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Janssen, Kyri Maaike Joey; Cottineau, Clémentine; Kleinhans, Reinout; van Bueren, Ellen

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GENTRIFICATION AND THE ORIGIN AND DESTINATION OF MOVERS: A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

KYRI MAAIKE JOEY JANSSEN* , CLÉMENTINE COTTINEAU* , REINOUT KLEINHANS* & ELLEN VAN BUEREN**

*Department of Urbanism, Delft University of Technology, Delft, The Netherlands
E-mail: k.m.j.janssen@tudelft.nl (Corresponding author).
**Department of Management in the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology, Delft, The Netherlands

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ABSTRACT

Gentrification is a process whereby neighbourhoods and their socio-economic composition upgrade through residential moves and social mobility. Relatively little attention has been paid to the spatial aspect of gentrification-induced residential moves. This systematic literature review focuses on the origin and destination of moves to and from gentrifying neighbourhoods, by gentrifiers (movers in) and displacees (movers out). It identifies where, when, and how such research has been conducted and highlights gaps in the literature. Our results suggest that the destination of displaced households has been studied extensively, while an understanding of the spatial origins of gentrifiers is lacking. The few studies dedicated to gentrifiers' origins mostly focus on intra-urban environments, overlooking potential mobility dynamics from outside the city-region. We highlight that capturing both origins and destinations of movers at different spatial scales is necessary to demonstrate how residential mobility creates interactions and demographic interdependencies between neighbourhoods and cities.

Key words: Gentrification; residential mobility; displacement; systematic literature review

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, the number and proportion of middle-income households have increased in cities (Rose 1984; Hamnett 2003; Van Ham *et al.* 2020), and many of their neighbourhoods have upgraded, both physically and socio-economically. On a local level, this process is known as gentrification, originally defined as: "the transformation of inner-city working-class and other neighborhoods to middle-and upper-middle-class residential, recreational, and other uses" (Smith 1987, p. 462). Initially, gentrification was mostly understood as a market-driven process, whereby investors sought to close the rent gap in impoverished neighbourhoods, that is, the difference between the rent extracted from the current use of land and its potential level if redeveloped as middle-class housing or recreational uses. Today, the concept of gentrification encompasses broader processes and reflects broader realities worldwide (Lees *et al.* 2016). In particular, it is acknowledged that policy interventions can contribute to drive or amplify gentrification, then referred to as "state-led gentrification" (Bridge *et al.* 2012, p. 261; Hackworth & Smith 2001, p. 468; Lees 2008, p. 179).

Although gentrification usually goes hand in hand with an improvement of the quality of a neighbourhood's built environment as wealthier households move in, this transformation also leads to the direct or indirect displacement of

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working-class residents (Marcuse 1985, p. 205). There has been significant research towards understanding these changing residential patterns in gentrifying neighbourhoods, for instance, by estimating the extent of direct chain displacement (e.g. Freeman & Braconi 2004; Freeman 2005). Something often overlooked is the spatial component of gentrification-induced residential moves, that is, where movers move to and from. By contrast, studies identifying spatial residential trajectories over time often do not reflect on gentrification (e.g. Feijten *et al.* 2008; Clark & Morrison 2012).

Bridging these literatures is important because considering the spatial component of gentrification-induced residential moves acknowledges the extent to which gentrification can affect the linkages and interdependencies between places. For instance, the recent work by Hochstenbach and Musterd (2018, 2021) finds that gentrification enhances income segregation at wider spatial scales, as displaced households increasingly move to the edges of metropolitan areas, resulting in the suburbanization of poverty. However, the relationship goes both ways because gentrification is itself a phenomenon shaped by spatial structures and residential movements. The study by Loumeau and Russo (2022) highlights this, as they find that, as a consequence of improved transit systems, high-income households have moved out of Paris to newly accessible secondary cities (Rennes and Bordeaux), gentrifying them in the process. Such findings position gentrification within broader residential mobility trends, as residential movements induced by gentrification create linkages between places over time, constraining future directions of gentrification and impoverishment.

Although some scholars examined residential moves beyond gentrifying neighbourhoods (e.g. Sturtevant 2014; Dragan *et al.* 2020), a systematic overview of the spatial extent and dynamics of these patterns is missing. Our review fills this gap by systematically analysing 48 peer-reviewed articles that empirically identify the origins of gentrifiers and/or destinations of displacees. Identifying and comparing the publications which capture the spatial component of these gentrification-induced moves should shed light on the extent of our existing knowledge regarding the relationship between gentrification and residential mobility at varying spatial scales. We aim to create a better understanding of the following: 1. The spatial extent of gentrification-related moves; 2. The various methodologies used for measuring gentrification-related mobility; and 3. The nature of the relationship between gentrification-related mobility and segregation. The systematic approach allows for a reliable and reproducible overview of the existing literature, as well as a quantified summary of how authors have studied and described residential mobility patterns in varying spatial and temporal contexts.

This article addresses the three following research questions:

1. What conclusions have been drawn in studies regarding the spatial component of residential mobility patterns to and from gentrifying neighbourhoods?
2. Which methodologies have been used to identify origins and destinations of gentrification-induced residential moves in these studies?
3. Which conclusions have been drawn regarding the relationship between gentrification-induced residential moves and segregation in these studies?

Section "Theoretical framework" introduces the theoretical framework on residential mobility and gentrification, while Section "Method" outlines the methodology of the systematic review. In Section "Results", we present the results, discussing key characteristics of the corpus and providing a quantitative summary. We delve into origin and destination locations at varying spatial scales, examine the implications of these residential outcomes on segregation, and conclude with a multiple correspondence analysis of the articles included in this review.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Gentrification – Gentrification is defined as a phenomenon whereby impoverished neighbourhoods experience social and physical upgrading as a consequence of economic capital and residential movements. Scholars have approached gentrification from various perspectives, with some emphasizing capital flows and housing investment (e.g. Lees *et al.* 2016, p. 69; Smith 1979), while others have

been more interested in population dynamics and consumption patterns (e.g. Karsten 2003; Butler 2007). This distinction, where the former perspective primarily focused on housing demand and gentrification, and the latter emphasized the role of supply, led scholars to analyse gentrification in terms of demand and supply.

