in which to speak, and seemingly a greater desire to talk about their personal history. In contrast, interviews with designers in Generation X were mostly made in a quiet part of a busy office and, due to their busy working schedules, often within a tight timeframe. This setting made conversations of a deeply personal nature less appropriate. The interviews vary, but because of these constraints questions about motivations for becoming a designer and designer's migration trajectories were often reduced, and in some cases only the basic details of place of birth, education and subsequent moves were collected. In two cases, details about higher education were omitted entirely.

Despite these limitations, of the thirty-three interviewees, twenty-three discussed their childhood experiences in detail, and ten commented directly on their parent's careers. Of the ten, seven had parents who worked in design occupations, and three were academics and managers. Three other interviewees explicitly stated that they did not come from design backgrounds, but did not state their parents' occupations. All of the twenty-three located their interest in design as being formed in early childhood, inspired by parents or while at school.

For those with parents in design occupations, the findings are similar to that of the previous generation. Primarily it was the interviewee's father who was the designer – only two interviewees remarked on the influence of their mother –and there was a sense of inevitability in their occupation outcomes:

> there were only two people at my school that did art and it was an all-boys school, so I had to do art at the girls' school. I was sort of born with a paintbrush or a pencil in my hand. My mum is an artist, so I was sort of destined to go down the art line.

Interviewees describe a home-life rich in conversation about design and culture, with access to building sets and art materials for experimentation. Parents offered moral and pragmatic support for the their children's interests and career choices, including calling upon personal contacts for work experience.

> My father owned a retail interior design company. He designed all the [retail company] shops. My parents were very supportive. The thing that really caught my imagination when I was about 13, I guess, was the renderings that used to be done in product design using markers and creating products that looked almost photorealistic, but just using markers. That really engaged me. I then managed to get a work placement when I was 14 with a product design company through one of my dad's contacts, and I was sold on it. Since then it was doing what I needed to do to become a product designer.

In contrast to the Baby Boomer generation, arts-based designers from non-design family backgrounds often described developing an interest in design through music, inspired by artwork on records and band posters. This interest was typically recognised by an art teacher at secondary school who encouraged their pupil onto an Art Foundation course. For one interviewee, politics was also a motivating factor:

I like music and I like politics and I enjoyed art at school. [Illustration] seemed to be the perfect mix. [...] We had a really good teacher and because there were only about five of us in the class she really liked us doing stuff and staying in the room playing records. So, we just stayed in the art room and played records and then made art. Politics at the time was very interesting too.

The majority of interviewees came from middle-class families (signalled in the interviews by references to parents' education and occupation, and their own private school education). Three identified themselves as coming from working class backgrounds. The following sections give detailed accounts of the migration and occupation trajectories of different types of migrant. The migrants are categorised into groups according their migration patterns, based on the typology of migration patterns devised by Faggian, Comunian, and Li (2014), but modified to include the trajectories of designers who did not attend univeristy, and those who make more complex yo-yo migrations (see tables 6.4). This chapter also includes a section on London, and on tied migration (Bielby and Bielby, 1992), a phenomenon that is evident in the migration trajectories of couples in this generation, whereby a migration move is made that benefits of one of the couple (usually a male) more than the other (usually a female).

Table 6-3 Generation X Migration Patterns

Type	Description	Number of interviewees
Non-Migrant	Always lived in their place of birth	1
University stayers	Stay in their place of study	3
Repeat migrants	Make more than one migration move away from their place of origin	19
Return migrants	Return to their place of origin after university	3
Late migrants	Study in their home location and migrate after graduation	0
Yo-yo migrants	Make a sequence of movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region	9

6.2.1   The Non-Migrant

The only non-migrant Generation X designer was high-tech designer Ben. Like Paul, the non-migrant in the Baby Boomer generation, Ben did not attend university or any other higher education institution [HEI]. Ben's trajectory offers further insight into the migration and occupation paths of creative workers who did not attended HEIs, who so far have been missing from the literature.

Ben grew up in a working class area in South Bristol and as an adult 'emigrated' to a more affluent area in an edge city development in the north of the city. His interest in design started at a young age; he learnt how to design and make from magazines and books in the library:

> I started off life as a hobbyist. From an early age, I started fiddling around with electronic stuff. And I ended up designing products for friends…one of the first projects that I got involved in was for a kit car club. And they wanted an electronic dashboard for their kit cars. So I designed a range of dashboard gauges for these kit cars… at that stage I was pretty much self-taught. Sort of twelve, thirteen years old.

After leaving school, Ben went straight into a non-design job in Bristol, but continued working on design projects in the evening. Work came to him through word of mouth, mostly friends of friends. The business grew until a point in the early 1990s when he was able to leave his day job and work on the design business full time. Eventually he sold his business to a larger company, but retained his job as an employee. Disliking the new company's business strategy, Ben left after a year:

> I sold [my company] to a Bristol-based design company… And then, after a year, decided that I didn't really want to sit in with the blue-chip customers that they were working with. And I much preferred working with people locally. I've always really enjoyed working with inventors, entrepreneurs and the smaller end of the SME market. So,

after a year, I decided to leave. And set up a business specifically focused at offering electronic design, prototyping, product design and manufacture. Predominantly in Bristol.

In the 1990s Ben set up three businesses which he ran concurrently, before focusing on the small computer design business he was running at the time of interview. At no point did he consider moving outside of the city:

There seems to be an awful lot of innovation in Bristol. And I've always been based in Bristol because, so I can't speak of anywhere else, really. But there does seem to be an awful lot of stuff that happens here. We've got a lot of partner companies that are Bristol-based. So I can think of, probably, fifteen or twenty, for example, industrial design companies, in Bristol. I can think of, probably, twenty-five companies that have got 3D, good-quality 3D printing facilities in Bristol.

I wasn't prepared to go and work anywhere I couldn't walk. And I live about a mile away from here.

Ben's career was rooted in his childhood interest, and pursued locally. When changes in his career occurred they were in employment type, or through setting up a new business, but his occupation remained the same throughout his life. The growth in the high-tech sector in the 1990s provided work opportunities, and it is unclear whether Ben would have considered migration for employment reasons had this sector not been established. What is clear is that Ben did not choose to remain in Bristol based on a comparison of the attributes of range of locations, as in a middle-class trajectory (Savage, 2010). His decision to stay has more in common with the creative workers found in Europe (Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010) who remain in their region of birth because of their social networks and social norms around migration. City centre cafes, night clubs or other amenities

suggested by Florida (2002) as important in attracting and retaining creative workers, were not mentioned.

The main themes in Ben's interview were of working locally, with local people, and moving short distances across the city. His emigration from a working class area in south Bristol, to live and work in north Bristol enabled him to live in walking distance of his work, in a newly built and more affluent suburban area close to the outskirts of the city. This move follows a pattern of movement in Bristol in the 1980s and 1990s, whereby people moved out of the centre of Bristol to the suburban fringe (Tallon, 2007). Social class, and expectations of migration in a working class life trajectory is a major element underpinning Ben's occupation and migration paths. As with Baby Boomer non-migrant, Paul, migration was not considered or missed. Non-migration was not associated with failure to progress in life (Ravenstein, 1889) or a lack of ambition (Gordon, 2015; Fielding, 1992). Where there is local opportunity, the theorised link between ambition, mobility, and creativity is broken.

6.2.2 University stayers

Four interviewees in Generation X came to Bristol to study at university and remained living in the city since their graduation. At the time of interview, all had been settled in Bristol for a significant period, two for nearly thirty years, and two for just over fifteen years. Universities are claimed to act as conduits, bringing talented students into a city or region (Faggian and McCann, 2006). Millennial graduates of art and design degrees are commonly university stayers in the first six months after graduation, and it is surmised that the networks developed while at university are important to career success, and a reason for remaining in the place of study (Faggian, Comunian, and Li, 2014). This section focuses on the account of Adam, whose trajectory shows that while social networks established at university were important in his decision to remain, there were a number of other factors that also influenced this decision: his identification with the character of the city in the 1990s, his attitude to London, and his personal and family relationships. Adam's trajectory also demonstrates an

interconnection between family of origin and occupation outcomes, and the impact of his father's social mobility on his own occupation and migration trajectory.

Adam moved to Bristol from his childhood home in North Wales to study Graphic Design in 1984. When asked why he became a designer, Adam referred back to the occupations of the men in his family: his father's career as a city planner and architect, and before that, his grandfather's and great grandfather's jobs as a factory floor engineers. Adam described his father undergoing the process of social mobility through education during the 1950s and 60s and remarks on the tensions this caused between his father and his grandparents:

> Dad went to uni in the early 1960s. He had no chance of getting out of this cycle of lathes and manufacturing and stuff, apart for the fact that school pushed him, they were great. They said look this guy is really talented, Here's a scholarship! Here it is, he's won it, he can go there now. And his old man and his mum tried to stand in the way, they didn't understand it, didn't want it. But the teachers were quite, the teachers were a bit like doctors in those days and people quite respected what they had had to say ... So I think that was what it was. So he kind of broke that cycle and took it forward and wanted to share that with who ever he could because he was very, you know, passionate about his work really.

Adam's father's education and career led him away from his family home in the South East of the UK, to a job with a county council in the North West. This was a move away from kin-ties in a traditional working class stronghold as Florida (2002) describes, but the driving factor was structural changes to education, and the encouragement of teachers, not, as Maslow (1971) or Florida (2002) describe, the call of Adam's father's inner authentic, individualised creative self. Adam approved of his father's work, respecting that he did not aspire to be 'glamorous architect', but one who

worked enthusiastically to build a New Town, part of the modernist vision for post-war regeneration in the UK. As a child Adam struggled with academic subjects at school, and struggled socially as an English child living in a Nationalist area of north Wales. When feeling unsure of himself as a teenager, Adam's father engaged him in art and culture, and gave him a firm steer towards an Art Foundation course in Wrexham.

> He was very encouraging really and would sort of spend a lot of time dragging my ass around art galleries and taking me to the theatre and kind of opened my eyes to cultural stuff I suppose really, the arts… But I was always good at drawing, I think my dad recognised that, he was good at drawing too.

> When I was loosing interest in everything, around about 16, doing my O levels, I went to sixth form, auto pilot, didn't know what I was going to do, stuck in the 6th form with the geeks and the snooty girls and right last minute my old man says 'how about we do this instead? You did really well in your art, you got distinctions in all your art stuff'. He drove me to Wrexham art college with a portfolio of my stuff and they went 'yes, you can start whenever you like, you're in' there wasn't even an interview, they went 'when do you want to start?' and I was like 'brilliant!'. And that turned my life around in many ways and it afforded me to get out of a bit of north Wales that was very beautiful but was, you know, it wasn't great. People weren't very friendly and were very Nationalistic. So yeah, that's the story.

Adam's sense of identity was more closely tied to his father than to his peers in school. His mode of escape from a location where he felt he didn't fit in was through arts education, the same path his father had taken to escape the factory floor. However there were some friendships formed in childhood that were long lasting and influential on his decision to move to Bristol. Adam and a friend from Wrexham decided together to move to Bristol to study graphic design. They chose the city partly on the advice of their Art

Foundation tutor, partly because it looked like a fun city, and partly because they liked the rural location of the art campus, which reminded them of the beautiful landscape of home. Unfortunately, after starting his course Adam found the traditional skills-based degree course old fashioned and disappointing:

> I hated typography and didn't want to do any kind of type setting, it was just a pain. It was like a really painful fiddly craft that I didn't want to be involved in because I just ... you know there was no time for creativity, it wasn't instant enough. It was just kind of trays with metal letters, or you could go to the technicians and you had to do it to a very painful specification on how to set type, to write down what you needed. Rather than to do it. So neither was very good for me and I just got turned off that actually... It was very 80s going on 60s really.

Disliking the approach of the course, Adam attempted to move to an art college in Brighton, but was unable to transfer and continued his study in Bristol. After graduation he remained in Bristol and worked in a studio with fellow ex-students. He remarked on 'not really knowing what he was doing' in the early days, a feeling that lasted throughout his career: 'It was a bit sort of all over the place really and I've always been a bit sort of all over the place ever since. Unfortunately.' For a time he hoped to move to London to attend the Royal College of Art, but changed his mind realising that he liked living in Bristol, and wanting to maintain his personal relationships, and eventually his family:

> I thought no fuck that, I'm not going to do that [move to London], I like it here. I think the other thing that kept me in Bristol really, if I'm really honest, was girls as well. I kept having relationships with nice girls. That relationship would end and I'd go right, go to London now, meet someone else pretty much the day before I was due to go on the National Express to live in London, and I stayed for another three years. So I kept staying. And now obviously I've got family and

bought a house and I'm kind of rooted here and my kids kind of need me around really so I'm not going anywhere at the moment.

Adam set up a graphic design business initially producing artwork for nightclub promoters, later gaining business from a major telecoms company that headquartered in Bristol from the mid 1990s. Over time he witnessed big changes in the city. Bristol in the 1980s he described as having a jazzy live music scene attended by 'twitchy old dudes in pubs', and a city centre with a reputation for violence. During the 1990s the city began to shift, partly, he thought, because of the new music scene emerging from Bristol at that time. He enjoyed living in the city in the 1990s because of its atmosphere, which he described as underground, nebulous, laid back, stoned, and non-competitive:

> Bristol always had a rep for being dangerous in the city centre and really stoned as well, and I think with that attitude comes and attitude of 'they don't really care'. Bristol didn't really care what people thought of it I don't think, it never has. It's never been hungry for success. Never till now. But I'd say that all those people who are hungry for success haven't been here as long as I have...What I mean is I think that is very attractive, that kind of attitude of 'whatever'... there was just something bubbling that maybe we didn't recognise at the time but maybe kind of kept us here really.

Adam strongly identifies with himself with Bristol in the 1990s, and his description of the city at that time, as 'not hungry for success', bares close resemblance with the characterisation of Generation X (Wilson, 2019; Katz, 2017; Dannefer and Feldman, 2017). Like Baby Boomer John, Adam describes Bristol in 2016 as a very different to how it was in the 1980s. With a new reputation for creativity and a vibrant food scene 'there seems to be nothing that Bristol doesn't do now. You just turn over a little stone and there's something going on there.' However, his impression of Bristol in the 2000s is less positive than John's. He perceived the city as becoming more

professionalised, and he felt that his own business operated apart from the new creative businesses that were established in the city during this time: 'the creative industry in Bristol doesn't feel very Bristol, feels very London, very professionalised. Not all of it, but bits of it do'. Adam valued other aspects of Bristol's cultural life: community events at his local pub and the city's collectively owned and run arts cinema. Sharing his father's left wing values, his own clients included county councils, educational projects and groups promoting music in schools.

Adam was a second-generation benefactor of the social mobility of working class people in the 1950 and 60s. Adam's interest in design was passed to him by his father, who gave him direction, encouragement the cultural capital necessary to study Graphic Design. As a young adult he held a notional interest in moving to London to study at post-graduate level, but remained in Bristol for social reasons, and because he identified with the character of the city (Savage, 2010). Adam did not return to his childhood home, where he felt out of place and unhappy, but remained in Bristol where he could give his children a childhood that was different to his own and to his father's – which he considered to be constrained by working class values. Thanks to the location of a large telecoms company into Bristol, Adam was able to build up his business and buy a house in the city. Through his profession as a designer, and by becoming a home owner, Adam maintained his father's new social position.

6.2.3 Return Migrants

Three designers were born in Bristol and returned to the city after moving away for university. One worked in high-tech, one in engineering and a third in graphic design. In this generation, as with the Baby Boomer generation, the number of Bristol natives is low. This contrasts with the literature which finds return migration is a common migration pattern for Millennial graduates of arts and design courses (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014), and that creative workers in Newcastle-Gateshead and Birmingham to be native to their cities (Chapain and Comunian, 2010). This section focuses on graphic designer Lia, and high tech games designer, Isaac. Lia returned to

Bristol in the late 1990s, and had remained in the city for over fifteen years. Her trajectory demonstrates an attachment to place through personal relationships; the impact of tied migration on her career; and the importance of national lottery funding in the generation of local jobs. Isaac's trajectory shows that national as well as local networks formed in university have an influence on migration outcomes, and the importance of income from housing as a part of household income.

Lia grew up in Bristol, where she attended 'quite a creative type of school'. After studying Art Foundation in Bristol she moved to Plymouth to study a degree in Design, then returned to Bristol in the mid 1990s to live with her partner. Unable to find a full time job in Bristol, Lia initially worked part-time as volunteer for a publishing company, and commuted to London to work in a part-time paid job, sleeping on friend's sofas:

> I think it was because my partner was here that I wasn't that keen to move to London. So I didn't really want to move to London and I really like Bristol so I wanted to be here really. Even when I was at university I would keep coming back to Bristol all the time.

In 1999 Lia found a job with a large organisation close to Bristol. The job was funded by the Millennium Commission, which used money raised by the National Lottery to fund projects celebrating the Millennium. Though the job paid less than she earned in London, it was full time, gave her job security, access to a career ladder, and enabled her to continue to live with her partner and later their son.

> Getting a job in Bristol was really difficult and the job that I took was very poorly paid. I took a big salary cut. But it meant I was working in Bristol and I was working full time.

Lia's romantic partnerships strongly influenced her migration decisions. Despite the draw of London as a place to find well-paid, if insecure, freelance

work, Lia decided stay close to her partner and have the security of stable full-time employment. Job stability was of particular importance after Lia's relationship broke down and she became a single mother.

High tech games designer Isaac spent the first half his childhood in Bristol, and the second half in a small village close to the city. His interest in art and technology came from family friends and his early introduction to technology through his mother, who was an IT teacher. He studied art and technology at university on the south coast and then returned to Bristol to live near his girlfriend and later wife. The network he established at university was instrumental in introducing him to the digital/art network in Bristol, showing that university networks, important for sourcing employment are often national, and not just based in the university area. Isaac developed a job building creative networks in Bristol. Like Adam, Isaac's identity was closely linked to his father. He attributed his success in this project to his Jewish heritage, inherited from his father:

> My dad's a Jew, and I notice that there's something around him. And I, and it does seem to be a, there must be some kind of cultural trait that gets passed on of really wanting to connect people together. It's like, 'oh, you've got to meet this person, you've got to do that!' So I kind of found myself doing a lot of that.

