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### Gentrification and Enclosure: Two Sides of the Same Coin

While the enclosure movement ended in Britain around the middle of the 19th century, a new type of enclosure began spreading later in the 20th century, going by a different name: gentrification. Today, gentrification has become a loaded word because of the life-changing impact it creates within established communities. Benjamin Grant, an urban designer and city planner, has said, “The term is often used negatively, suggesting the displacement of poor communities by rich outsiders.”<sup>1</sup> These “rich outsiders” typically increase the price of living, which existing community members cannot afford, forcing them to relocate. This is a similar parallel to how landowners treated the peasantry on their property, which ultimately forced these poor farmers to leave the country for the city. Looking at John Clare’s work, who experienced the movement firsthand, we see how enclosure affected lives, both geographically and emotionally. As Raymond Williams put it, “Enclosures is seen as the destroyer of a traditional and settled rural community.”<sup>2</sup> Gentrification arguably does the same thing.

Raised in the neighborhood of Echo Park in Los Angeles, I have witnessed gentrification and the changes that come as a result of it. I lived there from the early ‘90s until the mid-2000s. Between 2000 and 2014, the neighborhood’s immigrant population decreased by about 27%,

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin, Grant, “What is Gentrification?,” *PBS*. June 17, 2003. <http://archive.pov.org/flagwars/what-is-gentrification/>.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond Williams, *The Country and The City* (New York: Oxford University Press), 96.

most of whom were low-income residents, while the U.S.-born population rose by 5 percent.<sup>3</sup> Echo Park, however, is one of many neighborhoods and communities in the Los Angeles County that have undergone similar population transformations. As a result of this influx of people, big changes have occurred in communities. By looking at John Clare's poems, I argue that the experience of gentrification is similar to those who experienced the enclosure movement. These experiences include changes and disruption in the mental, social, and environmental ecology.

Enclosure worked in a similar vein as gentrification does today. It starts and ends with money. Landowners initiated the movement because they believed their tenant farmers would pay higher rents after they enclosed the parish.<sup>4</sup> These English landlords "aggressively" tried to profit by turning the open-field into market-oriented, commercial ventures, which they achieved by fencing off the land and then raising the rent on tenants' lease.<sup>5</sup> The rent would rise to the point where it would become unaffordable, giving tenants no choice but to leave. Nevertheless, the landlords "stood to gain" by hiring labor to work the fields, making them more productive units, or renting them to more prosperous farmers.<sup>6</sup>

Today, gentrification occurs, in the simplest sense, when upper-income people move into a low-income area.<sup>7</sup> There are many reasons why this would happen, though the topic of affordable housing tends to always come up when looking at the subject. In Echo Park, for instance, the median home value was \$427,000, and the median rent was around \$2,000, in

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<sup>3</sup> Jon Rodney, "Resilience In An Age of Inequality: Immigrant Contributions to California," *California Immigrant Policy Center*, 2017. <https://www.scribd.com/document/337336889/Resilience-In-An-Age-of-Inequality-Immigrant-Contributions-Report-2017-edition>.

<sup>4</sup> Robert C. Allen, "The Efficiency and Distributional Consequences of Eighteenth Century Enclosures." *The Economic Journal* 92, no. 368 (1982): 937. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2232676>.

<sup>5</sup> Marvin Perry, Myrna Chase, James Jacob, Margaret Jacob, and Jonathan W. Daly. *Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society: Since 1400* (Cengage Learning, 2015), 354.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Derek Hyra, "Commentary: Causes and Consequences of Gentrification and the Future of Equitable Development Policy." *Cityscape* 18, no. 3 (2016): 169. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26328279>.

September 2011. By 2016, the medians had risen significantly. Home value increased by 90% (\$779,000), while rent increased by 42% (\$2,840).<sup>8</sup> As mentioned, however, the population had decreased. Félix Guattari has noted, “In the name of *renovation*, [people like] Trump takes over whole districts of New York or Atlantic City, raises rents, and squeezes out tens of thousands of poor families” (emphasis added).<sup>9</sup> This has essentially happened throughout Los Angeles, which is how upper-income people have driven out longtime residents away from their homes. While no ill intent is perhaps meant, they are effectively forcing people out by pricing them out of their homes.