Housing supply potentially drives gentrification through availability of affordable housing, housing policies, and urban development initiatives. During early waves of gentrification private investors, backed by state support, mostly drove the – sporadic – process in inner-city areas (Hackworth & Smith 2001). (Hackworth & Smith 2001). More recently, housing prices and housing investment significantly increased. Investors and developers started speculating on gentrification, and profit has become a major motivating force for gentrification (Hamnett 2021, p. 20). In this sense, gentrification has become commodified, spreading beyond inner-city areas (Aalbers 2019; Hamnett 2021; Lees 2008). Housing demand is another key driver of gentrification. Early scholars explained that in the post-industrial era, the professionalization of the labour force contributed to the production of gentrifiers (e.g. Ley 1980; Rose 1984). Additionally, the expansion of higher education has attracted students to urban areas, who have often maintained an urban lifestyle after graduation (Smith 1996). Nowadays, this process exhibits intergenerational dynamics, as previous gentrifiers pass on their urban preferences along with their capital to their children, who themselves represent a new wave of gentrifiers (Cain 2020).

Scholars also increasingly identify governments as important drivers of neighbourhood upgrading (Teernstra & Van Gent 2012, pp. 114–115) and gentrification (e.g. Lees 2008; Aalbers 2019). Policymakers often perceive gentrification as a desired route and outcome of neighbourhood upgrading. They enact housing policies that promote the upgrading of working-class neighbourhoods by attracting affluent households to the city (Hackworth & Smith 2001, p. 468). Local and national governments can apply various policy tools to trigger gentrification. For instance, Hochstenbach (2017) explained how the sale of social housing, contributing to the government-stimulated privatization of the social housing stock, accelerated gentrification in popular inner-city areas. Another predominant form of state-led gentrification is social mixing, which targets impoverished neighbourhoods and transforms the housing stock to attract middle-income residents (Lees 2008, pp. 2450–2452). However, state-led gentrification is not always recognized in academic debates. In the book by Bridge *et al.* (2012), a link is made between social mixing policies and gentrification, arguing that social mixing and urban restructuring policies are often "rhetorically and discursively disguised as social mixing" to avoid the negative connotation of gentrification. The authors explain that although the social and physical upgrading is achieved through state-led urban restructuring programmes, the outcome is similar to that of self-organized gentrification: higher socio-economic classes moving into formerly impoverished neighbourhoods, displacing or replacing working-class residents (Lees 2008, pp. 2451–2452). We therefore think that acknowledging the similarities between urban restructuring and gentrification and bridging these fields is necessary to capture the overall extent of gentrification in the 21st century.

Residential mobility and gentrification – Scholars studying residential mobility often examine how households are matched to locations and houses, capturing how household composition, life course, education, and employment affect the residential trajectories of individuals, couples, and families (e.g. Clark & Dieleman 1996; Feijten *et al.* 2008). Those considering residential moves in gentrifying neighbourhoods tend to classify movers by either gentrifiers (movers-in) or displacees (movers-out). While the "gentrifiers" are attracted to gentrifying neighbourhoods, the incumbent low-income households may increasingly struggle with the price increase, leading to displacement. In this review, we conceptualize gentrifiers and displacees based on their moving direction and how the authors of the reviewed articles have defined the socio-economic status of these movers. Therefore, in-moving households with

relatively high education, income, or cultural capital are characterized as gentrifiers, while out-moving households with relatively low education, economic, or cultural capital are considered as displacees.

Much of the research on gentrification-related residential mobility focuses on the changing residential composition in the gentrified neighbourhood itself, measuring displacement or identifying the socio-economic characteristics of in- and out-movers (e.g. Mckinnish *et al.* 2010). Several quantitative studies identify the extent of direct displacement and find little evidence for displacement of low-income households in gentrifying neighbourhoods (e.g. Freeman & Braconi 2004; Freeman 2005; Ellen & O'regan 2011). In addition, there has been a substantial academic debate about the extent of displacement. Proponents of the professionalization theory argue that gentrification is less about the displacement of the lower class and more about overall class replacement (Hamnett 2003; Butler *et al.* 2008; Butler & Hamnett 2009). However, such work is often criticized for focusing solely on directly measurable displacement (Easton *et al.* 2020, pp. 294–296) and for not incorporating Marcuse's work (Marcuse 1985), which considers as indirect displacement the fact that gentrification excludes low-income households not only from neighbourhoods but increasingly from cities altogether (Newman & Wyly 2006, pp. 41–57; Slater 2009). The study by Ding *et al.* (2016, pp. 46–48) emphasized the importance of identifying the destinations of displaced households. While they did not find higher rates of vulnerable residents moving out of gentrifying areas, they did find that these vulnerable residents are more likely to move to less affluent neighbourhoods.

When considering gentrifiers, there seems to be an underlying assumption that gentrification is associated with higher income residents moving in. Although some quantitative studies find that gentrifying tracts receive a relatively higher proportion of high-income in-movers (e.g. Freeman & Braconi 2004; Freeman 2005), others highlight marginal gentrifiers where gentrification is driven by the incumbent upgrading of in-movers (Teernstra 2014; Hochstenbach *et al.* 2015). In this sense, Van Criekingen and Decroly (2003, p. 2455) explain that gentrifiers can also be highly educated individuals with low economic capital, and their residential strategy is merely a temporary response to unsettled familial and professional positions. Consequently, a substantial body of literature discusses other relevant characteristics that define a gentrifier, including ethnicity (e.g. Huse 2018), age (Hochstenbach & Boterman 2017), household composition (Bridge 2003), gender (Smith & Holt 2005), and cultural capital (Ley 2003). However, the focus on where gentrifiers move from has received less attention.

METHOD

This literature review follows the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-analysis (PRISMA) statement (Moher *et al.* 2009). This review focuses on the origin locations of gentrifiers and the destinations of displacees. Gentrifiers and displacees are conceptualized as contrasting types of residents. Gentrifiers are individuals who move into a neighbourhood with a higher socio-economic position compared to the existing population, while displacees are moving-out residents with a lower socio-economic position compared to the population moving in. Not all incomers are therefore gentrifiers and not all out-movers displacees. The identification of people moving in and out as gentrifiers and displaces is left to the reviewed articles' authors themselves.