Though rewarding intellectually and socially, his job was dependent on grant funding and often very low paid (Isaac described getting a grant of forty thousand per year to be shared between a number of people) and with long periods of no pay. In this time, and despite his low and intermittent pay, Isaac and his wife purchased a property in central Bristol. How this was possible is unclear, as Isaac's wife also worked on the same project, and so presumably also had a low income. It may be the case that the couple had second non-design jobs, or had a form of un-earned income: they may have received financial help by way of a loan or gift. The area in which they purchased their property was the process of gentrification and close to an

area of high deprivation. Once his wife became pregnant the couple decided to rent out their property and to move to a rural area on the outskirts of Bristol, close to where he grew up and in his opinion, more suitable for a family:

> It's not exactly pretty down there now, but it's definitely better. Maybe I'm getting older. So I own a house there now and so I'm part of that gentrification. I've had a kid. Eventually it got too much, I needed a garden and a place where there wasn't Special Brew cans at your front door when you go to leave, and so I've moved to the countryside!

Isaac later found full-time employment in a large company. His decision to apply for the job was influenced by his mother and girlfriend, demonstrating again, that close family are intimately involved in career decisions:

> And I mentioned it to my mum and my girlfriend, now wife and they were both like, 'what the fuck are you doing?' You know, like, 'why are you not going for this job? Isn't that the most amazing job?' And I was like, 'oh, OK, I will'.

Isaac's trajectory highlights the importance of local social networks and national university networks on migration decisions. It shows how cultural identity and childhood exposure to art and tech were influential to his identity and occupation outcomes. It also demonstrates that, as with Baby Boomers, when some middle-class Generation X designers start a family they move to a place where they can recreate the conditions of their own childhood. Isaac's trajectory demonstrates how home ownership can form part of a household income, which may be important in low-income professions.

6.2.4 Repeat Migrants

The most common pattern of migration in this generation was repeat migration: making one or more moves away from one's place of origin. Three very different trajectories are presented in this section. First is event designer Rob, he was the most mobile most mobile of all the designers, and did not attend university. His account provides further insight into the trajectories of non-graduates, who are missing from the literature on creative worker migration. The second is Matthew, who became an urban designer after graduation from a non-design degree. Third is architect Claire, a woman in a male dominated industry, and a migrant from the north of England. Claire's account demonstrates most clearly the impact of economic recession on migration paths. All three trajectories highlight the power of early life experiences on career outcomes.

Event designer Rob grew up on the North West coast of the UK. His father worked in the leisure industry:

> He worked in the arcades and fairgrounds, and fun parks and stuff that were kind of probably dying through the '70s, as package tourism and everything came in. So I sort of grew up in those kinds of environments, I guess, quite a lot, working on the ghost train when I was a kid, scaring people and all that kind of stuff.

Rob left school with no O-Levels. He applied for art college, but without the necessary qualifications was unsuccessful. Despite this, the encouragement he received from a tutor remained with him:

> I went through school, wasn't very keen on school, quite good at art, not very good at maths, and then I kind of left school. My mum and dad split up and it was all a bit of a broken home kind of thing, and left school and tried to go to art college, but didn't have the O Levels that you needed to get on to the course. But the guy that interviewed me saw that my work was great and said I should just carry on being

an artist and not worry too much about going to art college, which I
sort of did.

As a teenager in the 1970s, Rob moved to London where he survived on
social security payments and lived in a squat. He played in a band, and in the
1980s and 90s made artwork for free parties and festivals. After the
introduction of the Criminal Justice Bill in 1994 – aimed at restricting
outdoor parties and raves – Rob could no longer continue his lifestyle. He
moved to Europe where he worked as busker for ten years, performing
across France, Portugal and Spain, and later in New Zealand and Thailand. In
an echo of his early life experiences working in coastal fun parks, he busked
largely in coastal tourist areas:

> It was amazing. They treated you like an artist, it was amazing. They
> were very generous. Well, obviously working in tourist destinations,
> people on holiday, they really liked having something - Especially
> because tourist destinations are quite commercial, suddenly there
> was something that is essentially free, they have the choice to pay for
> it or not.

After ten years Rob and his partner travelled to Thailand to do relief work in
the wake of the 2004/5 the tsunami, and then on to America to do the same
after Hurricane Katrina. They returned to the UK in 2006 with, he said, just
ten pounds in their pockets. With no home base and no money, they moved
to Bristol to live with friends. In the city Rob discovered a set of people
working in festival performance, with whom he connected. He settled, and
has since established a small business organising and designing
performance art events.

> Before we moved here, there were already a lot of people here who
> were into circus and into what we did, so it has got this magnet, but
> then if you want to do something, you can find people to help you.

> Not like London, where it's a bit of a struggle to find space and people and make it all happen.

As well as finding a group of people he could connect with, Rob felt supported by the city council, who ran a project opening up disused spaces in the city for arts events. The support Rob found in the city contributed to his decision to remain in the city, as did his own life stage:

> I'm just too old I can't be arsed moving. No, it's kind of the community of people that are still here, I suppose. We were quite transitory, and it stuck here; people really loved us, and the city sort of took us in, and the people of the city really love what we do. We got the opportunity to do things we were crying out to do in other places, but couldn't get the traction for.

Rob's reflections on the City Council's cultural policy were not wholly positive. He remarked on the tension that arises when the city promotes itself based on the cultural activities undertaken by those with little financial backing and who are concerned with community building and self-expression, but does little provide them with the support to continue.

> Of course you're going to hold up art and culture and stick it on the billboards, but then when people move here, will they find that? Or will it just be like the postcard of how it used to be?

Rob's trajectory carries a complexity of issues. He had the high spatial mobility and desire for self-expression that Florida (2002) attributed to the creative class. Rob's life was hedonistic, but unlike the creative class, Rob's high mobility was not in pursuit of higher earnings and it was focused around communality: living in squats, gathering for parties, and working within a community of people to create public events. His trajectory also has a continuity from childhood, his occupation in street entertainment and show making is not a far step from his childhood experiences of growing up

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scaring people on the ghost-train in a coastal fairground. One major influence on Rob's career trajectory was the advice and encouragement of an art school tutor to 'carry on being an artist', showing the power of a few words of encouragement in occupation outcomes. It also reveals a need for a legitimation from inside the arts establishment, even for those who appear the most anti-establishment. Another major element impacting on Rob's migration trajectory was a change in the law to make free parties illegal, and so ending his lifestyle in the UK. Changes to the welfare system may also have impacted on Rob's trajectory, though this was not mentioned in the interview. In Bristol, Rob's life stage and desire to settle down, combined with finding a community of likeminded people and the support of the city council, were all conducive elements in his decision to remain in the city. A change in public attitude to festivals since their disassociation from politics and counterculture in the 2000s, was also a factor in his acceptance in the city, though one not voiced by Rob himself.

The second repeat migrant had a more conventional middle-class trajectory. Urban designer Matthew grew up in Wales, moved to London for a non-design degree, then to Bath and eventually Bristol. His trajectory demonstrates the on-going influence of early home life on career outcomes. Like three other designers in this generation Matthew made a switch to a design career after graduation from a non-design degree, and like the others, he traced his interest in design to his childhood and his parents:

> I have a life-long- well, certainly as far back as I can remember- interest in design. I was the sort of child who spent most of his time building buildings, first in Lego, and then in wood, polystyrene, and all sorts of other things. I grew up in a 1960s architect-designed house, which my parents had the plans for, so I learned the plans, and drew architects' plans as a teenager.

Despite his interest, Matthew chose not study architecture at university as he was put off by the mathematical and technical elements of the profession.

After his graduation in London, he and his girlfriend decided to move from London to Bath, but without a job in place and unsure of their career direction:

> It was an entirely visceral decision, in that we, my girlfriend and I, went there for a weekend and fell hook, line and sinker in love with the place.

In Bath Matthew found work in urban planning, working with architects to deliver new buildings in the city. This change of career direction was not considered as a new path, but as a correction, or a return to a path open to him from childhood. A propensity to be a designer was described as inherent in his character, and as revealed in psychometric testing:

> We were struggling to sort of work out what we were going to do with ourselves. I went to the Vocational Guidance Association in Harley Street, on the advice of a friend. They tested me, all sorts of test. It seemed that I had a very high score in verbal reasoning, and a very high score in spatial awareness. They said I should be working in design, and suggested I retrain. But at that time, we were just having a baby, and it wasn't financially possible. So I kind of knew I was good at design, I suppose, and the fact that I didn't have the qualifications didn't really put me off.

Having established himself in a design career, and after the birth of their second child, the couple decided to move to Bristol so they could access a school they felt was right for their children. The move was made despite an initial dislike of the Bristol, which Matthew described as having a 'rather ugly shitty side to it' whereas Bath was 'a bit perfect'.

For Matthew, migration for education was anticipated as a normalised part of his life trajectory. His moves to Bath and Bristol were, as Savage describes in his theory of middle class elective migration, 'destinations on a personal

map' (Savage, 2010, p.118): his move to Bath was associated with new love and impulse, his move to Bristol with his children's education. Matthew's childhood experiences of engaging in design activities, his knowledge of architecture and access to architectural plans played a crucial role in his career path. Mirroring the process delineated by Banks (2017), the cultural capital Matthew gained through these experiences was perceived as natural or inherent talent by a career advisor, who validated his career choice, and enabled him entry into a design career.

The third trajectory discussed in this section is presented as an extreme example on two counts. Firstly, architect Amy is a female architect, which by her own account, is unusual. Secondly, unlike the majority of interviewees who originated in the South, she was born in the North of the UK. Her story highlights the impact of post war education policies and social mobility; the influence of changes in the economy on migration and occupation trajectories (Fielding, 2012); and the difficulties of returning home to the north of the UK without a lowering of social status.

Like university stayer Adam, Amy's father experienced social mobility through education in the 1950s and 60s. From a working class family, he became a business manager in the building trade, earning enough to send his daughter to a private school. Amy's interest in design was sparked by the architectural drawings her father bought home from work. At her all-girl's school she encountered a 'girls can do anything' ethos, to which she attributed her determination to succeed in a male dominated industry. Amy's school teacher was also instrumental in encouraging her to aim high in her university application, thus influencing her migration path:

> I wasn't going to apply to Newcastle and one of my teachers came up to me at the last minute and said 'why aren't you applying to Newcastle? It's one of the best schools in the country and I think you'd get in'. So I changed my mind and put it on the list and when I went to interview I fell in love with the city.

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When Amy graduated as an architect in the mid-1990s, the UK was still suffering the after affects of the 1991 recession. She found a job in Newcastle, but felt her prospects in the UK were insecure. Witnessing the redundancy of colleagues within her office, she made the decision to move abroad, and took a three-year position as an architect in Asia. Her husband, who was also an architect, joined her there. At the end of her contract, the couple planned to move to Australia, where her husband had been offered a job. The impact of the Asian currency crisis in 1997, meant the job offer was rescinded, and the couple instead returned to England. Due to the poor jobs market in the north, and their desire to get to know other parts of the UK, they decided to move to a new location, with a plan to return to the North East later in their lives. While in Asia, colleagues from Bristol convinced the couple that Bristol shared similarities to Newcastle: a lively industrial city with lots of culture. Based on this Amy and her husband moved to the city in 1998. Once in Bristol they were disappointed. Amy was unhappy until she moved areas, leaving the up-market area of Clifton for a more community-orientated area in the south of the city:

> I remember very early on going home to Newcastle, getting the train from York, going over the bridge, I'd be really happy to be home, nice feeling. I never ever got that coming back to Bristol, it was always, it didn't feel like I belonged here. I think that was partly because, although Clifton is lovely, it's a very transient population so you don't necessarily know the people around you, living in a flat with 50 other people you don't know with no-one saying hello to you. Whereas where I live now I live in a home zone in a cul-de-sac and I know everyone. That makes a huge difference to me.

Amy found the sense of belonging she was missing in South Bristol, and chose this location to start a family. Good schools, friendly shops and a supportive community were important:

It's a brilliant place to bring up kids. It's got a really nice community. Everybody knows each other, everybody helps each other. It was very much a community school that the kids went to when they were little and you feel like you belong. There are nice shops where everyone knows you and it's a very relaxed place to be.

The impact of recession was felt again in 2010 when Amy's husband's architectural practice closed its Bristol branch. After a period of long distance commuting to another office, her husband took a pay cut so as to work in a Bristol. Unlike their earlier, childfree experiences of recession, moving to another city was not considered as an option; maintaining a settled family life was a greater priority. Despite missing living in the North of the UK, and wishing for her children to have a close relationship with her parents, a return migration was not considered possible because of the lack of job opportunities for architects in the North. This is an important point, as it highlights the importance of job opportunities in migration outcomes.

Throughout the interview, Amy highlighted the difficulties for women working in architecture, and her experience of repeatedly having to prove herself as capable to colleagues and clients. She recognised that a culture of long working hours was prohibitive to women with childcare responsibilities and described how women also often experience a demotion on their return from maternity leave, which causes them to exit the profession. In Bristol Amy had a positive, and she says unusual experience of returning to work after the birth of her children. Benefitting from a path trail-blazed by two former female employees, her company promoted her to a senior role while she was on maternity leave, and allowed her to return to work part-time:

I was quite fortunate, there were two female architects before me who blazed a trail for me. There was one lady who had gone off on maternity leave and when she wanted to come back she asked to come back three days a week and the boss said no and she didn't

come back and they regretted it because she was a very good architect and they lost her. So that made things easier for the next lady who came along. She asked to come back part time and they said yes. So when I asked they said yes, so for me it was very easy. But for the couple before me it wasn't as easy.

On her return to work she was given a good support team, which allowed her to run her projects part-time, working in a close, interdependent way with other colleagues. This is a shift away from the idea of an autonomous creative individual who is indispensable in his work (Florida, 2002; Maslow, 1971), to a more collective form of working. Without this support from her company, and their willingness to change the way in which work is organised, she would have left the profession. In 2016 the company went into receivership. As Amy did not think it possible to get a similar part-time position with another company, she stopped working as an architect and returned to university to study design while lecturing part-time.

Amy's occupation and migration path was influenced by a complexity of factors, social class, recession, the north-south divide and the distribution of wealth in the UK (Fielding, 2012; Dorling and Thomas, 2007), gender (Reimer, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015), family and the desire for a sense of belonging and community (Easthope, 2004). Her employment in Bristol, provides an example of an alternative, social way of working, one that is interdependent and co-operative (McRobbie, 2016). Amy's trajectory also highlights again the role of teachers in guiding young people in their career choices. Like the Baby Boomers, interviewees in Generation X were directed to specific universities by school teachers and Art Foundation tutors, in whom the interviewees placed a high degree of trust. Teachers' and tutors knowledge of individual courses had a critical impact on location outcomes for graduates, as one graphic designer commented:

Well, if I'm brutally honest, the course leader who was at East Devon College, she said to me, "You should go to Falmouth, Falmouth is

really good." You know, every now and again you have a teacher in your life that you kind of remember. She kind of – I really felt like she was looking out for me. So rather than question it, I felt that we'd built up a good relationship, and I kind of trusted her. You know, I was only what, you know, 18 or whatever at the time.

Designers' choice of university then impacted on their employment chances. Employers discussed their intimate knowledge of the content and quality of individual courses:

If I'm looking for an electronics design engineer and I want a graduate, then I go to one university, [University A]. End of story. Because the course is right. Really, really hard. The electronics course at [University B] is just about as bad as I've ever seen!

A final repeat trajectory is important for inclusion as it shows the role of industrial sponsorship and employment in multi-location firms on migration outcomes, an aspect of creative worker migration not considered by Florida (2002). Faggian, McCann and Sheppard (2007) highlight that graduates who receive industrial sponsorship for higher education often move from their university location for employment with the sponsoring company. As sponsorships are arranged prior to university, this move tends to be a return to their region of origin. This is demonstrated in the trajectory of engineer Simon who grew up in Bristol. A local engineering company sponsored Simon's higher education at Cambridge University, through to PhD. Throughout his studies Simon returned to Bristol to work for his sponsoring company in holiday periods, gaining both work experience and extra money. Once graduated, he moved from Cambridge to work in the company's London office. After a couple of years he returned to Bristol, to work in their Bristol office, and to be close to his family. When presented with a choice of locations in which to work (Morrison and Clark, 2011), family reasons, and a dislike of London, came to the fore:

You know, family stuff. I think, for me, what I have seen is I think there's quite a decision about London/not London. I think that's a decision people make. If you make a not London decision, then there will be a number of factors that will come into play for you. London/not London is quite a, kind of, binary thing.

The trajectories of the repeat migrants discussed in this section were diverse and there seems little to unify the four. For Amy and Rob, their sequential movements were away from a childhood home to which they could not return, and for both finding a sense of community was important in their decisions to stay in Bristol. For Matthew, Amy and Simon, it was necessary to find the right environment for their children's upbringing. Matthew, Amy and Simon also share a middle class biography in which migration is anticipated (Fielding, 1995). Rob's trajectory was most similar to a theorised member of Florida's (2002) creative class: highly mobile and in search of places where he could express his creativity, and yet he was low paid and part of countercultural, not mainstream society.

6.2.5   Yo-Yo Migrants

Nine interviewees made yo-yo movements over their lifespans: a repeated set of movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region, the anchor place being usually, though not always, their place of origin. Yo-yo migration is different from 'return' migration as defined in this study and by Faggian, Comunian and Li, (2014), as it is not concerned solely with the return of students to their home of origin after graduation, but is instead a repeated sequence of movement away from and then returning to a fixed location. In the literature more widely, return migration is understood as any return to a place previously inhabited. Due to lack of data, few studies have focused specifically on internal return migrations, though it is estimated that one quarter of internal migrations are made by return migrants (Niedomysl and Amcoff, 2010). To return to a place one has previously lived in before has mainly been viewed in two ways in the literature. Firstly as a 'failed' migration, where the migrant was unable to succeed in a new place, and second, a successful migrant may return to help

develop their home place (Niedomysl and Amcoff, 2010). However the small number of studies into return migration find individuals most commonly return for social reasons connected to family, relatives and friends (see for example Morrison and Clark, 2011; Niedomysl and Amcoff, 2010; Dienel *et al.*, 2006). Mapping migration routes of designers over their lifespans reveals a dimension to return migration not previously identified: for some, return migration is a repeated occurrence, and a relationship with a specific place is important in some multi-locational middle-class biographies.