Williams has said of enclosure, “It can be reasonably argued that as many people were driven from the land...by the continuing processes of rack-renting and short-lease policies.”<sup>10</sup> In Los Angeles, while tenants are protected by rent control laws, landlords are still allowed to charge whatever rent they want when a unit becomes vacant; they can also raise the rent annually by 3% to 8%, depending on inflation, to current tenants.<sup>11</sup> By pricing rent at whatever price they like after tenants leave, landlords slowly drive the market price high. This creates a financial barrier that prevents any future lower-income person to come in, establishing a sort of enclosure. Though not a physical barrier, it has the same result. A neighborhood will now have the perception of unaffordable which will dissuade anyone from considering to move into that neighborhood when looking where to live. Whereas before the area was welcoming, it is now unapproachable.

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<sup>8</sup> Tracy Jeanne Rosenthal, “Transit-oriented development? More like transit rider displacement,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 20, 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Félix Guattari, *The Three Ecologies* (London: Athlone Press, 2000), 43.

<sup>10</sup> Williams, 97.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Khouri, “A ‘unique’ opportunity for investors spells mass eviction for tenants,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 10, 2018. <https://www.latimes.com/projects/la-fi-evictions>.

And while those who continue to live in their dwellings do not have to worry about a drastic change in rent, they still face an increase in rent every year. While the increment, as stated, is relatively a small percentage, they feel the increase from living on a low income, often getting by paycheck to paycheck. The way Thomas Spence describes landlords in 1783 in his poem “The Rights of Man: A Song,” we see a similar raising rent system by landlords:

Like tygers lurking for their prey,  
                   So on the watch they keep,  
 Lest tenants they by any means,  
                   Their labours' fruit should reap.  
 If only sixpence more they think  
                   The tenant he can pay,  
 As soon as e'er his lease is out  
                   The same on him they lay.

Similar to how farmers must have felt then, low-income residents today have to face a similar pressure of coming up with rent whenever it goes up, despite their stagnant paycheck. John Clare, too, dealt with rising rent. In his autobiography he mentions his rent being 40 shillings, “while an old apple tree in the garden generally made the rent.”<sup>12</sup> He goes on to say how they later raised the rent, about the same their tree stopped producing fruit, leaving them unable to pay. There is little difference today between Clare’s financial troubles to some people today who barely get by with minimum wage. The struggle to make ends meet is already a challenge that rising rent is just an alternative way to force people away.

Moreover, despite the rent protection in Los Angeles, tenants are still vulnerable to having their leases terminated if it is month-to-month. Landlords are only obligated to give a 30 or 60-day notice to terminate their agreement. Unfortunately, there is no way to determine how many mass evictions have taken place because the notices are not public record.<sup>13</sup> The reality,

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<sup>12</sup>John Clare, *John Clare by himself*, ed. Eric Robinson, and David Powell (New York: Routledge, 2002), 116-117.

<sup>13</sup> Khouri.

however, is that these evictions can happen at any given moment, causing great stress and troubles for tenants, both before and after an eviction. About five years ago, I was told someone bought the three houses in front of where I used to live in Echo Park for a large sum of money, somewhere in the millions. Those families had to then leave by a certain date. For as long as I can remember, they have always lived there and, just like that, someone was forcing them away from their homes. A couple of months after hearing the news, I passed by and the houses looked different. They each had a new paint color, and their belongings, once scattered around their yard, were now gone, like them. Where did they go? I do not know. But just as I saw changes happened around Echo Park, within the park itself and on Sunset Blvd, I now saw it happening in my old block.

The main cause for these evictions is because landlords want to significantly hike up the rent. In Long Beach, for example, an apartment building went on sale and was being advertised as a “‘unique’ investment opportunity with rents about 30% below market,”<sup>14</sup> suggesting there was potential to invest in the building. The building later sold, and the new owners gave residents 60 days to leave. The notice came as a surprise to many when they found the eviction notice on their door. One cried, “We are going to be homeless.” The emotional distress one feels when someone takes their home away unexpectedly parallels what Clare and others must have felt once the land was suddenly enclosed:

Each little tyrant with his little sign  
Shows where man claims earth glows no more divine  
But paths to freedom and to childhood dear  
A board sticks up to notice 'no road here.'