Search strategy and data sources – To identify all relevant articles related to residential mobility and gentrification, regardless of disciplines, our search terms had to include synonyms and equivalent concepts from, among others, geography, housing studies, economics, and sociology. The resulting search expression can be found in Table 1, where the lines represent union ("OR") combinations of keywords and the columns intersection ("AND") combinations. In this review, we consider neighbourhoods that experience socio-economic upgrading as a result of housing policies as gentrifying neighbourhoods. Therefore, keywords such as "urban restructuring" are included. To acknowledge marginal gentrification,

Table 1. *Search term overview.*

OR ↓	Gentrification	AND →	Residential Mobility
	"Gentrification"		"Residential mobility"
	"State-led gentrification"		"Residential movements"
	"Urban Renewal"		"Residential circulations"
	"Urban Restructuring"		"Migration"
	"Urban revitalization"		"Mobility rate"
	"Urban regeneration"		"Residential turnover"
	"Housing developments"		"Residential trajectories"
	"New construction"		"Housing trajectories"
	"Residential development"		"Trajectories"
	"Incumbent upgrading"		"Life course"
			"Neighbourhood trajectories"
			"Residential choice"
	Gentrifier		**Displacement**
	"Gentrifier"		"Displacement"
	"Middle class"		"Forced relocations"
	"Affluent migrant"		"Relocation"
	"Affluent household"		
	"Incoming migrant"		**Location**
	"Incoming household"		"Origin"
			"Destination"
			"Neighbourhood Destination"
			"Neighbourhood of origin"
			"Residential destination"

incumbent upgrading is included. Each query contains a residential mobility term and a gentrification term combined through the "AND" Boolean operator (cf. Appendix A1 for the exact query used).

Study selection – All articles in this review identify either the origins of gentrifiers, the destinations of displacees, or both. Articles which specify the socio-economic composition of the origin or destination neighbourhood are also included, as these shed light on the relationship between gentrification-related residential moves and spatial inequality, as well as on the linkages and interdependency created by gentrification-related residential moves between places. The selection process for this systematic search is summarized in Figure 1.

In the first phase (identification), queries of all keyword combinations presented in Table 1 were run on three comprehensive academic search engines between January and March 2022: Web of Science, Scopus, and JSTOR. Only peer-reviewed academic articles written in English were included. After removing duplicates, 3001 articles remained.

During the screening phase, articles were selected if their title addressed one of the following topics: residential mobility, gentrification, urban restructuring, displacement, or segregation. Segregation was also included as a proxy to identify articles examining post-gentrification residential outcomes. In the cases where we could not tell from the title alone, abstracts were examined.

The abstract review, as part of the eligibility phase, aimed at keeping articles which focused explicitly on the relationship between residential movements and gentrification, thus excluding articles on retail gentrification or solely re-urbanization. In order to be considered relevant, articles in this study must address the residential preferences, characteristics, or trajectories of gentrifiers or displacees, or discuss mobility rates within gentrifying neighbourhoods. The inclusion of residential trajectories as a selection criterion is important as this is expected to provide information on either the origin or destination locations, which aligns with the focus of this review. Studies examining residential preferences were also included as they

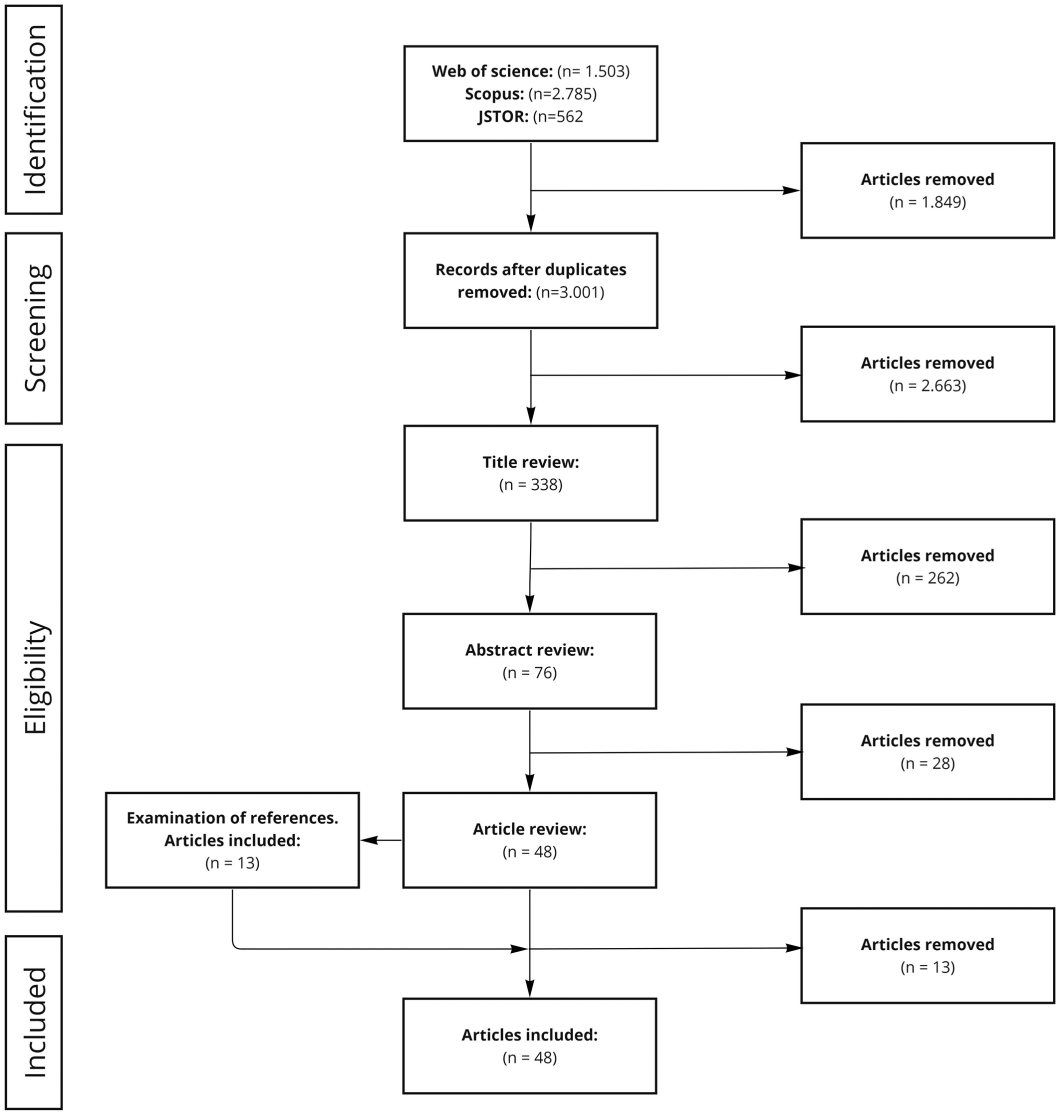

FIGURE 1. *PRISMA flowchart of the systematic literature search.*

might shed light on life-course trajectories and potentially reveal previous or subsequent residential locations. Articles discussing the characteristics of gentrifiers and displacees were included because of the possibility that the previous or future address may be part of the characterization of the mover. Finally, articles examining mobility rates in gentrifying neighbourhoods were selected to include articles studying in situ residential mobility. In total, 262 articles did not meet these criteria.