Yo-yo movements were found equally between arts and science-based designers. For some, yo-yo movements were made in childhood: one interviewee described twice moving between the Midlands and Devon as a child. Another moved twice between Oxford and Surrey in childhood and then from Oxford to university and back again as a young adult. One urban designer moved to Bristol in a yo-yo movement that returned him part-way closer to his place of origin:

> For me, I grew up in Herefordshire, so Bristol and Birmingham were my two biggest cities, in proximity. I'd worked kind of all over the UK and my family are from the area. I wanted to move from the Exeter area back up towards Herefordshire when this [Bristol] opportunity arose, and with the global reputation of [company name], it just seemed like a perfect fit.

Family and region of origin have a magnetic pull for many yo-yo migrants, often drawing them back once a new family is established. This type of move was motivated by a desire for a sense of belonging, wanting to be close to grandparents for help with childcare, and also a drive to reproduce elements of their childhood in that of their own children. This is demonstrated in the biography of high-tech designer, Laurence, chosen as an extreme example (Danermark *et al.*, 2002), illustrating how these factors combine, and showing how migration was used by middle-class designers as a strategy to achieve the lifestyle of their parents.

Laurence was born in a town 50km north of Bristol. When asked about his decision to study Product Design at university, he referred back to his early family life:

> [The course] had a good mix of pure mechanical engineering and also industrial design. I did art and design at Sixth Form. I was into music and artsy things, not a pure maths bod. That mixture appealed to me.

Interviewer: Where did it come from, that interest?

> My dad's an electronics engineer. My brother is also an electronics engineer. Mum's a musician. Not anymore but she was a pianist and chorister. I guess that's the exact mix there, isn't it, of the family make up. Always involved, in my teenage years, making things, playing with radio-controlled cars, making little LEDs flash and writing software as well. That's quite a big part of our family history as well when I was growing up.

Laurence spent much of his childhood with his father learning to fix bikes and engines, and tinkering with bits of electronics. His parents ran an electronics business and he had access to computer software as a young teenager. After graduation from university in the Midlands where he studied product design, Laurence returned to live in his hometown, making his first yo-yo migration. He took a job with a nearby large technology company that had strong connections with his university course, and after a couple of years he married a woman from the local area. Laurence had always planned to start a business, so to gain the necessary business experience he decided to leave his job and move with his wife to Bristol, to work for a small design company. In Bristol the couple bought a house and started a family. Laurence was used to working long hours, but after the birth of their children Laurence's attitude to work changed:

> You change your personality, I think, slightly when you have children. When you've got no dependents, you don't worry about working until ten o'clock and staying at work and carrying on. You're just really focused on that. When you have children, your mind-set changes and you want to make sure you get everything done by a certain time every day because, obviously, you have to spend the evenings doing a certain thing. You can't just stay at the office and leave your family to fester whilst you're not there.

After five years Laurence made his second yo-yo migration when the couple decided to return to their hometown for reasons related to property, career and children. The house they had bought in Bristol was 'quite near the top of the market' and they felt unhappy about their inability to progress up the property ladder. The opportunity arose to move into a house owned by his grandparents in Laurence's hometown. In this location he had secure housing, and his home town made sense as a great place to start a business: it enabled him to work part-time with a school friend, and to pick-up contact with other local friends who also worked in design. Most importantly the couple were able to give their children a childhood like their own:

> Obviously, I'd moved to [Bristol] with a view of setting up my own business at some point so this was all part of the plan eventually … I guess I would cope as well, if not better, if I was living in Bristol but it's more about the children at the moment and making sure they have a nice upbringing like we had. We both grew up in [this town] so it's easier to envisage what their childhood would be like if it's the same as what mine was like.

The drive to reproduce the context of ones' childhood is evident in Laurence's trajectory, as is the importance of housing and intergenerational support. Other yo-yo migrants moved in relation to an anchor place that was not their place of origin. Graphic designer Karl grew up in Germany. In the 1980s he moved to Bristol to study Graphic Design, aged 21. Karl remained

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in Bristol after graduation, working for clients in London. He had friends in Bristol and a cheap studio to work in, however he struggled to make a living and after a few years decided leave Bristol to study an MA in London. When the course was finished, and with a new set of skills, he returned to Bristol, continuing to work for clients in London, this time with more success. Changes in technology also aided his success:

> A year or two later, when the computers became a bit better, you could actually work with them, and you could actually afford one. All my screen printed stuff really translated well to Photoshop and all that. So that really was what made it successful, then, because you could actually do the work fast and conveniently with some digital technology. So then I was starting to do quite well, then, really, for sort of 10 or 15 years

Buoyed by his success, and growing bored in Bristol, Karl decided to move back to London in 2004. Though his clients were based in the capital, his move was not driven by a need to be located close to them, but by London's boating scene:

> By that time, all the contact with clients became digitised. Emails and phone calls. Now it's just emails, no more phone calls. But yes, back then it was all- it didn't really matter where you were, to be honest. No, London did interest me. Various things, really. I lived on a boat at the time. I still do. But also that interested me, because London had a good boating scene then. I moved my boat from Bristol to London, which was an interesting venture.

Karl made his third return to Bristol after the financial crisis of 2008, when the rent on his design studio increased, and his work in commercial illustration decreased:

Well, it's kind of like- what's the word- a perfect storm, really, because the publishing industry was in a sort of crisis at the same time. I suppose with the financial crisis adding to it, and a lot of the newspapers and magazines just packed up, you know, this is the nail in the coffin. A lot of them stopped using illustrations, because that's a luxury... I mean, my work has never been considered safe, I suppose. My work was always a bit of a luxury to them...So basically, people like me were the first to go. We were dispensable.

The financial crisis also impacted on Karl's place of residence: there was an increase in number of people unable to afford their housing costs and wanting to move into boats alongside his. This caused overcrowding leading to vandalism and a lack of security. Eventually the building that housed Karl's studio was sold, forcing him to move out. Feeling tired of London, Karl 'took that excuse to come back to the West Country', and moved, with his boat, to a rural area close to Bristol. Once re-located he set up a new printing business:

I mean, we're still pretty much in the beginning phase here, so it's not really like we're inundated at the moment. We're getting some commercial work in.

Karl's trajectory demonstrates how individuals make yo-yo migrations to and from an anchor place or region that is not their place of origin. Karl did not have children, so family formation and the recreation of childhood – or move to create different conditions for one's children – were not a factor. Both Karl and Laurence's trajectories underline the importance of secure and affordable housing in migration decisions, and when starting a business. Karl's trajectory, like Architect Amy's, also highlights the impact of global economic changes on migration paths (Fielding, 2012). Anther aspect that emerges from his trajectory is Karl's low level of income in ratio to his high level of education. At the time of interview, in his late forties, and after a total of seven years in higher education, and six years after leaving London,

Karl's business was still in its beginning stages and not yet making a profit. From his account it appears that unlike other interviewees, Karl had not purchased a property and so had not progressed up the property ladder in London, and did not benefit from the realisation of assets when leaving. How he maintained his living costs during postgraduate education, or while setting up his business after leaving London is not known. It is possible that a form of unearned income, a gift or loan, may have facilitated his migration and occupation trajectory.

6.2.6 Tied Migration

Tied migration describes a situation where one person moves to follow a partner. Two aspects of tied migration have emerge the data. First, there is some evidence of females sacrificing their career prospects in favour of their male partners (Boyle, Feng and Gayle, 2009; Boyle *et al.*, 1999; Bielby and Bielby, 1992). Second is the migration of heterosexual households to be close to family support, a move that is in often driven by the female in the couple.

Three female migrants moved from London to Bristol because of a partner's job. All commented on not knowing much about Bristol when they arrived. Two of the women compared Bristol unfavourably with London, calling it parochial and with little happening within their fields of specialism. Their migrations had significant impacts on their careers: all three had been employees in London but finding few job opportunities in Bristol, became self-employed. This is illustrated in the trajectory of graphic designer Alice. Until her migration to Bristol, her trajectory is very similar to that of the male designers in the study. Alice came from a design family – both her parents were designers. She grew up in central London, was privately educated and performed well in academic subjects at school. Her decision to become a designer was closely tied to her family background, she decided to study design after the death of her father, and because of her desire to spend time doing the things that he loved. She studied at the Royal College of Art, and while there worked at as an intern with a London design company, who employed her after her graduation. She met her husband, a Bristol academic,

and after four years moved to Bristol. 'It was me who had to move, and I didn't mind.' Despite being happy to put his career prospects first, Alice recognised the negative impact on her own career:

> It wasn't positive; I wasn't particularly looking forward to it. I knew that I wanted to marry my husband, but how successful the business would be, I wasn't at all sure. It's a pretty bleak outlook for somebody who's coming in doing that. Setting up, I just didn't even bother really looking for clients in Bristol.

Alice moved to Bristol in 2010, and kept her London clients. After a couple of years, fed up with making regular trips to the capital and struggling to maintain her business, she decided make changes in her business model. At the time of interview Alice was in the process making funding applications to the Arts Council for art-based projects. For Alice, as for three other female Generation X designers, migration had a negative impact on her career (Halfacree, 1995). Women often become inactive or unemployed, or enter self-employment after migration (Reuschke and Ham, 2013), and women also have lower business survival rates than men (Wagner, 2007). Further research is needed, but these findings suggest that the negative impacts of migration may be a contributing factor to the low number of female designers in the UK.

A move to live near the woman's family is demonstrated in the trajectory of illustrator Martin. Martin had grown up in the South West, was an arts undergraduate in Portsmouth, spent a year painting, then moved to London to study an MA. After graduation he remained living in London finding work as a commercial artist. He bought a house, got married and started a family. At this point 'London suddenly lost its allure'. Finding the cost of living high in London and disliking his long daily commute, Martin and his wife decided to move to Bristol. The city seemed a good size, and had some of the metropolitan buzz of London. As Martin had grown up in the South West it

seemed 'the familiar direction for me to go'. But the major factor in their move to Bristol was proximity to his wife's family:

> Probably the deciding factor was my wife has family in Bristol and in Cardiff. Her mum was living in Cardiff and her sister lives in Bristol. With two small children it was a really good move.

The couple sold their London home, and bought a property in central Bristol. Martin did not move for employment: he found a studio at a cheap rent from which he taught and worked. Martin's wife's occupation is not known, nor is the impact of migration on her career. It is possible that the move was for her job. However, as with other designers in this study, questions over income and lifestyle arise. Martin did not discuss how he was supported during his year spent painting, or studying in London, or how it was possible to purchase a London property on the income of a commercial artist, or to maintain a home and family in Bristol from illustration. But, given industry findings on illustrators' low income levels (Dawood, 2018), it may be surmised that some form of unearned income was available. The realisation of capital on a London property (Fielding, 2012), may have provided the means to live closer to family. Designer's relationship with London will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

6.2.7 London

London is identified as the dominant UK hub for the cultural and creative industries (Sunley, Pinch, and Reimer, 2011; Oakley, 2006; Pratt, 1997), for the design industry in particular (Reimer, Pinch and Sunley, 2008), and as a magnet to graduates with 'bohemian degrees' (Comunian, Faggian and Li, 2010). London was the city most frequently mentioned in the interviews, with interviewees describing deliberations over their migrations to and from the capital. Seventeen interviewees from this generation lived in London at some point in their lives. Of the seventeen, two were born in London, seven moved to the capital for education, and eight for work. They display a different relationship with London to that described in Fielding's (1992) escalator region theory. Designers who migrated to London for

education or work left the capital when in their twenties and thirties, whereas in his model they leave late in their careers, or in retirement. The reasons given for moving out of London were multifaceted, but the most common reason was quality of family life.

For the majority of designers leaving London, the decision coincided with the birth and growth of their families. Long working hours, and long commuting times contributed to a low quality of family life, and a move away was felt necessary. The manageable size of Bristol, its built environment and cultural amenities were mentioned as attractive aspects of the city, but moving to be in closer proximity to the wider family was a major element. An HR manager at an architectural practice identified children starting school as a crucial moment in migration decisions for architects. She described how architects relocate to Bristol from London partly to be close to grandparents who can help with childcare (suggesting return or yo-yo migrations to the South West are common), but also because it was not considered desirable to send children to a state school in London. A move to Bristol would entail a wage cut, but meant access to cheaper private school education, or attendance at a more acceptable state school. The lower cost of private school education in Bristol is probably a stronger pull than access to the state schools in Bristol, which have traditionally performed poorly (Sunley, 2017).

Accessing the housing market was also important in designers' reasons for leaving London. One designer described her migration away from London because of housing issues, but the decision to live in Bristol was also bound up with being close to the wider family:

> We just knew we had to make a decision about staying in the London property market, because we were renting. Didn't intend to end up back in Bristol. So we looked at other cities. But, in the end, just sort of did, really. Because it was a good option and I've got family here and things like that. We wanted to have a family, we quite liked the

idea of things like a garden – which was just impossible pipe-dreams in London! On the property ladder, so that was why, yeah, we moved out.

For others, an identity 'as not a London person' was a repeated theme, reflecting Chapain and Comunian's (2010) findings on creative workers in the North East and Birmingham, who found creative workers identifying themselves in opposition (Easthope, 2009) to the Capital. Four arts-based designers consciously choose not to migrate to London at all, two declining offers of work in the city. They described a processes in which after graduation a decision is made among fellow students over whether or not to move to the capital. One designer described making his choice in relation to his social network and his own personality traits:

Well, I knew some people in London, I knew some people in Bristol. I sort of preferred the people in Bristol, and also, Bristol was kind of- it felt less daunting. Also I liked the people in Bristol more. To move from Falmouth to London, I was- a little bit of me was a little bit like, "I'm not-" With my personality traits, I'm fairly laid-back, you know, I'm not really, you know, whilst I commit to my work, and I'm very serious about design, I don't- I'm not sure I wanted to be going straight from that to doing like 16-hour days, and the commute. It all sounded a little bit miserable to me, and I'd heard just very good things about Bristol, you know, being a little bit more, you know, mixing business and pleasure, and a little bit better, kind of all-round experience.

Spending time with family, being close to family, recreation of a middle-class childhood, and access to, or movement up the property ladder were the major factors in migration away from London. Not having the right personal characteristics to get on in London were reasons given for not going there in the first place. That moving for employment was rarely mentioned is puzzling. A possible explanations for this is that when designers perceived

there to be plenty of work opportunities in a range of locations, other factors were more predominant in migration decisions, as argued by Morrison and Clark (2011). Alternatively, it may be that designers depended on the income of a partner, or unearned income from rent, or that the capital gains on the sale of a house in London which facilitated living costs in Bristol (Fielding, 2012).

6.3   Discussion

Despite being of the right profession and right generation to be categorised as members of Florida's creative class, the thirty-five Generation X interviewees rarely displayed the characteristics delineated for them by Florida. The most highly mobile had the lowest level of education and a low level of income. The most well-paid were often the least mobile, and worked within the city's institutions and large companies, enjoying job security and career ladders. Most striking is the similarity between the trajectories of this generation with those of the Baby Boomer designers. While there was some migration from the North, movement was mostly within the lower third of the UK, the majority between Bristol and London and Bristol and Southern coastal towns and cities.

Like the Baby Boomers, careers in design were firmly rooted in childhood – this was particularly apparent among the high proportion of designers who had a parent or family member who was a designer. This family member served as a role model, encouraged interests and provided experiences in the design workplace. Combined, these experiences conferred the social and cultural capital needed to access higher education and creative work (Banks, 2017; Koppman, 2016; McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009). Becoming a designer was a natural seeming development into adulthood and once established, designers remained within their professions throughout their careers. When changes occurred they were mainly from employment to self-employment or into university teaching.

Contrary to Florida's (2002) claims that the creative class were moving away from family-ties, and friends known since childhood, these designers remained in close contact with family and lifelong friends. Ties were elastic, maintaining their strength across spatial distances. Designers often mentioned working with school friends, suggesting, as Gill (2002) found among new media workers, that 'who you know' is important to success, and the 'old boys network' was operational. Family of origin continued to be influential in adulthood and particularly around the time designers started a family of their own. Middle-class designers often made return or yo-yo migrations to their home of origin, and were motivated to migrate by a desire recreate for their children the circumstances of their own childhoods. As with the Baby Boomer generation, class and associated expectations of migration, was the major differential in migration patterns (Fielding, 2012; 1992).

Designers from working class backgrounds were either non-migrants, became socially mobile through the education system and migrated for secure employment, or did not have the cultural capital necessary to access HE and migrated to access an alternative, counter-cultural way of life. The policies of the post-war era were still present in the trajectories of the middle-class designers who experienced the impact of their father's social mobility from the working class to the middle class in the 1950s and 60s. Interestingly it was they who expressed feelings of displacement and had the least disposition to make a return migration to live near parents. The overwhelming majority of designers however, came from middle-class families where migration for education and work were anticipated from childhood (Fielding, 1992).

In a pattern similar to the previous generation, school teachers and art foundation tutors also played an important role in encouraging students' interests in design and in signposting them towards degree courses, matching students characteristics and interests to the ethos of individual courses and institutions. These teachers were of particular significance in

the migration trajectories of designers whose parents were not also designers. Arts-based designers who took post-graduate qualifications were educated to MA level, and in the majority of cases moved from their undergraduate university cities for postgraduate study. Only one commented directly on funding for their post-graduate study, mentioning her parents' support through five years of higher education. MA courses were embarked upon soon after graduation from a BA course, leaving little time to accrue funds for fees, moving costs or subsistence for the duration of the course. Other than the Royal College of Art, no arts based HEIs offered financial assistance for MA level courses. This suggests that family contributions, or other sources of funding were forthcoming. Employment outcomes for designers with postgraduate degrees differed between sectors. Engineers all secured employment within large engineering companies, those studying architecture worked for local county councils or within medium-sized businesses, and all but one of the arts-based post-graduates set up businesses in Bristol. The exception, who described himself as coming from a working class family, attended the Royal College of Art, and subsequently took a secure position as a university tutor.