(“The Moores,” lines 67-70)

The eviction notices today are no different from the signs then, telling the peasantry that they were not allowed on the land anymore. It forces everyone to relocate, despite living there for

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

many years. In some cases, these people have nowhere to go, explaining why some feel like they will become homeless, while farmers in Clare's time had nowhere to go but to the city in search for work.

Looking at Clare and the peasantry alongside those who have face eviction today or on the verge of it, they both share the struggle of being marginalized. We can see it expressed in John Clare's animal's poems who typically describe animals as victims from human hands. Sehjae Chun notes, "Undoubtedly, his poems about victimized, vulnerable animals are strongly associated with Clare himself and his class status both represented as marginal figures. Both of them are harassed and wronged by the society and remain on the margins."<sup>15</sup> Clare and his neighbors' marginalization must have come from the fact that he and everyone around him were poor peasants with little to no power. Tenants in Los Angeles must feel no different than Clare, feeling like some of the animals in his poems. Seeing how most are low-income and some being immigrants, there must be a feeling of unfair treatment. They must feel as if they are being picked on or being taken advantage of because they cannot do much to retaliate. Those with money have the power to do with them as they wish, all for the sake of a profit. All they can do is find a new place to live.

There is a sense of psychological displacement that happens as a result of having to leave a home and a location one has spent most of their lives in. It has the power to affects one's identity. As Alan Bewell has pointed out about Clare, the alienation he felt when leaving Helpston has been interpreted as "a sign of his incapacity to advance beyond localized conceptions of identity," though he argues the issue was his inability to "claim that he belonged

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<sup>15</sup> Sehjae Chun, "'An Undiscovered Song': John Clare's 'Birds Poems'." *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* 6, no. 2 (2005): 50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41207553>.

to a specific place,” not with the distance itself.<sup>16</sup> Clare’s poem “The Flitting” best captures that sentiment:

I've left my own old home of homes,  
 Green fields and every pleasant place;  
 The summer like a stranger comes,  
 I pause and hardly know her face.  
 ...  
 Alone and in a stranger scene,  
 Far, far from spots my heart esteems. (ll. 1-4, 49-50)

Clare, as Bowell alludes, feels a sense of loss in the form of belonging after leaving from a fixed location.<sup>17</sup> Being in one location for so long and knowing it very well, it becomes almost part of one’s natural environment. Clare feeling like a stranger, as a result of local changes, shows the relationship one can have with their surroundings and their link in the ecology.

This relationship is no different from those in Los Angeles. In *Glitter stucco & dumpster diving: reflections on building production in the vernacular city*, there is a moment when urban designer John Chase moves into a house in Silverlake. “When I bought the house,” he reveals, “the yard still bore the last signs of the neighborhood’s former identity...”<sup>18</sup> It is a comment he says in passing, but it is meaningful. There is a suggestion there that a person’s home becomes almost an extension of themselves. By leaving it, it is like leaving a piece of oneself behind. Can one ever recover from that, especially if they did not have a choice to leave?

Chase once said to the *Los Angeles Times* that he was interested in “how you relate yourself to the physical environment.”<sup>19</sup> Perhaps Chase would have agreed, one’s environment is essentially their home, therefore their identity lies within their environment. In “The Flitting,”

<sup>16</sup> Alan Bewell, "John Clare and the Ghosts of Natures Past." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 65, no. 4 (2011): 568. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/ncl.2011.65.4.548>.

<sup>17</sup> Bewell, 569.

<sup>18</sup> John Chase, *Glitter stucco & dumpster diving: reflections on building production in the vernacular city* (New York: Verso, 2004), 179.

<sup>19</sup> Carolyn Ramsay, “Man About Town,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 18, 2001.



again, John Clare's alienation comes from his surroundings now being unfamiliar to him: "Here every tree is strange to me, / All foreign things where'er I go" (ll. 97-9). His emotional distress comes from the fact that his environment is now unrelatable, thus feeling detached from his surroundings. In Los Angeles, some have felt the same after leaving. In Echo Park, the Los Angeles Times reported that gang members have been priced out of the neighborhood, though that has not stopped them from returning. A gang interventionist has said, however, "The cops are always saying that they come back for gang violence. It's not true. They come back 'cause that's where they feel comfortable."<sup>20</sup> But this feeling transcends to many others who have left. A former Echo Park resident has said when returning, "Nothing will ever feel like Echo Park did. Where you reach down and grab the dirt and you say, 'Yeah, I'm solid. This is home.'"<sup>21</sup> Personally, I knew this feeling well. There is a visceral pleasure about going back home, a place where one has spent most of their lives. It feels irreplaceable after putting down roots.