The remaining 76 articles were read throughout and included if they addressed one of the following topics: 1. the destination location of displaced residents; 2. the type of spatial environment displaced residents move to; 3. the origin location of incoming gentrifiers; and 4. the residential trajectories of gentrifiers. Consequently, 28 were excluded.

The systematic review was conducted on the remaining 48 articles, and led to the further elimination of another 13 articles which

failed to meet the gentrification criteria (for example, studies estimating the outcomes of the Moving To Opportunity programme in the United States). In parallel, by examining the references cited by the selected articles, 13 articles not yet included but relevant were added.[i] In total, this systematic review contains 48 academic articles (cf. Appendix A2).

Data extraction – All 48 identified articles were independently reviewed by answering a set of questions relating to their research topic, methodologies, spatial classifications, and overall findings. The precise wording and coding scheme used can be found in Appendix A3, whereas Tables 2 and 3 contain descriptive statistics of each variable and its corresponding categories.

First, to classify the type of gentrification studied, we sorted articles by gentrification type. Articles that studied neighbourhood upgrading through the restructuring of the housing stock for higher income residents (e.g. social mixing) were classified as urban restructuring. Articles that studied neighbourhood upgrading through the changing socioeconomic composition of the neighbourhood or rent levels, without specified governmental interventions on the housing stock were labelled as "Gentrification". Articles studying the conversion of social housing to privatized housing were labelled "State-led gentrification" if they used the term themselves.

Second, to characterize the methodological characteristics of each article, we defined three variables related to their research methods. The methodology variable identifies whether the article was quantitative, qualitative, or both. The data-ownership variable identifies whether the data are collected by the researchers themselves (primary data), or by another institution (secondary data), or by both. To capture the temporal component of data, we differentiated articles based on how they handled time, for example, if the empirical analysis relied on cross-sectional analysis, time trends or longitudinal data. Only studies that were able to follow individuals over time were classified as longitudinal.

Third, to accommodate for different stages of gentrification, we recorded, where possible, which stage of gentrification was studied. "Prior" corresponds to the period before socioeconomic upgrading. "During" refers to the period when gentrification is ongoing and upgrading is predominant. "Post" refers to the later stage of gentrification when neighbourhoods have been significantly upgraded. This stage is reached when urban restructuring has been finalized, or when the economic composition of the neighbourhood has reached a level above city average. The post stage of gentrification is always specified as such by the authors.

Fourth, to identify the spatial scales considered in the studies reviewed, we defined four variables. The research scope variable indicates the level at which the research is focused and/or claims were made. Thus, articles interested in specific neighbourhoods in a city are classified as "neighbourhood", while those examining the gentrification-induced movements for various metropolitan regions in a country are classified as "sub-national". Articles interested in specific inner-cities or specific metropolitan areas were classified as "inner-city" and "metropolitan area" respectively. The movement variable identifies the furthest residential moves studied of each article, classified with a scale of either intra- or inter-urban, metropolitan, national, or international. The analytical focus variable distinguishes between articles interested in individual outcomes or in the spatial consequences on, for example, a city overall. We also included a variable that identifies the spatial precision of each article, classified in different administrative categories, because different countries have different administrative boundaries and datasets. The smallest category is "residential units", which relates to specific houses or apartment complexes. The next category is "statistical areas", which are areas smaller than an administrative boundary such as neighbourhood or census tract, but where still some sort of aggregation has taken place; for example, 100 m x 100 m areas. Subsequently, "neighbourhood", "census tract", "district", and "municipality" relate to the definitions provided by authors, with "district" corresponding to an intermediate level between a neighbourhood and a municipality.

Finally, three variables capture claims made regarding the consequences of gentrification-induced residential moves on segregation or

Table 2. *Frequency of studies by variable category.*

Variable	Category	Count (%)	Variable	Category	Count (%)	Variable	Category	Count (%)
Residential movers			**Administrative category**			**Analytical focus**	Individual outcome	41 (85%)
	Gentrifiers	11 (23%)		Residential units	6 (13%)		Spatial outcome	7 (15%)
	Displacees	36 (75%)		Statistical areas	4 (8%)			
	Both	1 (2%)		Neighbourhood	16 (33%)	**Segregation**		
Gentrification type				Census tract	12 (25%)		Desegregation	5 (10%)
	Gentrification	17 (36%)		District	6 (13%)		Ethnic and income segregation	5 (10%)
	State-led gentrification	2 (4%)		Municipality	1 (2%)		Ethnic segregation	7 (15%)
	Urban restructuring	29 (60%)					Income segregation	5 (10%)
Context			**Stage of gentrification**			**Destination**		
	Western Europe	20 (42%)		Prior to Post	5 (10%)		Within the city	12 (23%)
	US	25 (52%)		During	14 (29%)		Agglomeration	5 (10%)
	Australia	1 (2%)		During to Post	5 (10%)		Functional region	3 (6%)
	East Asia	2 (4%)		Post	22 (476%)		Out of the city	1 (2%)
Research scope			**Movements**			**Origin**		
	Neighbourhood	5 (10%)		Intra-urban	17 (35%)		Within the city	6 (13%)
	Inner-city	28 (58%)		Metropolitan	14 (29%)		Agglomeration	0 (0%)
	Metropolitan	10 (21%)		Inter-urban	3 (6%)		Functional region	2 (4%)
	Sub-national	3 (6%)		National	9 (19%)		International	1 (2%)
	National	0 (0%)		International	2 (4%)			