Whether designers accessed family economic capital to support their postgraduate education and business start up is unclear. What does emerge from this data is that arts-based designers with post-graduate degrees did not begin to earn a living from their design work until their mid-twenties at the earliest, and it can be inferred that they relied on some form of private financial support during this time. With the exception of one product designer, all arts based graduates and postgraduates who set up businesses in Bristol, including the oldest and most established in this generation, describe working on a small scale and remark on the difficulty of finding enough work to maintain an employee receiving a living wage.

While discussing their migration to and within Bristol, accessing and climbing the housing market are mentioned regularly, indicating a high degree of home ownership. Given the low levels of income reported, it can

be surmised that income from a partner, private funds, or income from non-design employment were used to gain a mortgage. If coming from the designer's family of origin, family approval of location may also be an element in location outcomes. These finding on low income are reflected in the literature (Cooke, 2014; Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010; Comunian, Faggian and Li, 2010; Gill, 2009; Oakley, Sperry, and Pratt, 2008; Oakley, 2004), and question how possible it is to set up and run an arts based design business without a private family income, or income from a partner, or other forms of financial support.

For those with designers in the family, the occupation of designer was usually handed down through the male members of the family. This finding provides an insight into how gendered roles within design (Reimer, 2016) and the creative industries in general (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015) are reproduced inter-generationally. The trajectories of the female designers in this generation revealed how, in addition to the issues women face after becoming mothers, tied migration (Bielby and Bielby, 1992) may be a factor in women leaving the creative industries before or during middle age (Reimer, 2016; Skillset, 2010). Only a third of the designers interviewed in this generation were women. It is possible that greater numbers of women were working out of sight of the established design network in the city; perhaps self employed and working from home, a common situation for women after migration (Reuschke and Van Ham, 2013). Another possibility for the low number of women is that women were working in lower status design roles, and so were not identified as important to interview.

London, for Generation X designers, was a place of education, first job, a place to establish a network, and for some a place to enter home ownership and start a family. In Fielding's (1992) escalator region theory, ambitious in-migrants benefit from rising up the career and housing ladder, then migrate out in late career or for retirement. This pattern was not found among designers who left London for Bristol. The majority of these designers were middle-class, and their migration and employment strategies were driven by

the need for social stability, not mobility. Without a linear career ladder to climb in the creative industries, and motivated by a desire to give their children a childhood and education which resembled their own, these designers left London in their late twenties and early thirties, realised the increase in value on their London properties, and moved into a larger (but cheaper) house in a secure middle-class area of Bristol, close to a good (but cheaper) private school or state school, and close to grandparents who could provide support and free childcare. Located away from London, designers could use the reputation that being a 'London designer' brings to gain work in Bristol, and/or use the network built up in London to start a new business.

Other designers decided not to live in London at all, defining themselves as 'not London people'. Ambition was central to Fielding's theory (Gordon, 2015; Fielding, 1992), and it could be argued that these designers were simply not ambitious enough to make the move to London, or confident in their ability to flourish in the capital city. Alternatively, it could be argued that these designers were ambitious in their roles as parents and ambitious for themselves to have a more balanced lifestyle. This is a different, less celebrated ambition, and one that was gendered female by Maslow (1943,1971), and by designers in London design agencies, who considered leaving London for family lifestyle reasons, a 'female' choice and a move away from a superior, combative, tough, macho environment (Reimer, 2016).

6.4   Conclusion

According to Florida (2002), Generation X creative workers broke away from traditional roles and relationships and moved to places that were centres of creativity to engage in new lifestyles and working practices. The occupation and migration patterns among Generation X designers in Bristol did not adhere to this theory. Instead, many shared similar migration and career patterns to those of designers in Baby Boomer generation, and to their own parents. This chapter started by exploring the characteristics of

Generation X designers in relation to gender and ethnicity. Unlike the Baby Boomer generation, a small number of designers were female, but as with the previous generation, all interviewees were of white ethnicity, suggesting that in Bristol, as in that the creative industries generally (O'Brien *et al.*, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013), the creative industries sector is mono-cultural and exclusive. The chapter then charted the frequency of migration moves, and the spatiality of migration paths. It contributes to the literature in showing that over decades, migration patterns were similar to that of the UK population in general (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015).

To gain a deeper understanding Generation X migration patterns, the second section explored designers' occupation and migration trajectories in greater detail. Many similarities with the previous generation were found. The chapter highlighted the tight interconnection between designers and their family of origin, and the strength and importance of family connections in occupation and migration outcomes. The chapter contributes to the literature in highlighting the role of social class in the designers' occupation and migration pathways. In a pattern similar to the previous generation, a large majority of designers were found to be middle-class; their occupation and migration paths eased by inherited cultural capital and financial capital, which assisted them into higher education, onto the housing ladder and into self-employment.

A career on the housing ladder was as important in middle-class designers' migration and occupation movements, and the chapter contributes to the literature in highlighting housing as an important source of income among professions who derive a low income from their work.

Designers' relationship with London came into sharper focus among Generation X. The chapter contributes to the literature in highlighting that designers migrated into and out of London in a different pattern to that described in Fielding's (1992) escalator region theory. As designers did not

have a formal career ladder to climb, designers were less able to increase their earnings, and struggled to climb the housing ladder. A move to Bristol from London enabled social stability, as designers could access housing and a lifestyle similar to their parents, and capitalise on the credentials that being a London designer bestowed upon them.

The issue of tied migration, predominantly among female designers is highlighted, and findings suggest that tied migration may be an underlying factor in the low numbers of women in the design industry. Further, and in contradiction, finding also suggest that in heterosexual couples, a move towards the female's parents' home may be a factor in household migration trajectories.

Halfacree and Boyle (1993), argue that a large number of issues are entangled and expressed in migration movements. For Generation X designers, as for the Baby Boomers, family background, class and gender were underlying factors. The desire to live to be near loved ones and to live in a supportive community were important. Also like the Baby Boomer generation, the migration paths of Generation X-ers were impacted by changes in the economic climate. The next chapter explores the trajectories of Millennials, who became adults as higher education funding came to an end, and who began their careers amidst the 2008/9 economic crisis.

7 The Millennials

'Turnover is vanity'
Games designer, Millennial

Everyone is in our industry, to be honest.
Graphic Designer, Millennial

The Millennial generation are those born between 1982-2000 (Howe and Strauss, 2000), and who graduated from university from 2003 onwards. According to Florida's (2002) creative class theory, the Millennial generation, more than any other, would exemplify the creative class' values and behaviours, with higher rates of mobility, living independently from family of origin, and being fulfilled and well remunerated by their creative work (Florida, 2007; 2002). In theory, this generation will also have experienced the non-traditional career trajectories characteristic of work of the new economy whereby traditional careers, rooted in early life, made way for ever-changing portfolio careers (Flores and Gray, 1999).

Millennials became young adults in a different political and economic climate than the Baby Boomer generation to which Florida belonged, and to his Generation X students on whom he based his theory. For example, Millennials experienced huge changes in higher education. Under New Labour, access to higher education was expanded (Sage, 2013), and following the designation and promotion of the Creative Industries as an industrial sector in 1998, there was a burgeoning of art and design degree courses. Creative art and design courses saw an increase of 58 per cent between 1999 and 2008 (Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010), and between 2003 and 2008 student numbers in architecture, building and planning

increased by 32.4 per cent (HESA, 2009). As a result the UK had a greater number of graduates with art and design degrees than at any time previously (Banks and Oakley, 2016; Beck and Cornford, 2012). Alongside an increased access to education, UK Millennials also faced increased university tuition fees and rising student debt (Stone, Berrington, and Falkingham, 2014; Howker and Malik, 2010), as well as changes in the political and economic environment more generally.

Neoliberal politics were on the rise as Millennials came into adulthood, with the eroding of the welfare state and an increase in precarious working conditions (Hoolachan and McKee, 2019; Heath and Calvert, 2013; Howker and Malik, 2010). Precarity, 'chronic unemployment and underemployment' (Bridgstock *et al.*, 2015), is regarded as a prominent feature of work in the creative industries where finite, project-based work is a norm (McRobbie, 2016; Gill and Pratt, 2008); and where there is an oversupply of labour, a situation exacerbated by the increase in creative degree graduates post-1997 (Comunian, Faggian, and Jewell, 2011; Menger, 1999). Millennials were the generation most impacted by the 2008 banking crisis (Heath and Calvert, 2013), and the generation most deeply effected by the housing crisis (Lewis and West, 2017; Dorling, 2014; Howker and Malik, 2010). The importance of the issue of housing cannot be underestimated. Danny Dorling argued 'Housing has become the defining economic issue of our times because housing finance is at the heart of the current economic crisis' (Dorling, 2014, p.15).

Problems in accessing home ownership or affordable rental accommodation have come to define the generation, gaining them the title 'Generation Rent' (McKee, Moore, Soaita, and Crawford, 2017; Dorling, 2014). Housing issues have had an impact on UK internal migration. Rents rose nationally, and at the same time house prices declined in the North, and became increasingly unaffordable in the South-East and South-West. Bristol is the largest city in the South West, a region where house prices are the highest of any core city in the UK relative to median earnings (West of England Combined Authority,

2017). The lack of affordable social housing and new-build housing for families, has led to a housing crisis in the city (Sunley, 2017). In 2015, Bristol rents rose by 18%, the highest rent rises in the UK (Collinson, 2016).

These changes in housing costs led to a situation whereby in the UK a greater number of places – such as Bristol – became too expensive to live in, and the number of areas people wanted to avoid increased (Dorling, 2014). As well as limiting the areas into which people were able or willing to migrate, the housing crisis also impacted on sequential patterns of migration. Another term coined for the Millennials is the 'Boomerang Generation' (Stone et al., 2014; Sage, 2013), describing those who return to the family home after a period of living away, most commonly after graduation (Stone et al., 2014; Sage, 2013). In her study into the migration trajectories of graduates from Southampton University, Sage (2013) found approximately fifty per cent of graduates returned to the family home in the five years after graduation, some performing a 'double boomerang': returning to the parental home more than once because of unemployment or high housing costs (Sage, 2013). The issue of housing is absent from Florida's (2002) Creative Class theory, but in the UK the interconnection between tenure and internal migration is well established.

Intergenerational support, in the form of financial gifts, loans, and in-kind support for housing costs, has come to play a critical role in enabling Millennial young adults achieve independent living (Heath and Calvert, 2013; Druta and Ronald, 2016). This has resulted in higher levels of dependency of young adults on parents and grandparents, and the tightening of kinship bonds. For those from more affluent families, bonds with parents were particularly re-affirmed after a period of quasi-autonomy while at university, at the time young adults entered homeownership – which a financial loan or gift made achievable. In enabling homeownership, parents exercise control over the housing pathways of their children, and further, ensure continuity of the family's social status (Druta and Ronald, 2016). This form of dependence is in tension with societal values which

encourage independence while concomitantly 'socio-economic instability makes reliance on others (particularly kin) necessary for sustaining individualized lifestyles' (Druta and Ronald, 2016, p. 796).

Using data from the Higher Education Statistical Agency [HESA] to analyse the sequential migration trajectories of graduates of arts and culture-based degreees, Faggian, Comunian and Li, (2014) found that in the six months after graduation, creative graduates were most likely to return back to the parental home location. 'The initial low salary level and cost of living considerations might push these graduates to return home (at least initially) to afford pursuing a career in their chosen field of study' (Faggian et al., 2014, p.41). HESA data also offers insights into the career opportunities for graduates in the six months after graduation. Analysis by Comunian, Faggian and Jewell (2011) found graduates of creative courses are less likely to be in full-time employment than those of non-creative degrees, and are nearly twice as likely to be unemployed. Differences were found between outcomes for graduates across the creative disciplines: architecture, advertising and publishing students were less likely to be unemployed than other graduates, whereas unemployment was high in film and television, creative technologies, design and fine arts. Overall, and contra to Florida's (2002) theory of wealth, high mobility and independence from family, the literature finds that UK Millennial graduates of creative degrees are often low paid and return to live close to their family of origin, suggesting that continued family support is necessary as graduates transition into the workplace. A tightening of kinship bonds and dependecies undermines Maslow's (1971) concept of the autonoumous creative individual, and Florida's (2002) theory of creative workers' independence from family ties and expectations.

Due to lack of data, little is known about the relationship between creative workers and their family and region of origin in the years pre-graduation, or after six months post-graduation. This chapter addresses this gap, focusing on the relationship between designers' early lives (family life, school and university) and migration and occupation outcomes. The chapter is

organised as follows: the first section gives details of the characteristics of the interviewees by sector, employment type, gender and ethnicity. The second section gives an overview of designers' migration trajectories and rates of migration. Following from this, designers' trajectories are analysed in detail. Individual accounts were selected as typical, opposite and extreme examples of different patterns of migration (Iosifides, 2011; Danermark, *et al.*, 2002). The fifth section focuses on a tutors' view of Millennial migration, based on his observation of Bristol design students. This is followed by a discussion and concluding remarks.

7.1 Data

Fifteen Millennials were interviewed: thirteen designers and two administrators. The interviewees in this generation (see tables. 7.1 and 7.2) differed slightly from the previous generations. The first difference relates to industry sector. Unlike those in the previous generations, all fifteen interviewees worked in the creative industries sectors, and none within engineering. This maybe due to engineering firms selecting senior, and therefore older figures for interview. In the data collection for Bristol and Bath by Design (Parraman *et al.*, 2016), the focus was on collecting an even representation across the industry sectors and size of company; age was not a consideration. As a result the interview sample does not include Millennial design engineers.

Ten of the Millennial interviewees graduated from arts-based degrees, and three graduated from non-arts degrees and became involved in the creative industries after graduation. Two did not discuss university education and so their education level is unknown. A number of interviewees worked within businesses established in the city after the Millennium, and in sectors of the creative industries not previously active in the city: textiles and the games industry. Three worked in festivals – a sector which grew significantly after the Millennium (Anderton, 2019). Others worked in the sectors previously established in Bristol: TV/film/animation and branding and advertising.

Second, there was a difference in employment type. This generation had the highest number of interviewees who were self-employed. This is probably due to the rise of the 'cultural entrepreneur,' and the promotion of self-employment within art school (McRobbie, 2016), but it may also be because, as with engineering, larger design companies suggested more senior figures for interview, and so younger employees within large firms were not represented. It was also observed by the research team that a number of young self-employed people put themselves forward for interview with a perception of the potential of the interview for self-advancement. In a working environment where all connections, personal and professional, may be the source of new work opportunities (Gill, 2011; Florida, 2002), an interview with a university researcher also holds potential for future work opportunities. The research project was promoted as a project mapping the design network in the city, previously uncharted. It hosted a number of events, billed as networking opportunities. To be interviewed for the project was to ensure a place within that network, and the possibility of recommendation to others by those holding the greatest overview of the network, and with strong and potentially powerful connections within it. The research team was involved in hiring designers for the project's research outputs, so the opportunity for paid work was a real prospect. Additionally, teaching at the university is a potential strand of income, so an interview may have been regarded as a renewal of previous connections, or as an introduction to the university network, which may be useful for future employment.

Third, the gender split for this generation was more even than for the previous generations in this study: nine men and six women. Five of the women were designers and one an administrator. Reasons for the higher representation of women designers may be connected to the life stage: none of the interviewees had yet started families, so the problems women face in returning to design roles after becoming mothers had not yet been encountered (Reimer, 2016; McRobbie, 2016). However, the women interviewed in this generation were not working in roles traditionally

dominated by men in the creative industries, such as graphic design, architecture or product design (Reimer, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015), but worked in textiles, a traditionally female sector, and in administration.

Table 7.1 Characteristics of Female Millennial Interviewees

Sector	Occupation	Employment type	Born in Bristol	HE in Bristol	Date Arrived in Bristol	No. Moves in Childhood	No. Moves HE	No. Moves Post HE	Migration Type
Textiles	Company Founder/ Freelancer	Self-employed	No	No	2014	0	1	2	Repeat/Tied Migrant
Textiles	Company founder/ Tutor	Self employed	No	No	2015	0	2	1	Repeat/Tied Migrant
Textiles	Company Founder	Self-employed/ Employed	No	No	2007	0	1	2	Repeat/Tied Migrant
Textiles	Company Founder	Self employed	No	No	2007	0	1	1	Repeat/Tied Migrant
Illustration	Freelancer	Self-employed	No	No	2014	0	0	1	Late migrant
Fine Art	Arts Administration	Employed	No	No	2014	0	1	2	Repeat/Tied Migrant

Table 7.2 Characteristics of Male Millennial Interviewees

Sector	Occupation	Employment type	Born in Bristol	HE in Bristol	Date Arrived in Bristol	No. Moves in Childhood	No. Moves HE	No. Moves Post HE	Migration type
Festival	Company Founder	Self-employed	No	Yes	2001	2	1	0	University Stayer
Festival	Company Founder/ Designer	Self-employed	No	No	2005	0	-	1	Not Known
Festival	Company Founder/ Designer	Self-employed	No	No	2005	0	-	2	Not Known
Games	Company Founder	Self-employed	No	Yes	2000	0	1	0	University Stayer
Advertising	Company Founder/ Designer	Self employed	No	No	2015	3	3	5	Yo-yo migrant
Graphic Design	Company Founder/ Designer	Self-employed/ Employed	No	Yes	2005	1	2	0	University Stayer
Advertising	Graphic Designer	Employed	No	Yes	2012	0	1	1	Repeat migrant
Advertising	Graphic Designer	Employed	No	Yes	2012	0	1	1	Repeat migrant
Fine Art	Arts Administration	Employed	No	No	2015	0	0	3	Repeat/Tied Migrant

Two other factors are of importance. First, no designers in this generation were born in Bristol and only five designers attended HE in the city. This finding is surprising, given that creative graduates in the UK, and creative workers in the Midlands and North of the UK, and across Europe, are found to be living in their place of birth or higher education (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014; Chapain and Comunian, 2010; Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010). Second, only one designer in this generation was from a BAME background. That only one designer from a BAME background was interviewed for Bristol and Bath by Design (Parraman *et al.*, 2016) is a major and glaring finding for this research. Particularly so, given that the majority of interviewees were selected because they were representative of the design industry, and by those within the industry and education network. It is difficult to conceptualise this exclusion as anything other than structural.