This feeling of belonging establishes communities among everyone who lives close to one another, something both gentrification and enclosure destroy. Clare certainly expresses it in his poems, not strictly in a social sense, but in a natural one. As Bewell reports, "Helpston, for Clare, was a neighborhood in the fullest sense of the word," observing "the relationship among creatures in their environments and with human beings who share the world with them."<sup>22</sup> Bewell argues this is clear in Clare's usage of plants and why he often personifies them, seeing how they are the ones who are sharing their space with people. These are not the only creatures, however, that Clare sees himself sharing the land with. In "The Lament of Swordy Well," for

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<sup>20</sup> Marisa Gerber, "With gentrification, Echo Park gang members move outside their turf," *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 2014. <https://www.latimes.com/local/la-me-echo-park-gang-20140126-story.html>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Bewell, 556.

example, changes have happened which has resulted in poor conditioning for animals and insects:

The bees flye round in feeble rings  
 And find no blossom bye  
 Then thrum their almost weary wings  
 Upon the moss and die  
 Rabbits that find my hills turned oer  
 Forsake my poor abode  
 They dread a workhouse like the poor  
 And nibble on the road. (ll. 81-8)

While the poem is told through the perspective of Swordy Well, it no doubt reflects Clare's sentiments. Katey Castellano has argued of the poem, it "sympathetically narrates how [Swordy Well's] degradation includes the destruction of native plants and animals, which in turn mirrors the suffering of the poor."<sup>23</sup> Clare could, therefore, be using the degradation of the natural world to also reflect the rough state of this fellow neighbors. As a result, the community as a whole have become in shambles, suggesting a positive past, compared to the bleak present. We see this in its lament of the butterflies: "The butterflyes may wir to come / I cannot keep em now" (ll. 93-94). What was once there is now gone because of the surrounding changes.

In a place such as Echo Park, the community has drastically changed from the time I lived there until now. While the environment is not as wild as Clare's Helpston, with roaming animals and plants, the community at large was heavily based on the people who lived there, along with the stores that served them. People had their friends as neighbors nearby who they shared common interests with and had similar backgrounds, and they all went to stores that catered to their taste at an affordable price. As stated, Echo Park today has become overpriced for many, which has resulted in a different class of people to fill the neighborhood. To live there now, one needs to be able to afford it, whereas before, lower income and immigrant families had

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<sup>23</sup> Katey Castellano, *The ecology of British romantic conservatism, 1790-1837* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 147.

comfortably settled there and called it home. The new group of people slowly began causing changes, arguably causing destruction to those who were lucky enough to stay.

Once money began coming into the Echo Park, businesses slowly began closing down because of higher rent.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, new stores opened that no longer catered to the people who had always lived there. This is when the community began looking different. Namely, and perhaps most importantly, grocery stores were the most prominent felt. They began serving for the new wave of people who migrated in. This created limited resources for old residents, making it a bit harder for them to get by. For instance, Lassens Natural Food and Vitamins on Sunset Blvd. is a fairly new establishment that opened around 2013-2014. I remember my grandma telling me how she went to Lassens once to check their fruits and vegetables. She saw the price for tomatoes and thought they were too pricey. She then went across the street to the Mexican market, which has always been there for as far as I can remember, and was able to buy twice as many for the same price. Unfortunately, that Mexican market closed their doors last year because they were behind on their rent, due to an increase in rent price,<sup>25</sup> while the year before an Asian market (A Grocery Warehouse) on Sunset closed for the same reasons. This is what people fear when new activity come into their neighborhood, that it will not serve their community.<sup>26</sup> Instead, they break it up. With fewer low-cost options in Echo Park, those low-income residents will either have to pay up or leave for a cheaper alternative. The last remaining diverse market with affordable prices, as far as I know, is on Alvarado and Sunset (El Rancho Market). However, seeing the recent trend, it would come to no surprise if they were next to

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<sup>24</sup> “‘I’m done’ – Long-time Echo Park shoe store owner moves on after rents rise,” *The Eastsider*, June 10, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> “Echo Park shoppers left with fewer low-cost options after two markets close for good,” *The Eastsider*, February 7, 2018.