Table 3. *Frequencies of studies by methodological characteristics over time.*

Displacees			Gentrifiers		
Variable	Category	Count	Variable	Category	Count
Methodology			**Methodology**		
	Quantitative	25 (52%)		Quantitative	9(19%)
	Qualitative	6 (13%)		Qualitative	3 (6%)
	Mixed methods	6 (13%)		Mixed methods	0 (0%)
Data ownership			**Data ownership**		
	Primary	11 (23%)		Primary	6 (13%)
	Secondary	19 (40%)		Secondary	5 (10%)
	Both	7 (15%)		Both	1 (2%)
Temporal component of data			**Temporal component of data**		
	Cross-sectional	16 (33%)		Cross-sectional	7 (15%)
	Time trend	6 (13%)		Time trend	5 (10%)
	Longitudinal	14 (30%)		Longitudinal	0 (0%)

residential mobility patterns. Only articles that made a claim based on empirical findings were coded. The segregation variable identifies the consequences of residential moves on segregation levels outside of the gentrifying neighbourhood. The origin and destination variables identify predominant origin and destination locations of gentrifiers and displacees respectively, categorized based on the distance from the gentrified neighbourhood people either move to or from.

Data analysis – The outcome of the data-extraction allows for a quantitative summary of the corpus articles by type of gentrification, methodology, spatial extent, and overall findings. Additionally, to examine these outcomes jointly, a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is conducted on all the variables generated from this systematic review. An MCA is a technique to explore interdependencies among a set of categorical variables, similar to a principal component analysis (CPA), but relying on nominal data. The MCA allows the researcher to explore and analyse multi-way tables to detect structure in the relationships between categorical variables (Hoffman *et al.* 1994). In this review, the MCA examines the interdependencies between study design, data granularity, and the conclusions reached in the articles reviewed on gentrification. We use this technique to unveil groups of publications following similar approaches and reaching similar conclusions and, by contrast, to highlight unexplored zones of the research space (i.e. gaps for future inquiry, such as the longitudinal analysis of gentrifiers at the metropolitan scale and beyond).

RESULTS

Descriptive results – Table 2 displays the distribution of every variable category, providing several noteworthy insights. Out of the 48 relevant articles, 11 focused solely on the origin locations of gentrifiers, revealing a relative lack of scholarship dedicated to these trajectories. There is a high frequency of studies focusing on urban restructuring ($n=29$), mostly associated with the study of residential trajectories of displaced households ($n=26$). This is not an unexpected result, as a forced move out of a neighbourhood is easier to detect in the context of urban restructuring (e.g. social tenants evicted from estates under demolition) compared with the private uncoordinated arrival of middle-class families and individuals. Another interesting result is the low frequency of articles studying state-led gentrification ($n=2$), which suggests a still weak recognition of policy and gentrification-induced moves. Finally, there is a high frequency of studies conducted in the Global North ($n=46$), which likely reflects the later conceptualization of gentrification in the Global South (Lees *et al.* 2016).

That the vast majority of studies were conducted in the Global North does not mean that gentrification-induced residential moves are a Northern phenomenon only. Robinson (2006) showed that urban studies defaulted to a developmental lens when analysing cities of the Global South, preferring concepts such as "slum-clearance" or "downward raiding" (Lemanski 2022) to qualify neighbourhood upgrading, thus creating a lexical distinction between processes which could otherwise be considered as gentrification (López-Morales 2015). Keywords such as "slum-clearance" and "downward raiding" were not part of the search terms for this review, which might somewhat bias the results towards a predominantly Northern context.

Comparative analysis of methodologies used in the literature – Table 3 displays the frequency of use of different methodologies in the corpus. Overall, the majority of studies capturing the destination of displaced households applied quantitative research methods. These studies were mainly interested in the socio-economic composition of destination neighbourhoods, and a majority ($n=25$) also estimated the spatial location of the destination neighbourhood. This was done either by locating the new area of residence (e.g. Van Criekingen 2006, 2008; Ding *et al.* 2016, Mah 2021), estimating the distance travelled during the move (e.g. Kingsley *et al.* 2003), or by identifying if moves occurred inside or outside the city (e.g. Sturtevant 2014). Early studies often relied on self-collected survey data (Goetz 2002; Bolt & Van Kempen 2010; Goetz 2010; Oakley *et al.* 2013), while later studies applied large-scale longitudinal analysis (Hochstenbach & Musterd 2018; Dragan *et al.* 2020). In eleven articles ($n=11$), a comparative analysis between different types of movers was made. Goetz (2002), Boston (2005), Bolt and Van Kempen (2010), Bolt *et al.* (2009), Evans (2021), Ding *et al.* (2016), Hwang and Ding (2020) and Dragan *et al.* (2020) all examined the destination neighbourhoods of displaced households and compared these to non-displaced movers. Evans (2021) authored the only study that applied a propensity score matching technique, which is a quasi-experimental method to identify relevant control households to compare movers. This study identified households that were displaced and those that were not, based on various socio-economic characteristics. This approach mitigates selection issues and enables the researchers to make a more robust claim regarding displacement (Dehejia & Wahba 2002). The other comparative studies in the selection performed no such matching techniques and rely on descriptive statistics only.

The study by Hochstenbach and Musterd (2018) was based on large-scale longitudinal geo-coded administrative data, containing information on a broad set of socio-economic, demographic, and residential characteristics for all registered adults in the Netherlands. The authors tracked the moving patterns of low-income households over a period of approximately 10 years. This data enabled them to make claims about how the spatial distribution of income in cities and their surrounding regions changed over time. Similarly, Dragan *et al.* (2020) used geo-coded longitudinal data based on New York City medical records. The analysis involved tracking the residential trajectories and mobility behaviour of a cohort of low-income children from 2009 to 2015. They specifically examined the differences between children from gentrifying and non-gentrifying census tracts. This work not only identified the destination neighbourhood after relocation but also examined the subsequent residential locations after the first move out of the gentrifying neighbourhood.

Articles using qualitative methods provided important insights into understanding the residential behaviour of displaced households, as well as how they experienced the displacement process. Interesting examples are Egan *et al.* (2015) and Lawson *et al.* (2015) who both followed respondents before and after relocation. This enabled them not only to reflect on neighbourhood satisfaction after relocation but also on prior attitudes and personal factors and how these influenced experiences and outcomes. Another insightful study is that by Newman and Wyly (2006) who complemented their quantitative analysis with on-site visits to gentrifying neighbourhoods. The qualitative analysis in this paper

sheds light on residential behaviours which were not captured by quantitative data.