7.2   Migration Trajectories

All interviewees were born in the South of England, with the exception of two, who were born in Wales and the North of England. The majority of migration movement was within the South of England, between the South West and South East regions. Two moved to the North of England for higher education and returned South after graduation. Only a few migrations were made to international locations, and were always followed by a return migration to the UK within one or two years. No migrations were made to the European continent.

As with previous generations, the greatest concentration of migration flow was between Bristol and London, and southern coastal towns and cities, home to Higher Education Institutions [HEIs] offering art-based degrees. Of those who studied arts-based degrees in HEIs outside of Bristol, the southern universities attended were Farnham, Brighton, Southampton, Plymouth and Falmouth. The northern universities attended were Leeds and

Manchester. Those who studied non-arts degrees attended Cardiff, Bristol and University College London. That no designers migrated North for reasons other than education shows that, despite the high cost of housing in the South of the UK (Dorling, 2014; Howker and Malik, 2010), all the Millennial interviewees were able to secure an income large enough to meet their housing costs in the South, whether earned, loaned, gifted or in kind (Heath and Calvert, 2013).

The migrants are categorised into groups according their migration patterns, based on the typology of migration patterns devised by Faggian, Comunian, and Li (2014) to categorise the migration of Millenial graduates in the first six months after gradutation. The typology had been modified for this study to include the trajectories of designers who did not attend univeristy, and those who make more complex yo-yo migrations over a longer time frame (table 7.3).

Table 7-3 Millennial Migration Patterns

Type	Description	Number of interviewees
Non-Migrant	Always lived in their place of birth	0
University stayers	Stay in their place of study	3
Repeat migrants	Make more than one migration move away from their place of origin	8
Return migrants	Return to their place of origin after university	1
Late migrants	Study in their home location and migrate after graduation	0
Yo-yo migrants	Make a sequence of movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region	2

Millennial designers' migration patterns can be classified as follows. Three of the fifteen interviewees were 'university stayers' who attended higher education in Bristol and remained living in the city after graduation. However, one of these completed a second degree in Bristol, the first being in another city, and so he could also be classed as a repeat migrant. Eight were 'repeat migrants', who moved to another city after graduation, but again, the picture is more complex, as these included six individuals who made tied-migrations: moving to Bristol following their romantic partners (Bielby and Bielby, 1992). Tied migration was the most common pattern of migration (six out of the fifteen), and was the pattern of five of the six female

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interviewees. This dynamic is discussed further in the sections below, and gives an insight into the way in which gendered tied-migration may operate as an underlying mechanism in the exclusion of women from work in the creative industries.

Two interviewees made yo-yo migrations. Yo-yo migration is a pattern of migration commonly found in the trajectories of the Baby Boomer generation and Generation X, and is different to the 'return' (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014) or 'boomerang' (Sage, 2013) type of migration, which is a direct return to the parental home. Instead, yo-yo migrations are a sequence of migration movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region, the anchor place being usually, though not always, the interviewee's birthplace though not necessarily the parental home.

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 show mobility rates for this generation across three life stages: childhood, moves for higher education [HE] and moves post-HE. Designers make few migration movements in childhood, migrate for HE and then most commonly make one or two movements post-HE. Migration levels are similar to the previous two generations and follow the lifecycle pattern of the general population (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015). Some interviewees in this generation were in their early twenties and future migration rates may yet differ to those of previous generations. The designers' migration levels are however significantly lower than students who graduated from Southampton University between 2001-2007, who moved between five and eight times in the five years post-graduation (Sage, 2013). Further comparisons are difficult to make due to a lack of data on the sequential migration trajectories of young people (Sage, 2013). Overall, these findings on the geographical range and frequency of migration support other empirical evidence of low mobility for creative workers (e.g. Brown, 2015; Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014; Lawton, Murphy, and Redmond, 2013; Martin-Brelot *et al.*, 2010). Findings also show a high degree of stability in the geographical flow of movement of designers since the 1970s and into

the 2000s, due at least in part to the locations of HEIs offering arts-based degrees.

This section has provided an overview of Millennial designers' migration trajectories from birth until time of interview in 2014/2017. Millennials are not found to be highly mobile as claimed by Florida (2002). Across their lifespans so far, Millennial designers migrated in a lifecycle pattern that is typical of the general population in the UK. The following sections contain a deeper analysis of the designers' trajectories, and focuses on the connection between early life experiences (from birth until university age) and occupation and migration outcomes.

Although the youngest, and closest in years to their childhood, interviewees from the Millennial generation spoke the least about their upbringing. In this respect the content of the interviews differed to that of the Baby Boomers, most of whom spoke at considerable length about their early lives. This may be because with age comes a greater level of reflection on early life, and conversely that when young there is a desire to be viewed as an independent adult rather than within the context of one's family of origin. Despite this shift in focus, nine of the fifteen interviewees mentioned their parent's occupations. Four had parents who worked in the design industry, the other five had parents who worked in education, academia, other public sector jobs, and as small business owners in the building trade. All nine commented on their parents' positive influence on their choice of occupation. That the interviewees mentioned their parents in relation to their occupation choice at all is particularly significant, given that the focus of the interview was on the designers' experiences of working and living in Bristol, and not specifically on early family life or the influence of parents.

7.2.1 University Stayer

In the UK, millennial graduates of art and design courses are commonly university stayers in the first six months after graduation, and it is suggested that networks developed while at university maybe important to career success, and a reason for remaining in the place of study (Faggian,

Comunian, and Li, 2014). London is the major UK hub for the creative industries (Sunley, Pinch, and Reimer, 2011; Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010; Oakley, 2006; Pratt, 1997), and one question which arises in relation to university stayers is why they did not move to London after graduation. This section offers new insight into what keeps Millennial graduates in the city of Bristol in the years after graduation. Three millennial interviewees were university stayers. Two studied design degrees in the city, and set up businesses in the games and graphic design sectors. One interviewee studied a non-design degree in Bristol, then set up a design business in the city's festival sector. This section focuses on the trajectory of graphic designer Tom, who was chosen as he typifies the three: he changed career direction after his degree, and he set up a business in the city. His trajectory shows that, like university stayers in the previous generations, networks formed in university were important to his decision to remain in Bristol, and to his career success. However, family of origin and childhood friends, and his perception of work opportunities in London, were also major elements in his location and occupation decisions in the longer term.

Tom's trajectory is actually more complicated than the term 'university stayer' suggests: Tom took two degrees in two different cities. He completed his first degree in Wales in a non-design subject. While at school, teachers had encouraged him in his subject choice, but during the course he lost interest. After graduation, Tom spent a year travelling the globe before moving to Bristol to live with a friend he met at university. Soon after arriving in Bristol he decided to study for a design degree in the city. As with Generation X interviewees who became designers after a non-design degree, Tom articulated this change not as new, but as a correction to a path that should have been taken earlier. Tom described how his interest in design began in childhood:

> Somewhere in my Mum and Dad's loft, there's something that I filled
> in when I was at primary school and it said, 'what do you want to be

when you grow up?' And it says 'graphic designer'. But I don't know why.

In answer to follow up questions, Tom revealed that his interest came from his father, who was an architect. He described his childhood experiences in his father's office:

> [Dad] ran his own practice and with a friend of his and, as a result of running their own practice in the kind of late '80s, early '90s, they had to work a lot of weekends. So there were some weekends when we, me and my brother, were just taken to the office and given a huge drawing board and pens and those kind of graphic resources and just told to, kind of, 'occupy yourselves for the day until Dad's finished'. So I think it was a result of that. And the guy that my dad worked with was the visualisation guy. My dad kind of made it all work, but he was the one doing those kind of big, arty kind of artistic architectural concept drawings. So I used to be fascinated by watching him work and I used to love looking at all the things that he had done.

After graduation from his Graphic Design degree in 2011, and aged 28, Tom considered his options were either to move to London to do a low paid internship, like many of the high achieving students on his course, or to do an internship in Bristol. Tom did not want to move to London as he had strong friendships in Bristol, but he also didn't want to work as a low paid intern:

> So the options were: go and work for a studio that you didn't really want to work for like ten grand a year. Which some people would kind of jump at the chance for. But the money that, the debt that I had, I thought, 'I need to make more money than that. And it needs to be for me'. So, I set up my own studio and I thought, 'if it's hard, you know, if I have a crap year and earn five grand, at least it's – every single penny of that will come to me'

Tom's decision not to move to London was also heavily influenced by a visiting lecturer, who advised against a move to the capital. He saw a gap in the local market for Tom's type of work, and suggested the competition in London may be too great for his business to survive. As was found to be the case for creative workers in Birmingham and Newcastle-Gateshead (Chapain and Comunian, 2010), being based in Bristol, Tom could be a big fish in a small pond, and with lower overheads, could offer a more competitive service.

In the early stages of his business, networks developed while at university were important for making contacts with potential clients, but childhood friends were also important. Tom moved into a studio with another designer who he 'knew from home' and who had also moved to Bristol. He described building up his business to a point where he made a 'good' living, but not enough to maintain an employee. The majority (80 per cent) of his work came from local small art projects which were low paid, but high status. The main source of income for his business was through work for an internationally based corporate client. This corporate work came to him via a close friend: 'a really good friend of mine is married to a girl whose sister is married to the director of the company.' The work is well paid but insecure:

> I'm doing OK. But there is the constant, looming threat of, what if my corporate client went under? My earnings would halve overnight. And they have no responsibility to me, you know. I'm not under contract. I'd just be another casualty. So there's that, always looming.

At the point of leaving university for the second time, Tom had spent six years of his adult life in full-time education and one year travelling. For him, the prospect of earning five thousand pounds a year as a self-employed designer was acceptable and preferable to earning twice the amount working for someone else. His account attests to the issues of low pay for

graduates of art and design courses (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014; Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010), and demonstrates the power of the creative industries message that risky entrepreneurialism is desirable, and that creative self-fulfilment is a greater reward than a reliable and sufficient income (McRobbie, 2016). Tom's account also raises the question of how he supported his living costs during his full-time second degree, travels, and while establishing his business. Millennial graduates often return to their parental home after graduation, and it is suggested that this is because of high housing costs and low pay (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014; Sage, 2013). Tom did not return to his parents but remained in Bristol where the issue of housing is acute: housing costs are among the highest in the UK (Boyce, 2018; Collinson, 2016). One possibility is that Tom relied on a non-design job that he did not mention in the interview, alternatively he may have taken on high levels of debt, or some form of un-earned income was available. As is common for middle-class Millennials (Druta and Ronald, 2016; Heath and Calvert, 2013), financial support may have come from his family.

When discussing his plans to remain in Bristol in the long term, Tom made reference to owning a house. How he afforded this is unclear. Tom only began to work full time after his graduation in 2011, four years before the interview was made. Given the short period of time in which to save for a deposit, the high cost of housing in Bristol (Boyce, 2018; Collinson, 2016; Dorling, 2014), and the increased difficulties in gaining a mortgage, particularly for those in insecure work (Howker and Malik, 2010), it can only be surmised, that some other form of income was used to secure a mortgage. This suggests that again intergenerational support, or support from a partner, enabled Tom to get a foothold on the housing ladder, and to remain living in Bristol.

Tom's account demonstrates the importance of professional networks developed at university in his decision to stay in the city and the early stages of his business. But equally important in this decision were his friendships

in the city, including a childhood friend; Tom was not living or working entirely displaced from his original community as Florida (2002) suggests. Of key importance to Tom's decision to become a designer was the intergenerational cultural capital gained from his father (Banks, 2017; Koppman, 2016; McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009). Tom's father was also a role model of successful business owner, which increased the likelihood of Tom becoming an entrepreneur (Hanson, 2003), and Tom's father provided him with experience of the design workplace from an early age. Family support, in the form of economic and cultural capital, and moral support are important in the success of new businesses (Hanson, 2003). Further research is needed to better understand the inter-generational dynamic in creative businesses.

7.2.2 Repeat Migrants

Eight, the majority of the millennial designers in this sample, were repeat migrants: those who made more than one migration move away from their place of origin. This mobility pattern is consistent with Florida's (2002) claim for high mobility, and, in theory, represents a set of movements away from family and childhood friends, towards independence and autonomy. Empirical evidence however shows that millennial graduates of art and design courses are far less likely to be repeat migrants than they are to be university stayers or return migrants, in the first six months after graduation (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014). This section offers new insights into the trajectories of Millennial creative workers in the years after graduation, and reveals something surprising: all six of the Millennial women in this study were repeat migrants, five of whom made tied migrations (Bielby and Bielby, 1992) into Bristol.

The five females (including one non-designer, who worked in a design company) moved to Bristol with a partner because of their partners' jobs. All the female designers became self-employed after moving to Bristol, and all set up business in textiles, a sector not previously established in the city. None had children.

Tied migration is found to have negative impacts on women's careers, as women often become economically inactive or unemployed after a migration move (Boyle, Feng and Gayle, 2009; Boyle *et al.*, 1999; Bielby and Bielby, 1992). To facilitate a move, women also often become self employed after a migration (Reuschke and Ham, 2013). As female-run businesses have lower survival rates than male-run businesses (Wagner, 2007), self-employment can have a negative impact on female careers. Rather than migration leading to greater independence and autonomy (Florida, 2002), for women, migration often leads to greater dependence on a partner's income or State support. These dynamics are explored in the trajectory of textile designer Sophie, who was selected as a typical example of tied migration and entrepreneurship. Her account also demonstrates the ways in which gendered design roles (Reimer, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015) are reproduced inter-generationally, and highlights that repeat migration does not necessarily mean a move away from close family. Sophie moved twice after graduation, and did not return to her parental home. Her migration trajectory appears initially as a spatial move away from her parents into independent living, but a closer analysis shows that Sophie has remained in close proximity to her parents for the majority of her life.

Sophie was born in the Home Counties close to London, her parents worked as university academics. Her interest in art and design, and particularly textiles, started in primary school and was supported in the family home:

> I always knew I liked being creative. So I like, when, when you're at primary school it's making a mess, isn't it, and just being free with your drawing and things like that. There used to be, there used to be a lady, an older lady who'd visit my primary school and hold after-school Weave Club. And I think there were about two or three little, like, two or three of us little children who were, sort of, strange enough to want to go! To after-school Weave Club! And it was really good fun, I loved that. So that was my first introduction. And then I found out that my grandfather had built a loom for my grandma,

because she'd been a home economics teacher and she'd taught textiles and things like that. So I had access to that at home.

There is a gendered, intergenerational dimension to Sophie's introduction into textiles. Her interest was passed to her by two mature women: 'an older lady' at her school, and her grandmother. Her access to design and making was in the home, and not the work place. This experience was echoed by a second female textile designer, who described learning to knit and sew from her mother, and is in contrast to many male designers' introduction to design occupations (e.g. engineering, graphics or product design) through their fathers or uncles and in their office or studio work places. This example demonstrates the deep-rootedness of gendered occupations within the creative industries (Reimer, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015), and ways in which gendered roles are reproduced over generations.

After A levels, Sophie took an Art Foundation course at Farnham University for the Creative Arts, known for it's traditional crafts ethos – matching Sophie's family interest in traditional craft skills. Sophie commented on struggling with fine arts subjects such as painting and drawing, and taking a while to discover her talents for weaving. She presents this as a discovery made while on her Foundation course of an innate 'niche talent', but the evidence from her earlier account suggest that this 'talent' was at least in part the result of inherited cultural capital (Banks, 2017). After Art Foundation, Sophie took a textiles degree in a university on the south coast. When making this choice, family cultural capital was an advantage (Hayton, Haste and Jones, 2015): her choice of university was informed by her parents' knowledge of course structures, her witnessing the creative careers of those within the family's social network and her ambition to start her own business:

> I always knew I wanted to start my own business … one of the main
> things for me was to have business as part of the degree because I
> know, I mean, my whole family's academic and I, I know, from any of

them, from looking at other people doing creative paths that sometimes it's quite difficult for creative people to, sort of, find their way after they've graduated, especially because they might not necessarily have any experience or training and that kind of thing, and to know how to sell yourself and market yourself is quite important.

Sophie's desire for self-employment was possibly informed by the rhetoric of entrepreneurialism within the creative industries (McRobbie, 2016) and a reflection of the change in focus in the art school curriculum towards the economisation of creativity (Houghton, 2016; McRobbie, 2016). But despite the business focus, Sophie and her fellow students struggled to know what to do when their degree course ended. She took the first job she was offered and migrated to a job placement in a textiles factory in Asia. This international migration was organised through university networks, and was not, as Florida (2002) suggests, a choice of location based on the amenities or milieu of a city. Nor, as other neoclassical theories suggest, was this is a case of an individual choosing a location based on an informed knowledge of all potential locations and opportunities. Rather it is a young person guided by those around her and within a seemingly narrow set of options. After a year working in Asia, Sophie moved back to the UK, locating in Bristol to live with her boyfriend who she met at university, and who was from Bristol. This move was made despite a perceived lack of work opportunities in the city:

I, for personal reasons, knew I wanted to move to Bristol. Because my now-husband, who I met at university, is from Bristol and that's where he moved back to after we, after [university], so I knew I wanted to move to Bristol but there weren't any textile opportunities. So I went freelance as a designer and actually, kind of, changed direction.