<sup>26</sup> Molly Strauss, “The Fight for Frogtown,” *Los Angeles Review of Books*, June 8, 2015.

<https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/the-fight-for-frogtown-development-displacement-and-gentrification-in-los-angeles/#!>

close their doors. And just as Clare noticed the butterflies gone, Echo Park, too, has lost something of its own which may never return, seeing the direction the environment is heading.

The loss of people, though, should not be overlooked. It is arguably the people who are the makeup of any given community. In Echo Park, the businesses are a reflection of the people who live there. However, there is a social aspect that is also lost amongst the change. Regardless of class or background, people form relationships living near each other for a long period of time. In apartment dwellings, for instance, neighbors are a few steps away, from door to door. Children within the building quickly become friends out of convenience. These apartments in a way are like little communities in themselves. Whenever someone leaves, it is noticeable and often times felt, more so in this case because these families often have no choice. They leave out of desperation or force, not out of willingness. If entire tenants are evicted, then it is like wiping an entire community in place of a newer, homogeneous one.

Given the open land John Clare experienced, he was around many different types of people and understood that enclosure threatened their residency. In his journal, for instance, while talking about his village, he recognizes that “gipseys” are no longer around because of enclosure: “There is not so many of them with us as there used to be the inclosure has left nothing but narrow lanes were they are ill provided with lodging.”<sup>27</sup> This shows that Clare was aware of the people within his communal space and how enclosure affected their personal lives. Elizabeth K. Helsinger has argued that the repeated word “keep” in “The Lament of Swordy Wells” alludes to a community under threat, arguing that “land and laborers employ the term in the ... sense of supporting . . . The claims to possession put forward by enclosure reject the responsibility of 'keeping' laborers, Gypsies, horses, cows, sheep, or the wild bees, which the

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<sup>27</sup> Clare, 97.

stones and springs and rushes of Swordy Well once supported.”<sup>28</sup> This is how enclosure effectively destroyed communities and tradition. It essentially altered the environment to the point that it became uninhabitable or difficult for many of the original residents to stay.

Looking at the changes in the environment, there are valid reasons why someone like Clare disagreed with the “improvements” landowners were doing to the land. The loss of the butterflies, after all, came from the result of over-cultivation,<sup>29</sup> which came from landowner trying to make their property more productive. “Swamps and marshes would be drained, streams would be rechannelled, forests and scrublands would be cleared, and subsistence farming in general would give way to capital-intensive agriculture.”<sup>30</sup> Land underwent extreme changes, though there is an argument for each side on whether these changes were positive or negative. Positive in the sense that the land would become more productive and efficient. Negative because of the destruction of nature and how it affected everyone and everything that lived in it. When the entire landscape of a particular region changes, for better or for worse, someone feels the transition when it is that drastic of a shift.

Echo Park has gone through some changes of its own. During the summer of 2011, Echo Park lake was closed for renovation. The entire park was fenced for about two years, reopening in June 2013. This renovation, however, was not because of gentrification. It was a move the city thought was overdue because of how polluted the lake had gotten. There is no denying the fact that the park looks nicer today than it ever did, say, ten years ago. In 2008, its famous lotus beds

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<sup>28</sup>Elizabeth K. Helsinger, *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain, 1815-1850* (Princeton and Chichester UK: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997), pp. 149-50, quoted in Sarah Houghton. "The "Community" of John Clare's Helpston." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 46, no. 4 (2006): 787. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4127508>.

<sup>29</sup>Jeffrey Dories, “John Clare: Natural History Writing and a Loco-Descriptive Poetics of Landscape,” *Exegesis Literary Journal*, October 21, 2013. [https://exegesisjournal.wordpress.com/2013/10/21/jeffrey\\_dories/](https://exegesisjournal.wordpress.com/2013/10/21/jeffrey_dories/)

<sup>30</sup>James C. McKusick. "‘A language that is ever green’: The Ecological Vision of John Clare." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (1991): 226. [www.muse.jhu.edu/article/512568](http://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/512568).

died, making a return only after the renovation. Improvements have now been made to ensure water quality for years.<sup>31</sup> Regardless of the park's newfound beauty, these changes may have sparked an interest for potential investors and landlords. The renovation came at a time convenient for landlords to begin raising the rent, beginning in about 2011,<sup>32</sup> or perhaps they saw the potential of a rising market in Echo Park after the city gives it a nice makeover. The park's renovation may have been long overdue and desired by everyone in the community, but it came with a cost to those who lived there—literally.