Studies identifying the origins of gentrifiers are also three times more often quantitative than qualitative. Qualitative studies in this area typically aim to understand the moving behaviour of gentrifiers. For instance, Cain (2020) traced how children of gentrifiers moved out of the gentrifying neighbourhood and returned when they are older. Whereas existing work usually focused on movers moving into a gentrified neighbourhood, Cain stressed that the most advanced stage of gentrification was also subject to the cultural reproduction of the existing resident group, for example, when the adult children of gentrifiers returned to the gentrifying neighbourhood they grew up.

Studies applying quantitative research methods to identify movers' origins mostly conceptualized the socio-economic characteristics of incoming movers, where the former residential location mostly served as a control variable. Such studies relied on descriptive statistics, with the exception of Hochstenbach and Boterman (2017). Papers by Rérat (2012), Friedrichs (1987), Sturtevant (2014) and Lützeler (2008) relied on survey data – self-collected in the case of Rérat (2012) and Friedrichs (1987). Compared with the displacee studies, there seem to be less readily available datasets, hence the lower proportion of studies using administrative data. The studies by Van Criekingen (2009) and Hochstenbach and Boterman (2017) did rely on register data which includes a much larger fraction of the research population compared with the survey data discussed above, allowing authors to make more robust claims. Noteworthy is that none of the identified studies reflected on changes in the socio-economic characteristics of individuals after the move.

Despite extensive work on life-course trajectories and longitudinal studies (Feijten *et al.* 2008; Clark & Morrison 2012), the profile of gentrifiers has not been analysed with the same level of details as that of displacees. Also, this systematic review has not identified articles studying the residential locations of gentrifiers prior to their move to the gentrifying neighbourhood longitudinally. This is not surprising, as it is methodologically more complex to retrace trajectories of those moving in. While institutions might hold administrative records for households displaced by policy programmes, gentrifiers move on their own through private routes, making them more difficult to trace. However, microdata emerging in various European countries should enable scholars to study the trajectories of those moving into gentrifying neighbourhoods.

Origin and destination locations – Figure 2 shows the spatial patterns identified in the articles from this review. Note that only articles that identified residential mobility patterns were included. This corresponds to 9 articles identifying the origin locations of gentrifiers, and 19 articles identifying the destination locations of displaced households. Other articles make no claim regarding predominant residential mobility patterns between places.

In all, 12 articles found that displaced households move to surrounding areas. Out of these, 9 studied displacement following urban

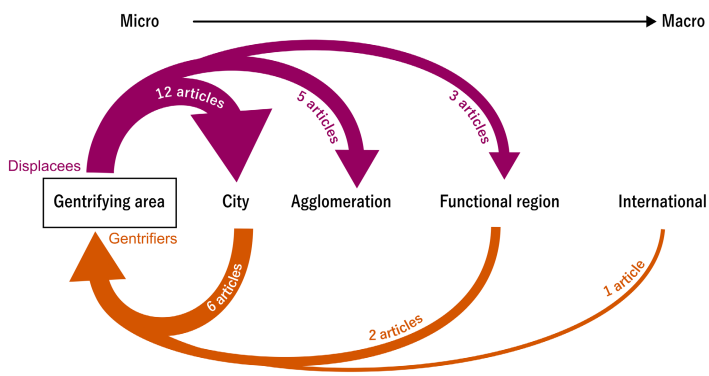

FIGURE 2. *Residential mobility patterns to and from gentrifying neighbourhoods.*

restructuring (Goetz 2002; Clampet-Lundquist 2004; Oakley & Burchfield 2009; Bolt & Van Kempen 2010; Doff & Kleinhans 2011; Kleit & Galvez 2011; Oakley *et al.* 2013; Tieskens & Musterd 2013; Lawson *et al.* 2015; Dragan *et al.* 2020), of which 3 suggested that these destination outcomes are spatially clustered in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Goetz 2002; Oakley & Burchfield 2009; Oakley *et al.* 2013). The 3 remaining articles studied displacement following gentrification, emphasizing that low-status households generally make short distance moves (Dragan *et al.* 2020, p. 6; Lyons 1996, pp. 55–57; Van Criekingen 2008, p. 210). Yet, by considering destinations beyond the metropolitan boundaries, Van Criekingen (2006, p. 14; 2008, pp. 206–210) identified that a significant proportion of low-income households leave the city and relocate to cities with weaker economies and a more affordable housing stock.

This finding by Van Criekingen is consistent with more recent studies which stress that displaced households relocate out of the city, to the suburbs (Sink & Ceh 2011; Weller & Van Hulten 2012; Sturtevant 2014; Mah 2021; Huang & Liu 2022), and satellite towns in the metropolitan region (Hochstenbach & Musterd 2018, 2021). It is apparent that claims regarding the suburbanization of poverty generally correspond to more recent research compared with those claiming that displacees move within the surrounding area. The study by Hochstenbach and Musterd (2018) on Amsterdam illustrates this trend. They found that for the period 2004–2013, the share of unemployed households moving within the central city decreased by 3.8 per cent point, while their share of moves from the central city to the surrounding region increased by 3.5 per cent point (Hochstenbach & Musterd 2018, p. 45).

In general, evidence from our systematic review suggests that displaced households often move within the metropolitan region, which is consistent with studies on residential mobility that suggest that long-distance moves are mostly triggered by changes in employment or education (Clark & Dieleman 1996).

Out of the articles studying origins of gentrifiers, a majority found that gentrifiers move within the city. Friedrichs (1987) was the first to identify this pattern, by examining the effects of urban renewal on migratory patterns in inner-city areas. He found that only 5 per cent of the respondents had moved from the suburbs to the restructured neighbourhoods, while almost half of the respondents came from the inner-city itself. Subsequent quantitative studies by Lützeler (2008), Millard-Ball (Millard-Ball 2002), Rérat (2012), and Van Criekingen (2009) yielded similar results. As most residential moves (irrespective of gentrification dynamics) tend to be short distance (Clark and Dieleman, p. 164), it becomes particularly interesting when authors discover that gentrifiers predominantly move from outside the city. For instance, Brown and Wyly (2000) concluded that revitalization of the neighbourhoods in Brighton Beach, New York was driven by international immigration. Additionally, Van Criekingen (2009, pp. 834–835) estimated that about one-fifth of the incoming migrants to gentrifying neighbourhoods in Brussels were international, and labelled them "expatriate professionals".