After moving to Bristol, Sophie commuted to a job in London three days a week, and worked two days a week as a freelancer in Bristol. Given the lack of work opportunities for her in Bristol, this move was, in career terms, a compromise (Bielby and Bielby, 1992). Sophie commented on this work pattern as 'quite exhausting for a couple of years'. While working in London, Sophie met a colleague and future business partner, Rachel. At this point Sophie and Rachel's trajectories were impacted by economic recession (Fielding, 2012), when the 2008 recession hit and the London company they worked for downsized. Both women lost their jobs and in reaction they decided to form a partnership and set up a textile design business in Bristol. Rachel's trajectory bears strong resemblances to Sophie's: she was also born close to London, and studied textiles at a university on the south coast, where she met her future husband. After university she 'boomeranged' (Sage, 2013) or 'returned' (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014) to live in her parents house while working in London. Initially, as the business was starting, Rachel continued to live with her parents, until she eventually moved to Bristol with her future husband. One of the attractions of moving to Bristol was a pre-existent friendship group: Rachel and her husband had a number of close university friends who had moved to Bristol after graduation. Sophie's remarks on their migration decisions demonstrate how influential both husbands' preferences were on the couples' migration outcomes:

> Rachel had always had the idea of moving to Bristol. Her now-husband doesn't really like London, the same as my now-husband, so it made sense, really, for Rachel to move west to Bristol.

Sophie maintained a continued close relationship with her family and a few years after her arrival in Bristol, Sophie's parents also moved to the city. Although Sophie's trajectory suggests a migration away from her family of origin, this detailed analysis shows that other than a short period while she lived in Asia, Sophie has remained in close proximity to her parents throughout her life. University networks were important in the migration

decisions of both Sophie and Rachel, but did not keep them in their city of study. Formal international industrial relationships enabled Sophie's first job post-graduation. Rachel's informal network with fellow students who had also moved to Bristol, was important in her move to the city.

Sophie's tied migration, and the 2008 economic recession, both had the potential to negatively impact on her career. But despite these two hurdles, Sophie and Rachel built a successful business. Part of their success was due the international nature of their business. Their design work was for international clients, and they depended on their London network for industry contacts, not a local network as is often the case in entrepreneurship (Hanson, 2003). Their business could be based anywhere within commutable distance to London and close to an airport for international travel. With this freedom, Sophie and Rachel's location decisions were instead formed around their partners, and a desire to be close to friends. Sophie did not become self-employed purely to facilitate her move to live with her husband (Reuschke and Ham, 2013), as running a business had been part of Sophie's career plan since before university, but it may be the case that her husband provided a financial safety net as the business was established. Partners are important to those entering self employment, providing a regular household income and as a source of start up capital (Hanson, 2003). Family are also important to those starting a business, providing financial capital, assets against which to borrow funds, and moral support (Hanson, 2003). It may have been the case that Sophie's family provided financial as well as cultural capital, contributing to the success of the business. This highlights again the need for further research on forms of intergenerational familial exchange in creative businesses.

It is impossible to know what would have happened in the careers of the female designers in this generation had they not made tied-migrations, or to predict what will happen to their careers if they start a family or take on other caring roles. But, as is clear by the fact they were included for interview in this project, all the female designers continued in their careers

once they arrived in Bristol. What is unknown is how many female designers made tied-migrations and then ceased to work in design (or at all), or started businesses, which then failed. What is also unknown is how many women start a business designing from home after a tied-migration, operate solely online, and are invisible to the city's design network, and in industry statistics. The evidence presented in this section suggests that migration may be factor in the low representation of women in the design industry.

7.2.3 Yo-Yo Migration

One millennial designer migrated in yo-yo pattern: making a repeated sequence of movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region. Yo-yo migration was found in the long-term trajectories of Baby Boomer and Generation X designers, and was often associated with family of origin and the birth of children. It is more surprising to find this pattern in the Millennial generation, who, because of their relative youth have shorter trajectories, and have not yet had children. This section focuses on the account of graphic designer Hugo, who is selected as an extreme example (Danermark *et al.*, 2002). His trajectory combines many of the elements present in the Millennial designers' trajectories, and those reported in the literature on creative workers: high mobility (Florida, 2002); the importance of inherited forms of capital (Banks, 2017; McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009); and low pay and insecure working conditions (McRobbie, 2016; Gill, 2002). In the first ten minutes of his interview, Hugo's description of his migration and career biography bore the closest resemblance to that of a member of Florida's (2002) creative class. He had the highest level of mobility of all the interviewees in this generation, and had lived previously in London and in other UK and international cities. Hugo, who had recently moved to Bristol, and had just set up a design business with a friend who worked in the tech sector, remarked on being attracted to Bristol by the city's nightlife and music scene.

Hugo's interview was very detailed, and he was keen to convey his level experience, and his enthusiasm for his new business. He described how he excelled in art at school, but decided to study design as he felt the subject

offered greater financial opportunities. Though income was important in his career choice, he was also keen to impress that money was not everything to him, his main motivation was to work on 'cool' projects, doing work that he loved. In his description of his start-up business, he was upbeat and optimistic about his future and about the benefits of working with a network of other flexible creative workers, on a project by project basis:

> Currently [business name], is made of two, we call it the core team, which is another chap and myself. My partner's background is in web development and also account managing. He actually worked for [major high-tech company] for a while. My background is very much design, having worked for a number of agencies in the UK and worldwide. So at the moment we do a lot of the work, just because we're quite small. But the idea is, and it's certainly starting to happen already, is to get in freelancers with specific skills and experiences that suit the projects. So I think that's a real selling point to us, because we'll go and find a freelancer that's got experience in packaging for instance or working for sustainable clients or whatever the project might be. So that's good and it just allows flexibility as well, and keeps our overheads low at the moment, and sort of quite streamlined until we grow.

As the interview progressed, details about Hugo's early life, education and migration told a different story, one of low pay, 'boomerang' (Sage, 2013) movements back into the parental home, and long-term dependence on an un-earned income. Hugo was born in the Home Counties and as a child he moved to London, and then to a village 30km south of Bristol. His interest in art started in childhood, and art was the only subject he felt confident in at School. After a gap-year spent travelling around the world, Hugo moved to London to study on a full-time Art Foundation course. How Hugo's living costs were met during this time is not clear. Age 21 he then moved to the North of the UK to study a design degree at a Russell Group university, returning to London after graduation. In London, age 24, he started his first

job, working in his uncle's design business, where he had previously gained work experience:

> I was very fortunate actually, my uncle was a graphic designer, and he actually had started a design company... so I kind of fell into it really, I'd done work experience there over the years, and it was just an easy option. I wanted to move. Maybe I shouldn't really say that (Laughter). But it was a bit, the easy option, it was kind of like, "Right, I've got a job."

Inherited cultural and financial capital aided entrance into higher education in a high status university, and employment in London, the prestige of which gave Hugo an advantage later in his career. At no point did local university networks act as a pull to keep him living in his university city. Entrance into a job in the creative industries was not based on a 'natural' talent, but on family connections and a cultivated way of being learnt in childhood, which may appear as natural talent. Banks (2017), describes how a privileged background gives unfair advantage in the selection process for arts education. In Hugo's case, as for Tom and many others in this study, this privilege extends even further as family provided the opportunity for intimate knowledge of working norms in the design world, work experience, and employment, as well as a role model of successful entrepreneurship in the creative industries. Hugo's move to London, as he admits, was not based on an 'innate' ability (Maslow, 1943), or on ambition as in Fielding's (1992) concept of the escalator region, but instead, on his 'fortunate' family connections.

After a year Hugo left his job, finding his uncle's business too traditional and hierarchical, and wanting to work on more 'edgy' projects. 'I wanted to do music videos and learn motion graphics. Or be working in fashion where you can do sort of more edgy work.' He started up as a freelancer, working out of a studio in North London. While there he began working for an entrepreneur who claimed to have connections to major international tech

and media companies. Although promising high future earnings, actual earnings were low or non-existent. Hugo described how the entrepreneur set up a business using furniture and 'stuff found out of skips' and how fellow workers slept in the studio:

> And so they lived in the office, and they took it in turns to sleep in the broom cupboard, which was like the luxury room. And the other ones just slept on futons in the room [...] So yes, that was a really exciting experience. I think it was quite pipe dreamy though. In that it was sort of, a lot of carrots were dangled, with clients through them, and just in terms of the reality of actually making a reasonable amount of money. Or even to exist.

Despite 'having a lot of fun' working for the entrepreneur, Hugo did not earn any money, and after a few months decided to leave the studio. Feeling tired of London, he found employment within a large design company in the South West. He moved close to his childhood home, completing the first of three 'yo-yo' migrations. Because of his experiences in London, enabled by his uncle's firm, and despite having only one year's work experience, he was offered a promotion from a 'junior' to a 'middleweight' designer[1]. However, working a large design company did not suit him. He disliked the culture of the company, which he described as a 'design factory'. He also disliked the hierarchical structure of the company, where senior designers used or 'stole' the ideas of juniors, and where colleagues competed for promotion. He preferred instead the idea of working in a small studio where there is 'more of a level playing field'.

> [The large company] had a bigger company feel...it had this sort of, on the surface, it had this feeling of like really kind of like, "Oh, we're all living a really cool life in Devon", and it was a bit surf-y, and quite

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[1] 'Junior', 'middle weight', and 'senior' are industry terms for levels of experience and responsibility in the design profession.

fun, but I think actually in reality, everyone just worked really, really hard.

In describing his fellow colleagues at the company, Hugo identified some who had migrated from London to the South West, but the majority were locals, educated at nearby HEIs:

a lot of them were local, so Devon, people just from Devon who'd kind of graduated and wanted to stay locally, and it's given them a really cool job, and well, so I keep contradicting myself, but for some people, they don't mind that, and particularly, if you don't really know other ways people are working in the industry, and so yes, for some people it suits people. For me, I think it was just too big and too sort of hierarchical, if you like, for the creative industry.

Hugo makes a distinction between himself as a middle-class person – well travelled and experienced– and those who showed working class traits – not wanting to migrate, less worldly, less ambitious, and happy to work within a hierarchical structure. He felt uninspired and unfulfilled in his role, and expressed an interested in 'more high-art design'. At the same time Hugo lost confidence in his own design skills and abilities. He left the company after six months, and moved to a southern costal town to study a design MA. At this point, and aged 27, Hugo had only been in full-time employment for eighteen months, and had recently lived in London with no earnings for six months. It is unclear how his MA was funded, but with so little time to accrue savings through earnings, family support must be considered as a likely source. Following his graduation from the MA, the main option he saw available to him was to move back to London, but he wasn't keen:

I hadn't had a great experience in London before anyway, I was going to have to start at the bottom really, if I wanted to work in the top studios, which to be honest with you, don't pay very well anyway.

He returned instead to live with his parents for a few months, a 'boomerang' migration due to low income (Sage, 2013), his second yo-yo move. Then, after a chance encounter with a friend at a party, he moved to Australia to work for the friend's design company. Once again, a close childhood friendship was instrumental in this migration movement. Hugo left for Australia with the determination to be a 'really good designer'.

> So instead of trying to earn as much money as I could out there, I just took on the coolest clients I could find, and I was always quite skint, but just doing work that I loved … And I was just like, these are all the coolest people, and then I started collaborating with designers as well. And there was a really cool designer who worked for [Studio Name], which are a really renowned design studio. And I managed to collaborate with her, so I just like, this is a dream, doing my own thing, and working for really cool people, working with other cool designers. So yes, did that for a year and a half. And it was just like all these opportunities were there. But unfortunately I was freelancing, so financially I wasn't doing particularly well, I was just spending too much time trying to perfect things (Laughter).

After 18 months, and having earned only a low income, Hugo returned to the UK due to Visa issues. Making his third yo-yo migration, he moved to Bristol, the nearest city to his childhood home, a place he identified with (Easthope, 2009), and where his friends now lived:

> It was the music that's always been coming out of Bristol, Massive Attack, I'm a massive fan of, Roni Size I love, or used to certainly, as I was growing up, and would always be very proud of that, being a West Country thing. And also quite a lot of my mates live here, which is obviously a big drawing thing to any place.

His group of friends included a best friend from school, with whom he set up his design company. The company was in its early days at the time of

interview and clients were other start-ups companies for whom they charged 'mates rates', with the hope that the quality of their work will lead to better paid work in the future. The business was supported by more regular income generated by design work for Hugo's parents' company, and his business partner's parents' company.

As was found among Baby Boomer and Generation X designers, Hugo's trajectory shows that high mobility does not always equate to high earnings, nor does it always mean a movement progressively away from a person's place of origin. Although the middle-class biography is characteristically multi-locational (Savage, 2010; Fielding, 1992), for some, a place or region, and the familial and social connections contained there, continue to be important. Hugo was able migrate, and to engage in the creative, expressive work that he enjoyed, because of on-going financial support (presumably from his parents), and early access to work experience in is uncle's design studio. While giving the appearance of mobility, independence and creative autonomy, he was in reality dependent on the continued support of the wider family. On moving to Bristol, it was his identification with the city (Easthope, 2009) and strong ties that attracted him – the closeness to friends from home who had known him all his life, and who had also moved to the short distance from their rural home in the South West, to the city of Bristol.

Work in a large company was afforded a low status, as were designers who had not migrated but remained living close to home. Movement up a career ladder, and secure employment benefits were not valued. Hugo's pursuit was to use his creativity in an autonomous way, working for clients he considered 'cool'. His distinction between the type of clients he wished to work for was not made on the basis of any political or ethical issues, but on his personal discrimination between 'cool' (e.g. fashion and tech) and 'not cool' (e.g. cleaning products and banking). His career biography is typical of other designers in this study: an interest in design was developed and nurtured in childhood; any changes in career were from employment to self-

employed, and moving between companies of different sizes. Hugo remained working within one occupation – a designer, navigating his way toward work that he found enjoyable, if not financially rewarding.

Hugo does not mention in the interview the economic support offered by his parents, but it is difficult to understand how his migration and occupation trajectory could be enabled otherwise. Given the level of support seemingly provided, and the low levels of income generated, it is possible to understand why self-employed designers from less affluent backgrounds fall away – if they have managed to get as far as university – leaving those with support to continue in the profession over the longer term. Hugo's trajectory is a good example of Maslow's (1971) creative worker: he has the outward appearance of independence and creative freedom, and distances himself from those who are employed in hierarchical organisations. But his independence relies on less visible, but essential, support from others.

7.2.4 Tutors' View

Universities are understood as important in bringing young talented people to a city or region (Faggian and McCann, 2006). However, how young people make the decision about where to go to study design is less clear. This section considers the role of school teachers and art tutors in designers' migration and occupation outcomes. The section also gives a tutor's view in another sense, as it documents one tutor's reflections on the origins and destinations of Millennial students on his design course, widening the view of this study.

The importance of teachers and tutors in signposting future career and migration paths is highlighted by Nelligan, (2014) in the US, and was also found to be important to Baby Boomers and Generation X designers in this study. As has been highlighted in Sophie's account, they continued to be important for the Millennial Generation. This is also demonstrated in the trajectory of graphic designer Gabriel. Gabriel did not have a professional designer in the family and commented on his parents 'not having a clue' what graphic design was. He was introduced to graphic design at school:

I picked graphics because the graphics teacher told me because I liked making stuff that I could do an engineering BTEC, he said, "You're better off on one of the courses in engineering." [Another teacher] she said, "You're better off doing Graphics GCSE." And she promised me I could design a surf company if I took Graphics, so that is why I started doing it.

After studying Graphics at A level, Gabriel, whose parents had no knowledge of arts education, was encouraged to undertake an Art Foundation course by the same teacher. When considering his next step he was nervous about migrating away from his hometown in Wales and wary of London. A migration to Bristol was a less daunting option:

I've just done my A Levels. So anyway I had a mental breakdown then basically because I thought you needed to go to London to study if you wanted to have a job in Graphics. So I just took a Foundation just to be able to go and see more courses because I hadn't really ventured very far. And even then I only went to Bristol after it so. Yes, still not that far.

After graduating from university in Bristol, he moved to London to undertake an internship. This move was encouraged and facilitated by his university tutor in Bristol, who introduced him to a London contact. For those with low social and cultural capital, teachers and tutors were essential in directing students pre and post graduation. This trajectory shows that networks formed at university are multi-locational, and that teachers and tutors act as sign posts in migration trajectories.

One Generation X interviewee, Mark, a tutor on a design degree course, provided an insightful overview of the migration and occupation dynamics of his Millennial students. His understanding was based on information he had gathered on the migration movements of graduates for inclusion in

HESA data; from contact with parents at open days; through projects he organised as part of the course in which students discussed their homes of origin; and through his on-going contact with former students. Chiming with the findings presented in this study, Mark observed that migration pre and post-graduation was mainly within the South of the UK. Although a small number of students came from the North, particularly from an Art Foundation course in Leeds, with whom the Bristol course had strong links, the majority of students come from coastal towns and cities in the south of England. Mainly the course attracted students from lower middle-class families who liked the cultural life of the city, which was in contrast to their coastal hometowns. Around ten per cent of students originated in London, and typically these were wealthy students.

Mark shared his observations of student destinations post-graduation. Comunian, Faggian, and Li (2010) found that arts-based students gravitate towards London after graduation. Contrastingly, Mark remarked that fewer students were migrating to London after graduation than had previously. In his opinion this was in part because the Royal College of Art had ceased to offer subsidies for post-graduate courses, but also because the increasing cost of living in London and low starting wages, meant fewer graduates moved to the capital for work opportunities. Those who did migrate were usually the wealthy students returning to their London homes and taking low/unpaid internships. Mark considered the lack of affordable accommodation as a major factor in these migration decisions:

> I think years ago where you could have gone and lived reasonably cheaply, people probably would have taken more of a punt on [London]. Now they won't go down there unless they've got something either reliable or they're really brave. Or, they've got mates to sleep on the floor with or something set up already. Or, they live there. There's not as much desire to get there anymore, just because it's just too difficult.

As a consequence, greater numbers of graduates from Mark's course – as many as fifty per cent in his estimation – remained in Bristol as university 'stayers' (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014). Some left to travel for a year, then returned to the city, while others stayed living in Bristol and went straight into design jobs within design agencies in Bristol, Bath or the wider South West region. In his estimation, students were more regularly becoming employees than entrepreneurs. Comunian, Faggian, and Li's (2010) study is based on data from 2006/2007; it is probable that this change in dynamic in relation to London is due to the impact of the 2008/2009 recession. This evidence suggests decreasing levels of mobility for middle-class students, as London becomes increasingly exclusive. Former students were however buying houses in Bristol:

> These people are settling down. They've got to the stage now where maybe seven or eight years out have been working quite consistently. Just have enough money now to buy houses in [a cheaper area of Bristol] So, yes, we see more of that. That obviously means that they're putting down roots here. They're planning on staying.