That is not to say the park was better off in its decrepit state. Not only does it look nicer today, but the park is also much more efficient. On the other hand, it is hard to say whether common land was, in fact, better before enclosure. While Clare may have liked Helpston before landowners began developing it, causing ecological destruction in Clare's eyes, the landowners must have done what they thought would be best for the land, not how to ruin it entirely. Nevertheless, the state of each location, despite their appearance, was supporting a community before their respective changes. Though their condition may not have been the most productive, it was efficient in its own right. James C. McKusick has argued that Clare saw a “dwelling place” a significant place for living things by how he depicts an oak tree a supporter of plants and animals in “Shadows of Taste,” regardless of its appearance. As McKusick has observed, “This oak tree is not beautiful in any conventional sense, but its role as a habitat for various species of ivy and birds induces the poet to love and cherish it as a microcosm of the archetypal green world.”<sup>33</sup> Similar to Clare's oak tree, Echo Park's poor state was arguably one of the reasons low-income residents were able to make it a home. Though the park was in bad shape, it

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<sup>31</sup> Jordan Kurtzman, “Echo Park Lake to Reopen With Eco-Friendly Improvements,” *KCET*, June 5, 2013. <https://www.kcet.org/green-living/echo-park-lake-to-reopen-with-eco-friendly-improvements>.

<sup>32</sup> See note 8.

<sup>33</sup> McKusick, 237.

still benefited the community despite the fact. The same can be said about tenants and their homes, whether an apartment building or house. The condition is what kept prices low. Owners, instead, evict the tenants, renovate the dwelling to make it look new, and then put it on the market at a much higher rent.<sup>34</sup>

But though neighborhoods look more pleasant now because of the effort to justify higher prices, the landscape is not completely immaculate. By pricing these low-income people out of an affordable home, landowners have arguably contributed to a small percentage of the homeless problem that the city is currently facing. Recently, the Los Angeles Times reported homelessness jumped 12% in L.A County and 16% in the city, reporting affordable housing to be one of the reasons why: “The shortage is driving up rental prices, forcing people onto the streets at a rapid pace.”<sup>35</sup> Part of the shortage is from wealthier outsiders outbidding locals, leaving no more cheaper options, a fear that some have in Frogtown,<sup>36</sup> a neighborhood near Echo Park. With nowhere to go and sometimes on short notice, it is no surprise why many have to succumb to homelessness, ultimately impacting the environmental landscape of the city. Enclosure affected many the same way, leaving them with nowhere to go. While some went homeless, many others went to the city to find work. For Angelenos, their best option is to leave Los Angeles for something cheaper, which it appears many are doing.<sup>37</sup>

These reasons are why gentrification is almost like the modern day enclosure. They each have landowners who tend to disregard their tenants’ wellbeing for the sake of renovation, calling it development. As Sam Pickering has argued, “Development is the contemporary

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<sup>34</sup> See note 14.

<sup>35</sup> Benjamin Oreskes and Doug Smith, “Homelessness jumps 12% in L.A. County and 16% in the city; officials ‘stunned,’” *Los Angeles Times*, June 04, 2019.

<sup>36</sup> Strauss.

<sup>37</sup> Mark J. Perry, “U-Haul Rates Suggest Migration from California to Texas Is Accelerating,” *Foundation for Economic Education*, June 04, 2019. <https://fee.org/articles/u-haul-rates-suggest-migration-from-california-to-texas-is-accelerating>.

equivalent of enclosure.”<sup>38</sup> Wealthier individuals or firms simply buy up homes or apartment complexes, get rid of the existing tenants, polish up the dwelling, and raise the price, hoping to attract wealthy residents who can afford it. This forces families to relocate, sometimes with nowhere to go, affecting communities and impacting the environment. Now these people, too, know what John Clare and his fellow neighbors experienced. They know how they felt having a sign from the landowner kicking them out of their home, they know how they felt to suddenly be homeless, and they know how it felt to see your home turn to a strange and unwelcoming place.

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<sup>38</sup> Sam Pickering, "Painting the Wind: Poetic Art and John Clare." *The Sewanee Review* 113, no. 3 (2005): 474. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27549713>.



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