A study by Sturtevant (2014) claimed that the population influx of white residents has sparked gentrification in the inner-city of Washington DC. Out of those moving to the city, 79 per cent of white residents came from outside the metropolitan area, whereas only 21 per cent moved from the suburbs. A limitation of the study by Sturtevant is that there is no specification of locations outside the metropolitan area. Therefore, one cannot tell if moves were rural-to-urban or inter-urban. A recent study that sheds light on the importance of identifying beyond city boundaries is that by Ocejo (2019), who examines the narratives of gentrifiers moving from New York City to Newburgh. The article shows that the advanced stages of gentrification in New York has set off gentrification in Newburg. These incoming migrants are considered gentrifiers in Newburgh, but displacees in relation to New York City where they were out-priced. This finding possibly suggests that advanced gentrification also generates residential movements between cities, and that gentrification can spread from one city to another.

Displacement and segregation – As gentrification corresponds to a shift of residential moves both from upper-middle and working-class residents, it is often discussed

in terms of its consequences on segregation. Twenty-two articles which studied the destination locations of displaced households make claims regarding the consequences of gentrification-induced residential moves on segregation.

There are 5 articles that find that relocation enhances the dispersal of both poverty and ethnic groups (Boston 2005; Kingsley *et al.* 2003; Goetz 2010; Tieskens & Musterd 2013; Lopez & Greenlee 2016). The articles that found that displacement reduced income segregation all studied relocation following urban restructuring (Kingsley *et al.* 2003; Boston 2005; Bolt *et al.* 2009; Popkin *et al.* 2009; Bolt & Van Kempen 2010; Goetz 2010; Sink & Ceh 2011; Tieskens & Musterd 2013; Lopez & Greenlee 2016). Interestingly, 4 of these studies argued that the effects of poverty de-concentration are limited due to the impoverished state of the origin neighbourhood (Kingsley *et al.* 2003; Goetz 2010; Sink & Ceh 2011; Tieskens & Musterd 2013).

Others find that the displacement outcomes enhanced income segregation, as displacees were forced to move to affordable tracts with high poverty rates (Van Criekingen 2006, 2008; Oakley & Burchfield 2009; Varady *et al.* 2010; Weller & Van Hulten 2012; Ding *et al.* 2016; Hochstenbach & Musterd 2018, 2021; Hwang & Ding 2020; Oakley *et al.* 2013). Interestingly, the study on Philadelphia by Ding *et al.* (2016) found that displacees moving from rapidly gentrifying neighbourhoods generally move to neighbourhoods more economically deprived compared with individuals displaced from marginally gentrifying neighbourhoods. This suggests that later stages of gentrification increasingly restrict the residential choices of displaced households. However, the study by Dragan *et al.* (2020) on New York City contradicts this conclusion, as they also compare destinations from rapidly and moderately gentrifying tracts and found no significant difference regarding displacement patterns. These contradicting findings are interesting given the close geographical proximity between Philadelphia and NYC, suggesting that the socio-economic outcomes can depend heavily on the context studied.

In all, 17 articles examined the consequences of displacement on ethnic segregation, of which 12 argue that relocation enhances ethnic segregation (Bolt *et al.* 2009; Oakley & Burchfield 2009; Popkin *et al.* 2009; Bolt & Van Kempen 2010; Varady *et al.* 2010; Doff & Kleinhans 2011; Sink & Ceh 2011; Oakley *et al.* 2013; Tieskens & Musterd 2013; Posthumus *et al.* 2014; Sturtevant 2014; Hwang & Ding 2020). Out of these, 7 explained that ethnic segregation is a consequence of the increased difficulties ethnic minorities experience in their residential relocation compared to non-minority relocatees (Bolt *et al.* 2009; Bolt & Van Kempen 2010; Doff & Kleinhans 2011; Tieskens & Musterd 2013; Posthumus *et al.* 2014; Sturtevant 2014; Hwang & Ding 2020). Doff and Kleinhans (2011) try to make sense of this phenomenon by suggesting that minority households possibly sort themselves over space to live near households that are similar. However, they also found that moving to concentrated neighbourhoods significantly decreases the likelihood of reporting neighbourhood improvement.

Multivariate analysis of the corpus – To understand the combined distribution of characteristics of reviewed articles, an MCA was conducted on the 14 variables coded in the systematic review (cf. Tables 2 and 3). The MCA results suggest that analysing the first two dimensions covers 19.3 per cent of the variance of the original variables (see Tables B1 and B2 in Appendix). Figure 3A represents the projection of the variable categories in this space and Figure 3B the observations (i.e. the 48 articles). In both graphs, only variables or observations with contributions greater than 0.2 were labelled.

The first dimension of opposition is linked to the type of methodology and gentrification analysed (Figure 3A, horizontal axis). On the right side of dimension 1, we find articles typically studying state-led gentrification using quantitative research methods applied to secondary data with high spatial precision, and which find that gentrification enhances income segregation. We interpret this combination as the large-scale gentrification research side of the literature. Representative articles of this pole of the literature include Hochstenbach and Musterd (2018) and Van Criekingen (2006). On the left-hand side, we