There is discrepancy between Mark's observation that former students remain in Bristol, and the low number of interviewees in this study who attended HEIs in the city. The reasons for this difference may be related to ideas of what constitutes success in the creative industries. Those who were suggested for interview, and who put themselves forward for interview, were mainly self-employed. From the tutor's account, it seems that many former students work within larger design firms, including those in the wider southwest region. It may be that these graduates were not suggested for interview by the network as success within the creative industries is characterised by self-employment in an urban environment. To work for an SME or large company with relative job security and employment benefits, and based on the outskirts of the city or a rural area, was not a valorised position and so not one highlighted as important to document by the network.

7.3   Discussion

The Millennial designers' accounts illuminate the many factors involved in occupation and migration outcomes: social class, family of origin, education, employment, friendships, gender and housing. The significance of family of origin in these dynamics is hard to overstate. The vast majority - those from affluent middle-class backgrounds – inherited cultural capital through their childhood exposure to design, the design workplace and modes of behaviour, and benefitted from their family's knowledge of university culture, which assisted them in their application and entrance into higher education. Tom's account of switching from a career in science to graphic design demonstrated how childhood family experiences can have an even stronger influence on career outcomes than the guidance of school teachers, who themselves have been found instrumental in career outcomes of creative workers (Nelligan, 2014). Sophie's account demonstrated the power of receiving dual support from primary school teachers and from family in her interest in textiles, and Hugo's account demonstrated the advantage of family support and connections in facilitating entrance into design education and employment in London.

Family of origin continued to provide support after graduation, influencing migration outcomes and enabling a continued career in design. Designers made return/ boomerang migrations back into the safety-net of the parental home, enabling access to employment in London, and time to search for new job opportunities when unemployed. Retroductive analysis suggests that family also provided financial assistance with housing and living costs to those living away from the parental home. Though these factors were not referred to directly by interviewees it is surmised that loans or access to an unearned income from family or a partner enables designers to rent or step onto the housing ladder and remain living in Bristol, a city where housing costs are among the highest in the UK (Boyce, 2018; Collinson, 2016). Family support for housing, alongside an inheritance of cultural capital were

crucial to the maintenance of these designers' careers the creative industries, and a central mechanism underlying inequalities in terms of class and ethnicity in an industry characterised by exclusionary networks and low pay.

All the interviewees attested to the influence of primary and secondary school teachers in occupation outcomes. For those who did not have a designer in the family, teachers were key in encouraging and guiding the designers into creative education and gave influential suggestions about locations for study. Art Foundation tutors acted in the same way, making suggestions about locations for undergraduate study based on the perceived fit between the characteristics and capabilities of the student and the characteristics of individual degree courses and arts institutions. The accounts of Simon, Joshua and Sophie demonstrate how after graduation, tutors continued to be influential, making recommendations on possible career trajectories and connecting students with industry contacts.

Weaving through each of the trajectories were references to friends made in childhood and while at university. Interviewees commented on moving to Bristol because 'friends from home' lived in the city, or because a group of friends from university had moved there. These strong friendship bonds were also a reason to remain living in Bristol. Friends, often from childhood, were also business partners and formed part of designers' professional network. This is a far cry from Florida's claim that the creative class is moving away from social capital societies where one would 'hang out mostly with people you knew very well and who would shape your career, tastes and personal life according to their values' (Florida, 2002, p. 277). On the contrary, this sounds a rather apt description.

The gender balance between the Millennial designers was more even than in the previous two generations, though gendered differences were still apparent. The higher representation of women was probably due to lifecycle stage – none were yet parents and so had not faced the difficulties of

returning to work after becoming mothers, or balancing caring responsibilities with long working hours (McRobbie, 2016; Conor et al., 2015; R Gill, 2002). A gendered pattern in occupation outcomes was observed, whereby women were inspired and taught by older females (e.g. a mother or grandmother), whereas men were inspired and taught by older males (e.g. father or uncle). This intergenerational transmission of skills and interest resulted in women working in sectors traditionally gendered female (e.g. textiles) and men in traditionally male roles (e.g. graphic design). In this way the increased number of female designers was not indicative of women occupying traditionally male creative roles (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015), but rather the development of a new sector in the city. A gendered difference was also apparent in migration trajectories. Five out of the six women interviewed made a tied-migration in favour of their male partners' job and location preferences, and at the expense of their own career trajectories (Bielby and Bielby, 1992).

Viewed as a whole, migration trajectories were mainly contained within the south of England, with the majority of migration between Bristol, south coast towns and London. London was important but interviewees only lived there for short periods of time relative to Baby Boomers and Generation X. Unlike designers in the previous generations, these Millennials did not move to London, buy a property, then use the capital gained on their housing to relocate to Bristol after establishing a family. This may be due to the increased cost of housing in London, and possibly because couples were waiting longer before starting a family. For Millennials, the capital city was a signifier for quality, and London was accessed a place for education and work experience, which gave the designers an advantage when applying to HEIs and jobs outside London. Hugo's trajectory demonstrated the advantage family connections provide in this respect. For Sophie, London was a place to access freelance work after her move to Bristol, and where she built a professional network utilised in setting up a business in Bristol. The overview provided by tutor Mark offered further evidence of changes in students aspirations and ability to move to the capital after graduation,

suggesting that the cost of housing is a key factor. Now, more than ever before, those with family support and connections in London have an advantage over others.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter made a detailed analysis of the migration and occupation trajectories of Millennial designers. Until now little has been published on the sequential trajectories of Millennial creative workers beyond the first six months post-graduation (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014). The chapter contributes to the literature in extending the knowledge of Millennial's migration patterns beyond the years immediately following graduation, and by offering insight into the influence of childhood experiences on later migration and occupation outcomes. The chapter started by exploring the characteristics of Millennial designers in relation to sector, gender and ethnicity. It demonstrated that gendered roles, and the lack of ethnic diversity found in the creative industries generally (Reimer, 2016; O'Brien *et al.*, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013), is replicated in Bristol, and across the generations. Despite the increased numbers of students studying art and design subjects in the Millennial generation (Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010; HESA, 2009), there appears to be little broadening of the demographic. The chapter then investigated the frequency and spatiality of the Millennial designers' migration movements. It contributed to the literature in showing that, as with previous generations, the majority of movements were within the South of England; that designers followed the lifecycle migration pattern of the general population (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015). Further, the flow of designers' migration movements, between the South coast of the UK, Bristol and London, has remained stable across the generations, and is connected to the locations of HEIs offering arts-based degrees.

The chapter then made a more detailed investigation of designer's migration trajectories, focusing specifically on the connection between early life experiences and migration and occupation outcomes. In continuation with the previous generations in this study, for the majority, their middle-class

family of origin provided cultural capital necessary to enter higher education, through childhood exposure to the design work place and skills, and an understanding of the university system. Family of origin also provided cultural, economic and social capital, facilitating access to the work place, through work experience and business contacts. The millennial designers were not return migrants living with parents, as has been commonly found among Millennial graduates (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014; Sage, 2013), and the difficulty of meeting high housing costs, experienced by others in their generation (Lewis and West, 2017; Dorling, 2014; Howker and Malik, 2010), did not emerge as an issue except in relation to London. Some had returned to the parental home but did not remain long term. The chapter makes a contribution to the literature in showing that though spatially distant, financial, emotional and practical support from parents continued throughout adulthood, and parents were influential at key moments in designers' lives, such as when applying for a job or setting up a business. The chapter further contributes to the literature in showing that childhood friends also continue to be important in migration and occupation outcomes, long into adulthood. Friends often migrated along similar paths, and were employed in similar sectors, and so become important in the designers' professional as well as social networks.

The Millennial designers included a higher proportion of women than in the previous generations. The majority of women moved to Bristol for a partner's job, and the chapter contributes to the literature in suggesting that migration may contribute to the low representation of women in the design industry. London was often mentioned by the Millennial designers, but the dynamic with the capital differed to that among the previous generations. The chapter highlights that London had become less accessible to graduates following the ending of bursaries for MA study at the Royal College of Art, and the increase in living costs in the capital generally.

Far from being the generation that displays the greatest levels of independence and mobility, as theorised by Florida (2002) and Inglehart

(1990), Millennial designers are found to be enmeshed with their family of origin, even as they moved spatially away from the parental home. As with Baby Boomers and Generation X designers, social class and family of origin had a major influence on occupation outcome and family had an important role in providing support for housing costs, thus shaping migration trajectories. These findings raise questions about the sustainability of creative enterprises and their ability to create jobs that generate sufficient income to meet living costs, and about the possibility for women and those from working class backgrounds to maintain long term careers in the creative industries if they do not have a private income, or can rely on the income of a partner.

8   Conclusions

One of the key concepts that motivated the research for this thesis was Florida's (2002) claim that creative workers move away from their family of origin and childhood friends, thus escaping traditional expectations around work, family life and community that in a previous era shaped one's life path. Florida's claim is based on Maslow's (1971) theory of the autonomous creative individual: an idealised, masculine worker who makes a movement, emotionally and intellectually, away from family and social ties, and breaks away from inherited values and expectations into independence (Maslow, 1971). This PhD thesis took the relationship between early life experiences and migration as a starting point in the analysis of the migration and occupation routes of designers who have lived in Bristol, and studied these in relation to the industrial and demographic evolution of the city itself.

Since the Millennium, the city of Bristol has experienced an image change. Whereas the city was previously hailed as the graveyard of ambition and was famed for its 1980s inner city riots, since the 2000s, it had developed a new image as a city that is radical, and independent. Regularly depicted in the media as an attractive, if expensive, place to live, Bristol has grown a reputation as a vibrant, creative hotspot. This thesis questioned how this change happened, and where Bristol's creative workers came from.

The research asked two main questions:

1. What are designers' migration and occupation trajectories over their lifetime?

2. What is the connection between early life (from birth until university age) and subsequent migration and occupation outcomes?

Further, the study aimed to offer an explanation of how designers migrate and maintain careers as designers over their lifespans, to elucidate the mechanisms that underlie migration and occupations outcomes, and to reflect on the ways in which these dynamics operated to include some and exclude others.

This concluding chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section provides an overview of the thesis and contributions to literature. The second section discusses limitations of the study and sets out recommendations for future study, implications for policy and concluding remarks.

8.1   Thesis Overview

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter One, Introduction, introduced the topic of study, research questions, and outlined the structure of the thesis. Chapter Two, Literature Review, reviewed key theories used in relation to creative worker migration and creative work. It then explored the conceptualisation of the asocial 'creative individual' (Maslow, 1943, 1971), which underpins Florida's creative class theory. The next section reviewed literature on work in the creative industries in the UK, creative worker migration, and internal migration of the general population in the UK. The chapter articulated gaps in the literature, first the lack of evidence on the long-term sequential migration of creative workers in the UK, and second, the absence of research on the connection between early life experiences and later migration and occupation outcomes for creative workers.

Chapter Three, Methods and Methodology, argued against the positivist neoclassical approach to migration, and for the critical realist perspective taken in this thesis (Iosifides, 2011; Bakewell, 2010; Collinson, 2009). A justification was given for taking a biographical approach, which situates migration within the context of the individual's life trajectory (Halfacree and

Boyle, 1993). The chapter then described the methodology for data collection and analysis, ethical considerations and issues relating to quality, validity and reliability. Chapter Four, Bristol: Design and Demographics, provided context to the city in which the designers in this study lived and worked. It gave an overview of the historical development of the city Bristol, with a focus on the design industry and the city's demographics.

Chapter Five, The Baby Boomers, made a detailed analysis of the migration and occupation trajectories of Baby Boomer designers. Migration and occupation outcomes were found to be closely connected to early family experiences and social class. The chapter found a new pattern of migration: yo-yo migration, a repeated sequence of movements away from and then returning to an anchor place or region. The chapter also highlighted low levels of migration among designers, the impact of economic recession and the housing market on migration moves, and the role of teachers and art foundation tutors in matching students to specific university courses.

Chapter Six, Generation X, analysed the migration and occupation trajectories of Generation X designers. As with the previous generation, childhood experiences, family of origin and social class were influential on migration and occupation outcomes in adulthood. Over the long term, many designers were found to migrate in a yo-yo pattern, and careers on the housing ladder were important in migration moves. Additionally, London emerged as important in migration trajectories. The impact of gendered tied migration (Bielby and Bielby, 1992) also emerged strongly among Generation X.

Chapter Seven, The Millennials, analysed the migration and occupation trajectories of millennial interviewees. Again, findings were similar to those of the Baby Boomer generation. The chapter focused particularly on parental support into home ownership (Druta and Ronald, 2016; Heath and Calvert, 2013) and millennials' increased dependency on parents for education and housing costs and other financial support.

8.2 Cross-generational Findings

This research mapped migration patterns across the designers' life spans. It is the first study of its kind to map sequential migration patterns of UK creative workers beyond the six months post-graduation (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014). The migration trajectories of designers in each generation were divided into categories based on their migration patterns. The thesis built on work of Faggian, Comunian and Li (2014), and contributed to theory by redefining categories to describe migration trajectories over the lifespan, to include the migration and non-migration of those who did not attend university, and those with longer and more complex migration histories.

One of the most striking findings of this research is the similarity between designers' trajectories across all three generations, both in terms of their spatial movements, and their career paths. Through taking a biographical perspective, and by analysing designer's trajectories in relation to the dynamics of UK internal migration, this study contributes to the literature in finding that the migration movements of creative workers were impacted by the same dynamics as found in the movements of the UK population in general (Fielding, 2012): social class and associated expectations of migration; housing costs and careers on the housing ladder; national economic changes; and the North/South economic divide. The findings of the research are complex and intertwined, as will be discussed below.

Contrary to Florida's (2002) theory that the creative class migrate differently to the general population, across all three generations, the designers' migration levels were low and followed the pattern found for the general public in the UK lifecycle literature (Tyrrell and Kraftl, 2015). This finding supports the empirical literature on creative worker migration which finds low level of migration in locations internationally (e.g. Sánchez-

Moral, 2017; Borén & Young, 2013; Martin-Brelot et al., 2010; Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009).

The thesis makes a novel contribution to the literature in showing that the greatest difference in creative worker migration patterns over the long term was not related to university subject choice or industry sector, as was found to be the case in short-term migration trajectories (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014), or to generational group as theorised by Florida (2002), but were related to social class. Until now the literature has not considered the role of social class in creative worker migration; the focus of the literature has been on establishing dominant factors for a to b migrations, e.g. for jobs or amenities (Storper and Scott, 2009).

Broadly, trajectories fell into three categories: stability, mobility and recreation. *Stability*: remaining in situ was most common among working class designers who originated in Bristol and did not consider migration as necessary or important in their life trajectory. *Mobility*: some designers experienced social mobility, moving from working to middle class through education and employment, and migrating away from their family of origin, seeking a place to make a new home in a new social position. *Recreation*: for middle-class designers, making a movement away from their home of origin for education as was anticipated from childhood; this was followed by one or two movements for a job, then, after the formation of a family, a movement to a location that was similar in feel or landscape (or in some cases the same actual location) as their home of origin. This movement was motivated by a desire to recreate the conditions of their own childhood in that of their children, and to access housing and schooling equivalent to that accessed by their parents, thus maintaining social position. Recreation was one of the most powerful motivating factors in migration decisions, and the most common pattern of migration across the interviewees.

Tradition migration theory argues that individuals migrate in response to lifecycle changes. The impact of family formation on occupation and

migration trajectories is missing from Florida's (2002) theory, but among designers in this study, the transition to parenthood was a moment when inherited values really came to the fore in migration decisions. This thesis makes a second contribution to literature in adding nuance to traditional lifecycle theory.

In a third contribution to the literature, this study found that when faced with a range of locations in which they could find employment, designers' migration choices mainly revolved around family and friends and a desire to live somewhere they felt at home, and were far less concerned with city amenities or milieu, as argued by Florida (2002). For designers based in the south of the UK, employment may have been expected, taken for granted, and so other factors predominated in migration decisions (Morrison and Clark, 2011). The general availability of design work in the South (Design Council, 2015), and commutable proximity to London – the UK centre for design and the creative industries (Pratt, 1997; Oakley, 2006; Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010; Sunley, Pinch, and Reimer, 2011), could account for employment not emerging as a major factor in designers' migration decisions. While the majority of designers were neither born nor educated in Bristol, most had strong familial connections with the city or surrounding region.

The study makes a fourth contribution to the literature by adding the concept of yo-yo migration to migration theory. Over the long term, many designers, across the generations, migrated in a yo-yo pattern, not previously reported in the literature. Yo-yo migration is defined as a repeated sequence of movements away from and then back towards an anchor region or place. It differs from 'return' migration (Faggian, Comunian and Li, 2014), or 'boomerang' migration (Sage, 2013), in which graduates return to live with their parents in their parents' home. Some designers returned to their place of origin, but not the parental home, others to their wider region of origin, or to be close their partner's place of origin. Others yo-yoed in relation to a place that was not their birthplace. Yo-yo migration

adds new insight into middle class migration patterns and shows that high mobility does not always mean a movement progressively away from starting place. The middle class biography is characteristically multi-locational (Savage, 2010; Fielding, 1992), but this research contributes to knowledge in revealing that for some, place, and the familial and the social connections contained within a specific place, continue to be important across the life span.

Traditional theory also argues that migration is primarily for employment. Key to understanding designer's migration dynamics was that a yo-yo pattern of movement was not found among migrants moving from the North to the South of the UK. Reasons for this were most evident in the account of Generation X designer, Amy, who, despite a long held desire to return to live near her parents, could not do so because of the lack of employment opportunities for her and her husband in the North, reflecting the unequal distribution of wealth in the UK (Fielding, 2012; Dorling and Thomas, 2007). This is important as it highlights that though migration for employment was not often mentioned as a significant factor by interviewees, it remains as a major underlying factor. Employment came to the fore in times of recession, when designers migrated or commuted to areas where employment and lower-cost housing could be found.

In a fifth contribution to the literature, the thesis demonstrates the deep interconnection between early experiences and family of origin, and designer's later migration and occupation outcomes. The thesis supports literature which argues that inherited social, economic and cultural capital are important in accessing education and work in the creative industries (Banks, 2017; O'Brien *et al.*, 2016; Koppman, 2016; McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2009), and the thesis adds to this literature, finding that designers, who were predominantly white, middle-class and male, depended heavily on family of origin for support into work experience, and for housing costs in adulthood. This finding is contrary to claims by Maslow (1971) and

Florida (2002) for the financial independence of creative workers, and their distance, spatially as well as emotionally and intellectually, from their family of origin.

The interconnection between the designers and their family of origin was pronounced. This is not to imply that designers telephone their mothers regularly, but that for the majority, their very identity as a designer was tied to their parents' occupations, and the world they inhabited as children. This world was carried with them as they migrated, and, as is demonstrated in the accounts of designers in the Baby Boomer generation, formative experiences in early life appear to become even more important with age. Further, many designers maintained close spatial proximity with family of origin, and in some cases professional relationships with them too. Because of changes to funding for education, the housing market and a culture of low and unpaid work, this thesis argues that Millennial designers have an increased, not a lesser, dependency on family of origin long into adulthood.

Housing is highlighted as important in traditional migration theory, and is particularly important in migration dynamics in the UK (Dorling, 2014; Fielding, 2012). Changes in the housing market impacted on designers' migration moves. For example, Baby Boomer designer Daniel left London in the 1980s to buy a property in Bristol, as prices in London had become out of reach. The impact of the cost of housing on migration was one of the major differences between the generations. The rising cost of housing is an increasingly difficult issue for Millennials, as homeownership becomes out of reach and rents continue to rise. The impacts of this were observed by Generation X tutor Mark, who described how Millennial graduates from his design degree were no longer moving to London because of the increase in housing costs in the capital city. This factor, combined with low levels of pay meant that only those from wealthy backgrounds, or who were originally from London and had family homes to return to, were able to live and work there. This situation seems to have worsened since the 2008/9 global financial crisis, further highlighting the impact of economic recession on

creative worker migration. The cost of housing in Bristol is higher than average (Boyce, 2018), and it is probable that housing costs also act as a filter on who can and who can't work as a designer in Bristol.

Florida (2002) and Maslow (1971) claimed that creative workers escaped the family's wider social circle: life-long friends whose values shape one another's lives. In this study, designers' relationships with family and friends were found to be elastic: strong relationships were maintained over spatial distances. Also, family and friends often migrated along the same paths as the designers. These friends often became professional contacts and collaborators, suggesting that friends follow similar occupational paths. Because of this, many designers were living in a city they did not grow up in, but were working with and living alongside close friends they had known all their lives. Florida's (2002) claim that the creative class no longer 'hang out mostly with people you knew very well and who would shape your career, tastes and personal life according to their values' (Florida, 2002, p. 277), is not supported by this thesis.

A fifth contribution to literature is the finding that school teachers and art school tutors were instrumental in directing young adults in their university choices, and thereby influenced migration routes. The thesis identified a process of cultural matching, whereby tutors assessed the characteristics, interests and abilities of an individual student –which were formed predominantly in the family home – and matched them with individual courses in HEIs across the country. Courses varied according to the history and ethos of the HEI establishment: having either traditional or conceptual approach to art and design. Bristol was historically a traditional institution and attracted those interested in skills-based learning. This changed after the Millennium, when new teaching staff steered the course towards a more conceptual curriculum, and attracted students with an interest in politics. For engineers, the dynamic was different. In a similar pattern to that described by Faggian, McCann and Sheppard (2007), engineers received industrial sponsorship for their higher education, often to PhD level.

Sponsorships were arranged from the designers' school location, before starting university, and so to a large extent future migration moves were defined by this early life decision.

For arts-based designers, an equivalent industrial economic support and structure was absent, making them more reliant on family or state funds for education. Designers from wealthy middleclass backgrounds were more commonly engaged in post-graduate education than those from working class backgrounds, and were more likely to start up a business. Insecure work and low levels of income was also a feature of life for many self-employed designers, and it was surmised that family of origin also provided economic support during the start-up period and into homeownership.

Other than Bristol, London was the location most discussed in the interviews, and designers fell into two camps: those who migrated to London for a short time for education or a first job, and those who were resistant to London and did not identify themselves as London people. The thesis makes a sixth contribution to knowledge in revealing that designers who moved to London did not experience London as an escalator region in the way Fielding (1992) describes, because of difficulties accessing or climbing the property and career ladders. This was particularly the case for arts-based designers for whom there were no structured career ladders to climb. Instead, they followed a different model: as maintaining a middleclass lifestyle in London, in terms of housing, career and schooling, became increasingly difficult after the formation of a new family, a movement was made out of London to Bristol. In many cases this was a move to live closer to family. In Bristol, designers and their households benefitted from the capital gains on selling their London property. Further, they could use the symbolic capital that being a London designer afforded to gain work in Bristol. Located in Bristol they could access a bigger house in a safe middle-class area close to a good school, and in many cases close to extended family who shared in childcare arrangements. Designers' migration from London

was motivated by a desire to live in place where they could maintain social status in terms of an occupation, housing and education.

That some designers identified themselves as 'not London' people could indicate a number of things. It may be that they were simply lacking in ambition, it may be that they lacked confidence in their ability to get work and make a successful life in London, or it may be that they were pursuing other ambitions – spending time with friends and family, being a good parent, child or friend was of greater importance than career success in London. It may also be that those who did not grow up in London could not envision themselves feeling at home in the city, the mismatch between their habitus, or sense of home (Easthope, 2004), and the lifestyle in the Capital being too great.

In many cases, designers' values were closely informed by their parents' experiences. The Baby Boomers in particular were influenced by the national rebuilding of the UK after the Second World War. Their values were divided on political lines, but common among them was a sense of doing something important to change the world in some way. Among the Millennials there was less talk about 'changing the world', and more emphasis self-expression. This may be part of a general values shift as Inglehart (1990) describes, or it may be related to the political climate of the time. Baby Boomers grew up in a time when change felt possible, they and their parents witnessed the re-building of the UK post-war, and experienced the effects of new policies. It may be that for Millennial designers who had been young adults in times of global economic crisis and huge cuts in national spending, changing the world existed only as theory, not something they had seen in practice, and so was not part of their imaginary.

The content of the interviews may have been different if conducted in 2019, in the context of the increasing level of awareness and debate surrounding the environmental crisis, Brexit and the general election. Bristol is a Labour city, and has a vocal and active Extinction Rebellion movement campaigning

on environmental issues. If interviews were conducted in 2020, the content may again be different, as designers react to the impacts of Covid-19, and the radical changes to our lives that swiftly came into place. It is possible that politics and ideas about change may be more present among Millennial interviewees in reaction to this change in context. The argument put forward here is that 'values' as defined by Maslow (1971), Inglehart (1990) and Florida (2002), do not shift by generation, but that different political, social and environmental contexts bring different concerns to the fore.

8.3   Plus ça change

While the majority of these findings contradict Florida's (2002) theory, there are some ways in which Florida's theory, or rather his meta-theory informed by Inglehart (1990) and Maslow (1943, 1971), are found to be highly pertinent. Maslow's theory of the elite male, who has all his physical and emotional needs taken care of by others, is made reality in the designer in Bristol. Gender was a constant theme within the research. Of the sixty-three people interviewed for the project, only nineteen were female, and only thirteen of the women were designers. This was despite efforts by the research team to interview female designers, and suggests that that design is a male dominated industry in Bristol, as it is in London (Reimer, 2016). It may be that many more female designers were working in the city but were not recognised as worthy of interview by those within the network. It may also be that women were working in design outside of this network, and so unknown. However, many interviewees commented on the male domination of the industry, particularly in architecture, high tech, engineering, graphic and product design.

This thesis makes a seventh contribution to knowledge in revealing how the occupation of designer was passed down through gendered lines: father to son or mother to daughter. Fathers passed down an interest in, for example, engineering, graphic and product design. Mothers passed on an interest in textiles and book-arts. These findings provide an insight into how gendered

roles found in design (Reimer, 2016) and the creative industries more generally (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015), are transmitted across generations.

In an eighth contribution to literature, the study highlighted tied migration as a possible explanatory factor in the low representation of women in design. Of the women designers who were interviewed, half made tied migrations into Bristol, moving for their male partners' job, and without clear prospects for their own careers. Though these women went on to run or work in design businesses in the city, their trajectories suggest that others may not have succeeded and left the industry. Women who needed secure work that would fit in around caring duties, and designers from working class backgrounds who lacked economic capital needed for entrepreneurial enterprises, more often worked in large companies and institutions – e.g. within a university or an industry support organisation – in positions that provided greater employment security.

All but one designer in this study was of white ethnicity, adding further evidence to the argument that the creative industries are mono-cultural, reflecting the small number of studies into diversity in the creative industries cultural (O'Brien *et al.*, 2016; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2015; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013). This thesis makes a ninth contribution to the literature by bringing the exclusion of people from BAME backgrounds from mainstream forms of design and cultural production in Bristol strongly into focus. Bristol's image as a radical city is certainly called into question as traditional structures can be seen to dominate, and this raises a number of important questions for the city in relation to race, and in relation to class and gender too. Who should be engaged in the important and essential task of designing our world? Only white males? How do all members of society people get involved, and change not just the design of objects and services, but the decisions about what needs to be designed in the first place? How do can work be organised to create sustainable design jobs, lifestyles, and a working culture open to all members of society, and so open up the scope of

design itself? There is a need for representatives of all the people of the city to be involved, as well as those from outside, to make design solutions meaningful in the lives of everyone. If Bristol were to tackle this issue, then it might begin to deserve the title of Radical City.

The vast majority of designers were white middle-class males, who had behind them a supportive structure formed of parents, wives, girlfriends and extended family, who provided the social, cultural and economic capital that gained them entry to an arts education, the design workplace, and a home to live in. Parents and partners took care of his children, freeing his time up for work. Far from being independent, here we have the creative worker cradled in a network that allows him time to create. There was an intergenerational element to this too. Middle-class, white, male Baby Boomers were involved in creating the education programmes and workspaces of the Millennials, and in this process the traditional, elitist social structures were found to be maintained and reproduced. This structure is inherently classist, racist and sexist, and it enables the already well supported in society.

Taking a wider historical lens, it is concluded that rather than finding change across the generations, there were few differences among designers contained within this study, and indeed, there is little difference between the designers in the early twenty-first century with their predecessors living in the city 350 years ago, as can be read in the quote below. The same type of people were dominant in the city and celebrated as having an identity as Bristolian: male artisans of the middling sort, building their lives around the protection of the family and household, through a series of stages in the lifecycle and in response to challenges posed to the household's continuity of social status. They claim to be 'freemen', but are deeply dependent on others:

> The quintessential Bristol citizen, therefore, and the people for whom identity as a Bristolian was probably most important, was a male

member of the middling sort (or Bourgeoisie). It was from the ranks of these groups, extending from professionals and rich traders down to the humbler artisans, that Bristol's freeman population was drawn and it was such people who dominated Bristol's rich associational life... it was for these groups that membership, both of a civic culture and of its many constituent societies, offered an expression and reinforcement of that independence which gave them the right to claim to be 'freemen', while at the same time recognizing and managing their inevitable dependence on others. The household economy was fundamental and the bourgeoisie at all levels built their lives around the protection and development of the family and household through a series of stages in the life cycle and in response to the challenges posed to it.

(Description of the Bristol citizen living between 1640-1775. Barry, 1996, p.40.)

8.4 Limitations of the Research

This study has focused on the migration trajectories of designers in Bristol, the majority of whom were selected for interview as part of the Bristol and Bath by Design report (Parraman *et al.*, 2016). As such there are a number of limitations to the research. Firstly, as interviewees were mainly selected by an academic committee, and from within their networks, the interviewees selected were biased towards the universities' networks. In particular, this led to a lower representation of engineers as the networks were stronger among graphic design, illustration and architecture; individuals selected for interview were often working at a mid to senior level, leading to a greater number of interviewees from Generation X than Baby Boomers or Millennials; being from the universities' networks meant that those out of sight or not valued by the network were not interviewed. The inclusion of such individuals, who might be working online or among other networks

and communities in the city may have led to an understanding of the trajectories of women and people from BAME backgrounds.

The study was based on interviews not originally devoted to the topic of migration. Data relating to housing, the make-up of household finances and parental support emerged indirectly and as a result of general questioning. There are some benefits to this approach, as interviewees discussed these potentially sensitive issues less self-consciously than they might, had the topic been for example, migration and household finances. The realities of income and business success are very difficult to investigate, as was evident when one interviewee, who talked of his career and business in highly positive terms, was declared bankrupt three weeks later. The research was also limited in that not all the designers spoke about their early lives. It may be that those from working-class backgrounds were less vocal about their childhood as it seemed somehow irrelevant, that they might not have had an architect for an uncle. There was also little discussion of designers' non-design jobs which are known to be important in creative careers (Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010), and may have been a more major factor in career outcomes and designer's finances than presented in this thesis.

The context of interviews often limited discussion of a personal nature, particularly when interviews were undertaken in offices where conversations could be overheard. Experiences of work may also have been modified if the interviewee felt their conversation could be heard by their line manager, and if they felt they were to positively represent the company they had worked for. This may have been particularly the case for those instructed by their company to engage with the research project. If interviewees had been recruited for the study independently, and interviews conducted away from the workplace, e.g. in a university office or the interviewees home, the discussions may have been different.

A further limitation is that the designers' migration and occupation trajectories are understood only from the point of view of the designer, and

so only give a one-sided understanding of motivations for migration. Designers were most commonly making migration and occupation movements as part of a couple and then family. Their movements may have been influenced by other factors such as their partner's work, being close to their partners' parents, or their partner's own sense of home.

Though the sample size was reasonable for a qualitative study of its type, because of the low number of females, people from BAME backgrounds, working class designers, and those moving from the North to the South, the study offers only a limited understanding of the trajectories of these types of designer.

The study aimed to understand the mechanisms that underlie occupation and migration dynamics, and which served to include some and exclude others. The study is limited in that it only included the trajectories of those who had succeeded in their occupation. Interviews with those who have not been able to access work in design, who have left the profession, or who have not been able to move to Bristol, would give greater understanding of the prohibitive mechanisms, and may give a greater understanding of the groups under-represented in the study.

The findings of the study are limited to the patterns of the designers studied, and are located in geographical space and a specific time. As such they are not generalisable. As discussed in the next section, further research is needed to understand if similar patterns can be identified in the trajectories of other creative workers, and in other locations.

8.5   Future research

A number of avenues for future research present themselves. There is significant scope for further research into creative work and migration in

relation to the city of Bristol. Research into those outside the view of the established design network in the city (for example those working solely online) may give new insights into design in relation to ethnicity and gender. Second, it would be fascinating to conduct a study into creative worker migration and occupation outcomes from the perspective of family and household economics. What, for example is the role of grandparents? Was a move towards family to facilitate employment for both adults in the couple, or for additional support in child rearing? Do grandparents facilitate creative work? Who is the main earner in the household and what is the proportion of household income from rent? How involved are parents in home ownership and location decisions? What sort of hold does this have over the family?

Third, a follow-up study focused on the trajectories of Millennial creative workers in Bristol would give a broader understanding of this group, and offer data that could be usefully compared to existing research on creative workers, which is focused mainly on the Millennial generation (e.g. Faggian *et al.*, 2014).

Further research, similar to this study, in other cities or regions of the UK would contribute to the literature in offering a greater understanding of regional dynamics in relation to factors such housing, gender, class, relationship to family, and employment opportunities that impact on creative workers' trajectories. Are the patterns found among Bristol designers identifiable elsewhere?

Further research into yo-yo migration could explore this migration pattern among creative workers and 'non-creative' workers in other locations.

In relation to changes post Covid-19, other possibilities for further research have emerged. How will the pandemic, and the threat of future infections impact on creative worker migration trajectories? Will there be a virus-flight away from densely populated cities, and relatedly a change in perception of

urban areas as desirable places? Will students remain in their place of birth and receive online university education, limiting early adult migration? Will people, during the lockdown phase, have taken stock on their lives and be making major decisions on where they want to live and the work that they do?

8.6 Implications for Policy and Concluding Remarks

Maslow's (1971) theory, linking identity, creativity and an individual's movement away from family and formative experiences, away from an involvement in community and social structures, into interdependence, has no evidence base. Despite this, the theory often goes un-questioned. The theory has led to the pervasive idea in society that to move away from one's hometown is the norm, the right thing to do, and shows ambition and independence. Implicit in this concept is that to remain in a location demonstrates a lack of creativity and ambition, and that to live in an interdependent way, to be close to one's family, is somehow weak and of low social value. The theory promotes a negative conception of women and working-class people, who have lower levels of migration, as dependent and importantly, *non-creative*. Further, as this thesis has demonstrated, the theory does not bear out in the trajectories of middle-class designers. The mobile middle class are shown to be only temporarily mobile, to have highly interdependent family relationships, and to make use of all forms of family capital to enable their lifestyle, migrations and careers throughout their lives. Additionally, for many middle-class designers, a connection with a particular place remains important throughout their lives.

Over the lifespan, creative workers were found to migrate in similar patterns to the UK general population. Attempts to attract young middle-class creative workers to a certain place with the aim of regeneration may prove short sighted, if young creative workers move into the location to access cheaper work spaces and lower housing costs, only to return to their place of origin once they have a foothold on the housing ladder, and after the establishment of a new family. Instead, it is suggested that policy needs to

shift focus away from migration and towards creating places with good schools, affordable housing, sustainable jobs and strong connections across communities. This will serve in-migrants and dwellers alike. Further, it is necessary to address the issue of the accessibility of creative jobs by the local population, including women, and by people of working class and BAME backgrounds, and ways in which work in the creative sectors can sustain livelihoods.

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