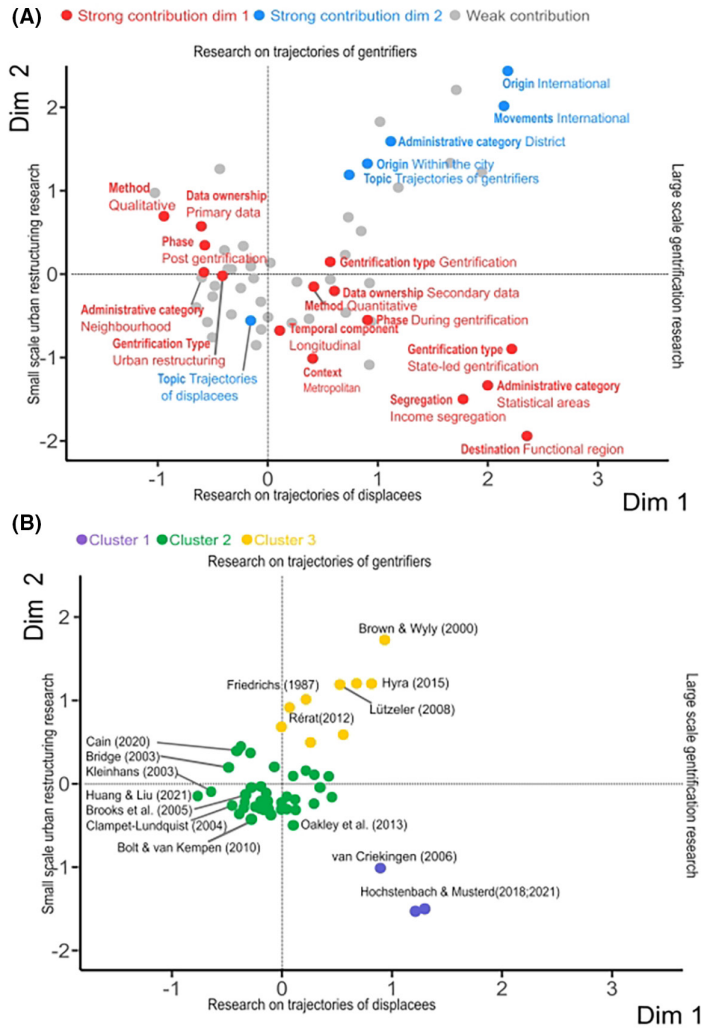

FIGURE 3. *(A) Variable coordinate plot by contribution. (B) Observation coordinate plot by clusters.*

find articles studying urban restructuring with more qualitative research methods. These articles rely on primary data. Representative articles of this pole of the literature include Kleinhans (2003) and Huang and Liu (2022). The second dimension (vertical axis Figure 3A) of the MCA opposes articles focusing on gentrifiers and their residential trajectories to articles focusing on the trajectories of displacees. These categories are not associated strongly with methodology types, but rather with administrative categories (gentrifiers with district levels and displacees with statistical areas and neighbourhoods) and gentrification types (state-led for displacees and general gentrification for gentrifiers).

We performed a k-nearest neighbour clustering analysis on the coordinates of articles on the first two dimensions in order to create literature sets. A partition in 3 groups (Figure 3B) shows two coherent blocks (clusters 1 and 2) and a looser set (cluster 3) of articles. Cluster 1 identifies articles which employ large-scale quantitative analysis, relying on register data with fine spatial precision locating the destination of displaced households. Cluster 2 includes articles following the residential trajectories of displacees

moving from urban restructuring neighbourhoods, which apply either quantitative or qualitative analyses and mostly rely on self-collected data. Cluster 3 corresponds to articles identifying origins of gentrifiers, and has an overall higher variance compared with Cluster 1 and 2.

CONCLUSION

The literature on residential mobility and gentrification has predominantly focused on movements within the gentrifying neighbourhood itself, and not so much on the origin and destination locations of movers. Capturing both the socio-economic characteristics of movers and the spatial features of their moves re-contextualizes these movements within wider population dynamics and residential mobility trends, generating a fuller conceptualization of how gentrification relates to inequality at a wider spatial scale. This systematic literature review analysed articles considering the spatial aspect of gentrification-induced residential moves and examined the following: 1. The spatial scales at which these analyses were conducted; 2. The methodologies applied; and 3. The conclusions drawn regarding gentrification-induced residential mobility patterns and segregation.

In general, we found limited information on the origin of people moving into gentrifying neighbourhoods. There were no quantitative longitudinal analyses capturing where gentrifiers move from in the literature reviewed, and information about the long-run residential trajectories of gentrifiers was absent. Additionally, none of the identified studies reflects on changes in the socio-economic characteristics of individuals after their move to the gentrified neighbourhood, which is also a limitation of this review, as this overlooks the potential occurrence of incumbent upgrading and thus marginal gentrification. Those interested in the origins gentrifiers largely find no evidence of suburb-to-city residential migration within a metropolitan region; a majority rather finds that gentrifiers move within the inner-city. However, the quantitative research does not specify or classify origin locations beyond the metropolitan region, which suggests that there is no complete overview of where gentrifiers move from. This finding is striking considering the demand theories on drivers of gentrification (Ley 1980; Rose 1984), and the replacement-versus-displacement debate (Hamnett 2003; Slater 2009). Given the central role of the gentrifier in academic debates over the years, a valuable contribution would require identifying the origin locations of these individuals. Capturing the full extent of origin locations might identify that increasingly tight housing markets alter linkages and demographic interdependencies between cities and regions. The unaffordability of housing in one city could set off gentrification in another or create a form of segregation at the scale of the system of cities, whereby some cities specialize in providing residence to the privileged while more affordable cities and towns house displaced residents.

The literature capturing the destination locations of displaced households highlights several reoccurring claims. Whereas most studies find that displacees make rather short distance moves and remain within the surrounding area, more recent studies suggest that in the geographical context studied, displacees are increasingly moving out of the inner-city towards peripheral areas. A majority of articles find that the socio-economic status of destination neighbourhoods of displaced households is low, reinforcing segregation. Disadvantaged residents experience more constraints in their residential choice, which in turn affects the spatial socio-economic composition of cities. This suggests that gentrification does not, for the most part, reduce issues of socio-economic segregation.

We recommend future research to re-evaluate the spatial scale of movements to and from gentrifying areas to identify who moves into the city and who moves out. To date, there is no clear understanding of how contemporary gentrification relates to residential mobility patterns at different spatial scales, at a time when cities are becoming increasingly unaffordable, and gentrification is spreading beyond the urban cores. Scholars should acknowledge that the increased unaffordability which prevails in cities today not

only affects the residential movements of the low-income households, but also increasingly restricts the residential choice of middle-class. Unaffordability is not only a consequence of gentrification, it possibly sets off a chain reaction of gentrification elsewhere in the city, metropolitan area, region, or country. Future research should capture predominant patterns of gentrification-related residential moves at different spatial scales, and understand these in light of spatial inequality and larger demographic trends.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

None.

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Endnote

[i]Noteworthy articles that were not included are those by Reades *et al.* (2022), Lee and Perkins (2023), and Freeman *et al.* (2023). These studies meet the inclusion criteria but were published after the initial literature search.

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